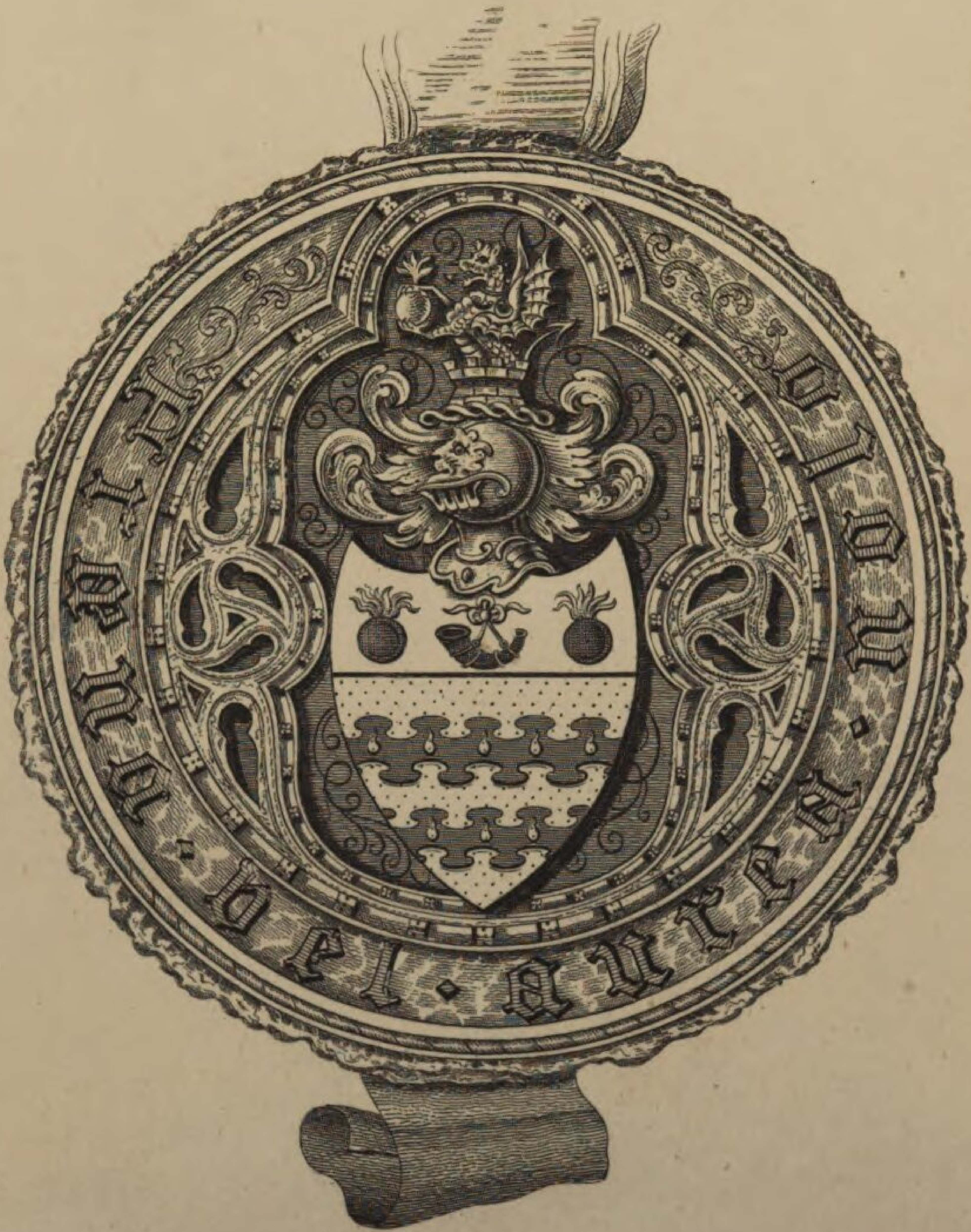
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A

GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE,
BY SEA AND LAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

VOL. II.

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* This title was omitted to be inserted in its proper place, and may be supplied in writing on the blank page opposite to page 23 of this volume.

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Note.—In p. 292 of this volume, l. 2 and 18, the date of 1525 ought to have been 1505.



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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART I.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAP. XX.

Account of Various early Pilgrimages from England to the Holy Land; between the years 1097 *and* 1107 [1].

INTRODUCTION.

THE subsequent account of several English pilgrimages to the Holy Land, ought perhaps to have followed the voyage of Ingulphus to Jerusalem in 1064, as already given in Chap. I. Sect. xi. p. 38. of thc First Volume; as such would have been more consistent with the chronological series of events of that and the four immediately preceding sections. There was some hesitation, however, as to the propriety of inserting these relations, which have so very little connection with one primary object of this work, the Progress of Discovery; and, besides this, their various dates would have materially

1 Hakluyt, I. p. 44. et sequ.

terially interfered with the chronology of the intervening sections. Perhaps even it had been better to have reserved, for the present chapter, the *five* concluding sections of our *first*; but it is an inseparable concomitant of all systematic arrangements whatever, to meet with anomalies, and our work cannot be expected to escape from them altogether. It is by no means intended to attempt in this place any thing like a history of the crusades, which form a great and prominent feature in the middle age history of the European nations, and is much removed from the intention of this work; all that is here proposed, is to give from Hakluyt a sketch of a few of these expeditions, or pilgrimages to the Holy Land, that were undertaken chiefly by Englishmen, as a specimen only of the strange propensity of the times, to expiate their sins by visiting the supposed sepulchre of our Saviour, or by warring against the Saracens. A considerable number of other early English pilgrimages might have been added, from Hakluyt and other sources, to the present collection; but it already contains all that possess any interest. The subject will be resumed, when that subdivision of the work which relates more immediately to Palestine, or the Holy Land, comes before the public, in the course of our arrangement.

SECTION I.

The Voyage of Gutuere, or Godwera, an English Lady, towards the Holy Land, about 1097.

WHILE the Christian army, under Godfrey of Buillon, was marching through Asia Minor from Iconium, in Lycaonia, by Heraclea, to Marasia, or Maresch [1], Gutuere, or Godwera, the wife of Baldwin, the brother of the Duke of Lorain, who had long laboured under heavy sickness, became so extremely ill, that the army encamped on her account near Marash, for three days, when she expired. This lady is said to have been of noble English parentage, and was honourably interred at Antioch in Syria [2].

SECTION

1 Now Konieh, Erekli, and Marash; the two former in Karamania, the latter in Syria or Room.—E.

2 For this story, Hakluyt quotes Hist. Bel. Sacr. lib. iii. c. xvii. and Chron. Hierosol. lib. iii c. xxvii.

SECTION II.

The Voyage of Edgar Æthling to Jerusalem, in 1102 [1].

EDGAR, commonly called Æthling, was son of Edward, the son of Edmond Ironside, who was the brother of Edward the Confessor, to whom consequently Edgar was nephew. Edgar travelled to Jerusalem in 1102, in company with Robert, the son of Godwin, a most valiant knight. Being present in Rama, when King Baldwin was there besieged by the Turks, and not being able to endure the hardships of the siege, he was delivered from that danger, and escaped through the midst of the hostile camp, chiefly through the aid of Robert; who, going before him, made a lane with his sword, slaying numbers of the Turks in his heroic progress. Towards the close of this chivalric enterprize, and becoming more fierce and eager as he advanced, Robert unfortunately dropt his sword; and while stooping to recover his weapon, he was oppressed by the multitude, who threw themselves upon him, and made him prisoner. From thence, as some say, Robert was carried to Babylon in Egypt, or Cairo; and refusing to renounce his faith in CHRIST, he was tied to a stake in the market-place, and transpierced with arrows. Edgar, having thus lost his valiant knight, returned towards Europe, and was much honoured with many gifts by the emperors both of Greece and Germany, both of whom would gladly have retained him at their courts, on account of his high lineage; but he despised all things, from regard to his native England, into which he returned: And, having been subjected to many changes of fortune, as we have elsewhere related, he *now* spends his extreme old age in private obscurity.

SECTION

1 Hakluyt. I. 44. W. Malmsb. III. 58.

SECTION III.

Some Circumstances respecting the Siege of Joppa, about the year 1102 [1].

IN the second year of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, Joppa was besieged by the Turks of Cairo ; and Baldwin embarked from the town of Assur, in a vessel called a *buss*, commanded by one Goderic an English freebooter, intending to proceed to the relief of the besieged. Fixing the royal banner aloft on a spear, that it might be seen of the Christians, they sailed boldly towards Joppa, with but a small company of armed men. The king knew that the Christians in Joppa were almost hopeless of his life and safety, and he feared they might shamefully abandon the defence of the place, or be constrained to surrender, unless revived by his presence. On perceiving the approach of the royal banner of King Baldwin, the naval forces of the Turks, to the number of twenty gallies and thirteen ships, usually called *Cazh*, endeavoured to surround and capture the single vessel in which he was embarked. But, by the aid of GOD, the billows of the sea raged against them, while the kings ship glided easily and swiftly through the waves, eluding the enemy, and arrived in safety into the haven of Joppa, to the great joy of the Christians, who had mourned him as if dead.

While the Saracens continued the siege of Joppa, 200 sail of Christian vessels arrived there, with pilgrims who wished to perform their devotions at Jerusalem. Of these, the chief leaders were Bernard Witrazh of Galatia, Hardin of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck, one of the principal nobles of Westphalia, and others. This power, by the blessing of God, arrived to succour the distressed Christians then besieged in Joppa, on the 3d of July 1102, in the second year of Baldwin king of Jerusalem. When the numerous army of the Saracens saw that the Christians, thus reinforced, boldly faced them without the walls, they removed their tents, during the night, above a mile from the town, that they might consider whether to retreat to Ascalon, or to continue to harass the citizens of Joppa with frequent assaults. But they confided

1 Hakluyt, I. 45. Chron. Hierosol. IX. ix. xi. xii.

confided in their numbers, and continued to annoy the Christians by severe and repeated attacks.

Having allowed three days rest and refreshment to this powerful reinforcement, Baldwin issued out from Joppa early in the morning of the sixth of July, to the martial sound of trumpets and cornets, with a strong force, both of foot and horse, marching directly toward the Saracens, with loud shouts, and attacked their army with great spirit. The land attack was assisted by the Christian navy, which approached the shore, making a horrible noise, and distracting the attention of the Saracens, who feared to be attacked in flank and rear. After a sharp encounter, the Saracens fled towards Ascalon, many being slain in the battle and pursuit, and others drowned, by leaping into the sea to avoid being slain. In this battle 3000 of the Saracens perished, with a very small loss on the side of the Christians; and the city of Joppa was delivered from its enemies.

Section IV.

Of the Transactions of certain English, Danish, and Flemish Pilgrims in the Holy Land, in 1107 [1].

In the seventh year of King Baldwin, a large fleet from England, containing above 7000 men, many of whom were soldiers, arrived at the harbour of Joppa, along with whom came other warriors from Denmark, Flanders, and Antwerp. Having received permission and safe conduct from King Baldwin, together with a strong band of armed men as a safeguard, they arrived in safety at Jerusalem and all the other places of devotion, free from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles; and having paid their vows unto the Lord in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, they returned with great joy, and without molestation, to Joppa [2]. Finding King Baldwin in that place, they made offer to assist him in any military enterprize; for which offer he gave them great commendations, saying, That he could not give an immediate answer, without consulting the patriarch and barons of his kingdom. He

1 Hakluyt, I. 47. Chron. Hierosol. lib. x.

2 Though not mentioned in the text, it seems presumable that these pilgrims deemed it necessary for them to proceed unarmed in execution of their devotions, under an escort.—E.

He therefore called together the Lord Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfrid the governor of the Tower of David, and the other principal officers of the kingdom of Jerusalem, to consult together in the city of Rames, how best to employ this proferred assistance of so considerable a body of volunteers.

In that assembly, it was agreed upon to lay siege to the city of Sagitta, otherwise called Sidon; upon which, having directed every one of the nobles to go home, that they might provide armour and all other necessaries for the siege, he sent messengers to the English, requiring them not to remove their fleet and army from Joppa, but to wait there for his farther commands; informing them, that he and his nobles had resolved, with their aid, to lay siege to the city of Sidon, but it would require some time to provide the necessary engines and warlike instruments, for assaulting the walls of that place. The pilgrims answered, that they would attend his orders at Joppa, promising to be obedient to him in all things, even unto death. The king went soon afterwards, with the patriarch and all his attendants to the city of Acre; where, during forty days, he was busily employed in the construction of engines, and many different kinds of warlike instruments, and of every thing necessary for the intended siege.

When this intended expedition came to the knowledge of the inhabitants of Sidon, and they understood that a powerful army of pilgrims lay in readiness at Joppa, to assist the king of Jerusalem, they were afraid of being subdued and destroyed by the Christians, as Cæsaria, Assur, Acre, Cayphas, and Tabaria had already been; and they sent secret emissaries to the king, offering a large sum of money in gold byzants, and a considerable yearly tribute, on condition that he would spare their lives and refrain from the intended siege. After a lengthened negotiation, during which the inhabitants of Sidon rose considerably in their offers, the king, being in great straits for means to discharge the pay of his soldiers, hearkened willingly to the offers of the Sidonians; yet, afraid of reproach from the Christians, he dared not openly to consent to their proposals.

In the meantime, Hugh of Tabaria, who was a principal warrior among the Christians of Palestine, and indefatigable in assaulting the pagans on all occasions, having gathered together 200 horse and 400 infantry, suddenly invaded the country of a great Saracen lord, named Suet, on the frontiers

tiers of the territory of Damascus, where he took a rich booty of gold and silver and many cattle, which would have proved of great importance in assisting the army at the siege of Sidon. On his return with this prey by the city of Belinas, otherwise called Cæsaria Philippi, the Turks of Damascus, with the Saracen inhabitants of the country, gathered together in great numbers, and pursued the troops of Hugh, that they might recover the booty. Coming up with them in the mountains, over which the infantry belonging to Hugh of Tabaria were driving their prey, the Turks prevailed over the Christians, and the plunder was recovered. On receiving this intelligence, Hugh, who happened to be at some distance, hastened with his cavalry to succour his footmen and to recover the spoil: But happening to fall in with the Turks in a strait and craggy place, and rushing heedlessly among the enemy, unprovided with his armour, he was shot in the back by an arrow, which pierced his liver, and he died on the spot. His soldiers brought back the dead body of Hugh to the city of Nazareth near Mount Thabor, where he was honourably interred. Gerard, the brother of Hugh, lay at this time sick of a dangerous illness, and died within eight days afterwards.

Taking advantage of the death of these two famous princes, King Baldwin agreed to receive the money which had been offered to him by the city of Sidon, yet kept his intentions of making peace private, and sent to Joppa, desiring the chiefs of the English, Danes, and Flemings, to come with their fleet and army to Acre, as if he had meant to prosecute the siege. When they arrived, he represented to their chiefs the great loss he had sustained by the death of two of his chief warriors, on which account, he was constrained to defer the siege to a more convenient opportunity, and must now dismiss his army. On this the strangers saluted the king very respectfully, and, embarking in their ships, returned to their own countries.

SECT.

Section V.

The Expedition of William Longespee, or Long-sword, Earl of Salisbury, in the year 1248, *under the Banners of St Louis, King of France, against the Saracens*[1].

When Louis, King of France, went against the Saracens in 1248, William Earl of Salisbury, with the Bishop of Worcester, and other great men of the realm of England, accompanied him in the holy warfare[2]. About the beginning of October 1249, the French king assaulted and took the city of Damietta, which was esteemed the principal strong-hold of the Saracens in Egypt; and having provided the place with a sufficient garrison, under the Duke of Burgundy, he removed his camp, to penetrate farther eastwards. In this army William Earl of Salisbury served, with a chosen band of Englishmen under his especial command; but the French entertained a great dislike to him and his people, whom they flouted upon all occasions, calling them English *tails*[3], and other opprobrious names, insomuch, that the King of France had much ado to keep peace between them. This quarrel originated from the following circumstance: Not far from Alexandria there was a strong castle belonging to the Saracens[4], in which they had placed some of their principal ladies, and much treasure; which fortress the earl and his English followers had the good fortune to take, more by dexterous policy than by open force of arms, through which capture he and his people were much enriched; and when the French came to the knowledge of this exploit, which had not been previously communicated to them, they were much enraged against the English, and could never speak well of them afterwards.

Not

1 Hakluyt, I. 70.

2 Hakluyt dates this expedition in the 32d year of the reign of Henry III. of England. He mentions, in a former passage, I. p. 59, that the same Earl of Salisbury, accompanied Richard Earl of Cornwall, in the 23d year of the same kings reign into Syria against the Saracens, with many other English of note, where they performed good service against the unbelievers, but gives no relation of particulars.—E.

3 The meaning of this term of reproach does not appear; unless, from some after circumstances, it may have proceeded from their horses having long tails, while those of the French were dockt.—E.

4 Probably Aboukir.—E.

Not long after this, the earl got secret intelligence of a rich caravan of merchants belonging to the Saracens, who were travelling to a certain fair which was to be held near Alexandria, with a multitude of camels, asses, and mules, and many carts, all richly laden with silks, precious jewels, spices, gold, silver, and other commodities, besides provisions and other matters of which the soldiers were then in great want. Without giving notice of this to the rest of the Christian army, the earl gathered all the English troops, and fell by night upon the caravan, killing many of the people, and making himself master of the whole carts and baggage cattle with their drivers, which he brought with him to the Christian camp, losing only one soldier in the skirmish, and eight of his servants, some of whom were only wounded and brought home to be cured. When this was known in the camp, the Frenchmen, who had loitered in their tents while the earl and his people were engaged in the expedition, came forth and forcibly took to themselves the whole of this spoil, finding great fault with the earl and the English for leaving the camp without orders from the general, contrary to the discipline of war; though the earl insisted that he had done nothing but what he would readily justify, and that his intentions were to have divided the spoil among the whole army. But this being of no avail, and very much displeased at being deprived in so cowardly a manner of what he had so adventurously gained, he made his complaint to the king; and being successfully opposed there by the pride of the Count of Artois, the kings brother, who thwarted his claims with disdainful spite, he declared that he would serve no longer in their army, and bidding farewell to the king, he and his people broke up from the army and marched for Achon [5]. Upon their departure, the Count d'Artois said that the French army was well rid of these tailed English; which words, spoken in despite, were ill taken by many good men, even of their own army. But not long after, when the governor of Cairo, who was offended with the Soldan, offered to deliver that place to the French king, and even gave him instructions how he might best conduct himself to accomplish that enterprize, the king sent a message in all haste to the Earl of Salisbury, requesting him to return to the army, under promise of redressing all his grievances;

5 St John d'Acre.—E.

grievances; on which he came back and rejoined the French army.

The king of France now marched towards Cairo, and came to the great river Nile, on the other side of which the Soldan had encamped with his army, on purpose to dispute the passage. At this time, there was a Saracen in the service of the Count of Artois, who had been lately converted to the Christian faith, and who offered to point out a shallow ford in the river, by which the army might easily cross over. Upon receiving this intelligence, Artois and the master of the Knights Templars, with about a third of the army, crossed to the other side, and were followed by Salisbury and the English. These being all joined, made an assault upon a part of the Saracen army which remained in the camp, and overthrew them, the Soldan being then at some distance with the greater part of his army.

After this easy victory, Artois was so puffed up with pride and elated by success, that he believed nothing could withstand him, and would needs advance without waiting for the coming up of the main body of the army under the king of France, vainly believing that he was able with the power he had to conquer the whole force of the Saracens. The master of the Templars, and other experienced officers, endeavoured to dissuade him from this rash conduct; advising him rather to return to the main army, satisfied with the signal advantage he had already achieved; that thereby the whole army of the Christians might act in concert, and be the better able to guard against the danger of any ambushes or other stratagems of war, that might have been devised for their destruction. They represented to him that the horses of this vanguard were already tired, and the troops without food; and besides, that their numbers were utterly unable to withstand the vastly superior multitude of the enemy; who besides, having now obviously to fight for their last stake, the capital of their dominions, might be expected to exert their utmost efforts. To this salutary counsel, the proud earl arrogantly answered with opprobrious taunts; reviling the whole Templars as dastardly cowards and betrayers of their country, and even alleged that the Holy Land of the Cross might easily be won to Christendom, if it were not for the rebellious spirit of the Templars and Hospitallers, and their followers: which, indeed, was a common belief among many. To these contumelious remarks, the master of the Templars angrily de-

sired

sired him, in his own name and that of his followers, to display his ensign when and where he dared, and he should find them as ready to follow as he to lead. The Earl of Salisbury now remonstrated with Artois, advising him to listen to these experienced persons, who were much better acquainted with the country and people than he could be; and endeavoured to convince him that their advice was discreet and worthy to be followed. He then addressed his discourse to the master of the Templars, prudently endeavouring to sooth his anger against the arrogance of the Count of Artois. But Artois cut him short, exclaiming in anger with many oaths, "Away with these cowardly Englishmen with tails; the army would be much better rid of these tailed people;" and many other scandalous and disdainful expressions. To this the English earl replied, "Well, Earl Robert, wherever you dare set your foot, my steps shall go as far as yours; and I believe we shall go this day where you shall not dare to come near the tails of our horses."

And it so happened as Earl William said: For Earl Robert of Artois persisted to march forward against the Soldan, vainly hoping to win all the glory to himself, before the coming up of the main body of the host. His first enterprize was ordering an attack on a small castle, or fortified village, called Mansor; whence a number of the villagers ran out, on seeing the approach of the Christians, making a great outcry, which came to the ears of the Soldan, who was much nearer with his army than had been supposed. In the mean time, the Christians made an assault on Mansor with too little precaution, and were repulsed with considerable loss, many of them being slain by large stones, thrown upon them as they entered the place; by which the army not only lost a considerable number of men, but was much dispirited by this unexpected repulse.

Immediately on the back of this discomfiture, the Soldan came in sight with his whole army; and seeing the Christians in this divided state, brother separated from brother, joyfully seized the opportunity he had long wished for, and inclosing them on all sides, that none might escape, attacked them with great fury. In this situation, the Earl of Artois sore repented of his headstrong rashness, when it was too late; and, seeing Earl William Longespee fighting bravely against the chief brunt of the enemy, he called out to him in a cowardly manner to flee, as God fought against them. But William

bravely

bravely answered, "God forbid that my father's son should flee from the face of a Saracen." Earl Robert turned out of the fight, and fled away, thinking to escape from death or captivity by the swiftness of his horse; and taking the river Thafnis [6], sank through the weight of his armour, and was drowned. On the flight of Earl Robert, the French troops lost heart, and began to give ground: But William Longespee, bearing up manfully against the whole force of the enemy, stood firm as long as he was able, slaying and wounding many of the Saracens. At length, his horse being killed, and his legs maimed, he fell to the ground; yet he continued to mangle their legs and feet, till at last he was slain with many wounds, being finally stoned to death by the Saracens.

After his death, the Saracens set upon the remainder of the army, which they had surrounded on every side, and destroyed them all, so that scarce a single man remained alive. Of the whole, only two templars, one hospitaller, and one common soldier escaped, to bring the melancholy tidings to the king of France. Thus by the imprudent and foolish rashness of Earl Robert, the French troops were utterly discomfited, and the valiant English knight overpowered and slain, to the grief of all the Christians, and the glory of the Saracens; and, as it afterwards fell out, to the entire ruin of the whole French army.

CHAP. XXI.

Discovery of Madeira [1].

Although the Era of modern discovery certainly commenced under the auspicious direction of Don Henry of Portugal, who first conceived and executed the sublime idea of extending the knowledge and commerce of the globe, by a judicious series of maritime expeditions expressly for the purpose

6 This is probably meant for that branch of the Nile which they had previously crossed on their way to Mansor.—E.

1 Astley, I. 11. and 566. Clarke, Progress of Maritime Discovery, I. 167. Although in our opinion a mere romance, we have inserted this story, because already admitted into other general collections.—E.

purpose of discovery; yet as Madeira is said to have been visited, and the Canaries were actually discovered and settled before that era, it appears necessary to give a previous account of these discoveries, before proceeding to the second part of this work.

Several authors have left accounts of the real or pretended original discovery of this island of Madeira, all of whom concur in asserting that it was first dicovered by an Englishman. Juan de Barros, the Livy of Portugal, mentions it briefly in the first decade of his Asia. The history of this discovery was written in Latin, by Doctor Manoel Clemente, and dedicated to Pope Clement V. Manoel Tome composed a Latin poem on the subject, which he intitled *Insulana*. Antonio Galvano mentions it in a treatise of discoveries, made chiefly by the Spaniards and Portuguese previously to the year 1550 [2]. Manoel de Faria y Sousa, the illustrious commentator of Camoens, cites Galvano in illustration of the fifth stanza in the fifth book of the immortal Lusiad, and likewise gives an account of this discovery in his Portuguese Asia. But the earliest and most complete relation of this discovery was composed by Francisco Alcaforado, who was esquire to Don Henry the *infant* or prince of Portugal, the first great promoter of maritime discoveries, and to whom he presented his work. No person was more capable of giving an exact account of that singular event than Alcaforado, as he was one of those who assisted in making the second discovery. His work was first published in Portuguese by Don Francisco Manoel, and was afterwards published in French at Paris in 1671 [3]. From this French edition the following account is extracted, because the original Portuguese has not come to our knowledge, neither can we say when that was printed; but as the anonymous French translator remarked, that "Don Francisco *keeps* the original MS. with great care," it may be concluded, that the Portuguese impression did not long precede the French translation. The French translator acknowledges that he has altered the style, which was extremely florid and poetical, and has expunged several useless

2 This work was printed in 1560, and was translated by Hakluyt: There is an abstract of it in Purchas his Pilgrims, II. 1671, and it will be found at the commencement of the second part of this Collection.—E.

3 In small duodecimo and large print, under the title of Relation Historique de la Decouverte de l'Isle de Madere; containing 185 pages, besides twelve pages of preface.—Clarke.

useless and tedious digressions, etymologies, reflections, and comparisons; but declares that he has strictly presented the truth and substance of the history, so as not to vary from it in the least, or to omit the smallest material circumstance.

It is remarkable that there is no mention whatever in any of the English histories of Machin, Macham, or Marcham, the supposed author of this discovery; so that Hakluyt was beholden to Antonio Galvano for the imperfect account he gives of that transaction [4]. By the following abstract the complete history becomes our own, and we shall be no longer strangers to an event which has for several ages rendered an Englishman famous in foreign countries, while wholly unknown in his own. It must not, however, be omitted to observe, that some objections may be stated against the authenticity of this history, on account of certain circumstances which do not quadrate with the time assigned for Machin's voyage by the author. From these it is obvious, either that the relation given by Alcaforado is not genuine, or that it has been interpolated. How far this objection may be admitted, without prejudice to the authority of the whole story, must be left to the judgment of our readers; we shall only add, that so far as relates to Macham it agrees with the tradition of the inhabitants of Madeira.

According to Alcaforada, Juan Gonsalvo Zarco, a gentleman of the household of Don Henry, being sent out by that prince upon an expedition of discovery to the coast of Africa, made prize, in the year 1420, of a Spanish vessel filled with redeemed captives, on their way from Morocco to Spain. In this vessel there was one John de Morales, an experienced and able pilot, whom he detained as an acceptable present to his master Don Henry, and set all the rest at liberty. Morales on being made acquainted with the cause of his detention, entered freely into the service of the prince, and gave an account to Gonsalvo of the adventures of Machin, and the situation and land-marks of the new discovered island, all of which he had learnt from certain English captives in the jails of Morocco, who had accompanied Macham, or Machin, in his expedition.

The year of this extraordinary adventure is not mentioned by Galvano, who only says, that in 1344, Pedro IV. reigning in Arragon, the chronicles of his age reported, that about this time the island of Madeira was discovered by one Macham,

4 Clarke, Progress of Maritime Discovery, I. 167.

cham, an Englishman. It must be confessed that an objection arises against this history which is not easily removed. We are told that, immediately after the death of Macham, his companions sailed over to Morocco, and that Morales was in prison when they arrived. Supposing the discovery by Macham to have been made about 1344, as related by Galvano, from the Castilian chronicles, Morales must have been no less than seventy-six years a prisoner when redeemed, and when he was detained by Gonsalvo in 1420. Herbert places the adventure of Macham in 1328, which would increase the captivity of Morales to ninety-two years. Alcaforado places the event in the reign of Edward III. of England, which began in 1327 and ended in 1378. Even supposing it to have happened in the last year of Edward, Morales must have remained forty-two years in captivity; which is not only highly improbable, but is even contrary to the sense of the historian, who supposes but a small space to have elapsed between the two events; besides, the records quoted by Galvano are said expressly to assert that Macham went himself into Africa, whence he was sent to the king of Castile. This last circumstance may have been invented by the Spaniards, to give them a better title to the island of Madeira: But the former objection remains in full force, and can only be obviated by supposing that either Morales advanced a falsehood in asserting, that he had the account of this discovery from the English themselves, instead of learning it from the other slaves, among whom the tradition might have been current for many years after the event; or Alcaforado may have mistaken the report of Morales in this particular. The following is the substance of the narrative, as given by Alcaforado.

In the glorious reign of Edward III. Robert a Machin, or Macham, a gentleman of the second degree of nobility, whose genius was only equalled by his gallantry and courage, beheld and loved the beautiful Anna d'Arfet[5]. Their attachment was mutual, but the pleasing indulgence of ardent hope gratified and betrayed the secret of their passion. The pride of the illustrious family of d'Arfet was insensible to the happiness of their daughter, and they preferred the indulgence of their own ambition to the voice of love. The feudal tyranny of the age

5 In a note, Mr Clarke says the name of this lady has been supposed by some writers to have been Dorset, corrupted by a foreign orthography into D'Orset, and thence into D'Arfet. It may have been D'Arcy.—E.

age was friendly to their cruelty, and a royal warrant seemed to justify the vanity of her parent. The consolation of an ingenious mind supported Machin under confinement, and enabled him to seek after redress without yielding to despondency. On his releasement from prison, he learned that the beloved cause of his persecution had been forced to marry a nobleman, whose name he could not discover, but who had carried her to his castle near Bristol. The friends of Machin made his misfortune their own, and one of them had the address to get introduced into the service of the afflicted Anna, under the character of a groom. The prospect of the ocean during their rides, suggested or matured the plan of escape, and the hope of a secure asylum counteracted the imagined dangers of a passage to the coast of France. Under pretence of deriving benefit from the sea air, the victim of parental ambition was enabled to elude suspicion, and embarked without delay, in a vessel procured for the purpose, along with her lover.

In the successful completion of this anxious design, Machin was alike insensible to the unfavourable season of the year, and to the portentous signs of an approaching storm, which in a calmer moment he would have duly observed. The gradual rising of a gale of wind, rendered the astonished fugitives sensible of their rashness; and, as the tempest continued to augment, the thick darkness of night completed the horrors of their situation. In their confusion, the intended port was missed, or could not be attained, and their vessel drove at the mercy of the winds and waves. In the morning they found themselves in the midst of an unknown ocean, without skill to determine their situation, and destitute of knowledge or experience to direct their course towards any known land. At length, after twelve anxious mornings had dawned without sight of land, with the earliest streaks of day an object dimly appeared to their eager watchfulness in the distant horizon, and when the grey haze, which had alternately filled them with hope and despondency, was dissipated by the rising sun, the certainty of having discovered land was welcomed by a general burst of joy. A great luxuriancy of trees of unknown species, was soon observed to overspread the land, whence unknown birds of beautiful plumage came off in flocks to the vessel, and gave the appearance of a pleasing dream to their unexpected deliverance.

The boat was hoisted out to examine the new found island,

and

and returned with a favourable account. Machin and his friends accompanied their trembling charge on shore, leaving the mariners to secure the vessel at an anchor. The wilderness and rich scenery of the adjacent country, possessed great charms to these thankful guests, just escaped from apparently inevitable destruction. An opening in the extensive woods, which was encircled with laurels and other flowering shrubs, presented a delightful retreat to the tempest-worn voyagers; a venerable tree, of ancient growth, offered its welcome shade on an adjoining eminence, and the first moments of liberty were employed in forming a romantic residence, with the abundant materials which nature supplied all around. The novelty of every object they beheld, induced curiosity to explore their new discovery, and they spent three days in wandering about the woods, when the survey was interrupted by an alarming hurricane, which came on during the night, and rendered them extremely anxious for the safety of their companions, who had been left in charge of the vessel. The ensuing morning destroyed all prospect of being ever enabled to get away from the island; the vessel had broke from her moorings by the violence of the storm, and was wrecked on the coast of Morocco, where all on board were immediately seized as slaves.

The afflicted Machin found this last calamity too severe for his terrified and afflicted companion to endure. Her susceptible mind and tender frame, overcome by the severity of the scenes she had gone through, and oppressed by consciousness of having deviated from her duty, sunk under her afflictive situation. From the moment it was reported that the vessel had disappeared, she became dumb with sorrow, and expired after a few days of silent despair. This heavy stroke was too much for the inconsolable lover to support; though watched over with the utmost solicitude by his afflicted friends, all attempts to administer consolation were entirely fruitless, and he expired on the fifth day after the death of his beloved mistress. With his parting breath, he earnestly enjoined his surviving companions, to deposit his body in the same grave, under the venerable tree, which they had so recently made for the victim of his temerity; and where the altar which had been raised to celebrate their deliverance, would now mark their untimely tomb.

Having performed this painful duty, the surviving companions

panions of these unfortunate lovers fixed a large wooden cross over the grave, on which they carved the inscription which Machin had composed to record their melancholy adventures; and added a request, that if any Christians should hereafter visit the spot, they might erect a church in the same place, and dedicate it to Christ. Having thus accomplished the dictates of friendship and humanity, the survivors fitted out the boat, which had remained ashore from their first landing, and put to sea with the intention of returning if possible to England; but either from want of skill, or owing to the currents and unfavourable winds, they likewise were driven on the coast of Morocco, and rejoined their former shipmates in slavery among the Moors.

This story is reported in a somewhat different manner by Galvano already mentioned. According to him, one Macham, an Englishman, fled from his country, about the year 1344, with a woman of whom he was enamoured, meaning to retire into Spain; but the vessel in which the lovers were embarked, was driven by a storm to the island of Madeira, then altogether unknown and uninhabited. The port in which Macham took shelter is still called Machico. His mistress being sea-sick, Macham landed with her and some of the people, and the ship putting to sea, deserted them. Oppressed with sickness and grief at seeing herself in this hopeless state of exile, the lady died; and Macham, who was extremely fond of her, constructed a chapel or hermitage dedicated to Jesus the Saviour, in which he deposited her remains, and engraved both their names, and the cause of their arrival, on a rude monument which he erected to her memory. He afterwards constructed a boat or canoe, which he hollowed out from the trunk of a large tree, in which he, and those of his companions who had been left on shore along with him, passed over to the opposite coast of Africa, without the aid of oars, sails, or rudder. He was made prisoner by the Moors, who presented him to their king, by whom he was sent to the king of Castile.

Madeira, in the Portuguese language, or Madera in Spanish, signifies *wood;* and this island derived its name from the immense quantity of thick and tall trees with which it was covered when first discovered. One of the two capitanias, or provinces, into which this island is divided, is named Machico, as is likewise the principal town of that district, supposed to have originated from the traditionary story of the misfortunes

of

of Macham; the other capitania, with its principal town, the capital of the island, is named Funchal, from *Funcho*, the Portuguese term for Fennel, which abounds on the adjoining rocks.

CHAP. XXI.

Account of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands [1].

THE island of Nivaria, and others mentioned by Pliny, as known to Juba king of Mauritania, were most probably Teneriffe and the other Canary Islands; for Pliny notices that the summit of Nivaria was generally covered with snow, which is frequently the case with the peak of Teneriffe, and from this circumstance the name of Nivaria is obviously derived. They appear likewise to have been known in the middle ages to the Arabs of Morocco; as the Nubian geographer mentions two islands, under the names of Mastahan and Lacos, as among the six fortunate islands described by Ptolemy; these probably were Lancerota and Fuertaventura, the latter of which may be seen in clear weather from the nearest coast of Africa. All knowledge, however, of these islands had ceased in Europe, till some time between the years 1326 and 1334, when a French ship happened to be driven among them by a storm. Upon this discovery, Don Luis de la Cerda, count of Claramonte, whose father, Don Alonzo, had been deprived of his right to the inheritance of the crown of Castile, procured a grant of these islands, with the title of king, from Pope Clement VI., on condition of causing the gospel to be preached to the natives [2]. Don Luis equipped a fleet from some of the ports of the Spanish kingdom of Arragon, in order to take possession of his new kingdom, but the design failed, and he died soon after.

In 1385, some Biscayners and inhabitants of Seville joined

1 Glas. Disc. and Conqu. passim.

2 The Author of the History of the Canaries, omits the date of this grant. Clement VI. was Pope from 1343 to 1352, between which years the papal grant must have been made.—E.

joined in the equipment of five ships at Cadiz, in order to make descents for the sake of plunder upon the Canary islands, and the adjacent coast of Africa. After coasting along the African shore, they sailed westwards, and fell in with the island now called Lancerota, where they landed; and after a skirmish with the natives, plundered the town, from which they carried off a large booty of goat-skins, tallow, and sheep, and 170 of the inhabitants, whom they sold into slavery. Among these were Guanareme, king of the island, and his wife Tingua-faya. A similar expedition in quest of plunder and captives was made to Lancerota from Seville in 1393.

In the year 1400, John de Betancour, a gentleman of Normandy, and Gadifer de Sala, a person of considerable fortune, fitted out three small vessels from Rochelle in France, containing 200 persons, exclusive of the mariners, and made a descent upon Lancerota, where they erected a fort at a harbour, to which they gave the name of Rubicon. Leaving there a small garrison, they passed over to the island of Fuertaventura; but being opposed by the natives, they prudently retired without fighting. Betancour afterwards applied to Don Henry III. king of Arragon, for assistance to enable him to make a conquest of these islands; who made him a grant of them in due form, with the title of king, and supplied him with money to defray the expence of an armament to accomplish their subjugation. He easily effected the conquest of Lancerota, and divided its lands among the French and Spanish adventurers who had assisted him in the expedition.

After the death of John de Betancour, his nephew, Mason de Betancour, sold the Canary Islands to Don Henry de Guzman, Count of Niebla; who afterwards conveyed them to Guillen Paraza, and from whom they fell by inheritance to Diego de Herrera, who died in 1485. In 1487, the sovereignty was resumed by the crown of Castile, with the title of a kingdom [3].

3 A more extended account of these islands will be found in Part III. of this work.—E.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II.

GENERAL VOYAGES AND TRAVELS, CHIEFLY OF DISCOVERY; FROM THE ERA OF DON HENRY, PRINCE OF PORTUGAL, IN 1412, TO THAT OF GEORGE III. IN 1760.

* * * * Book 1 - History of the Discoverie
of the Portuguese along the Coast o
Africa and of their discovery
and conquests of India from
1412 to 1505

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General Voyages and Travels, chiefly of Discovery; from the Era of Don Henry, Prince of Portugal, in 1412, *to that of George III. in* 1760.

CHAP. I.

Summary Deduction of the Discoveries of the World, from their first Original, to the year 1555, *by Antonio Galvano* [1].

INTRODUCTION.

THIS treatise was written in the Portuguese language, by Antonio Galvano, who had been governor of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca Islands, and was first translated into English by the celebrated Richard Hakluyt, who dedicated it to Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. It was afterwards inserted in Osbornes, or the Oxford Collection of Voyages and Travels, and forms an appendix to the first volume of Clarke's Progress of Maritime Discovery;

1 Oxford Collection, II. 358. Clarke, Progr. of Marit. Disc. I. App. 1.

Discovery; and from these sources the present edition has been carefully prepared. Of Richard Hakluyt, the original translator, the following notice is worthy of being preserved. "The *great* Richard Hakluyt was descended from an ancient family at Yetton in Herefordshire, and was educated at Westminster School, from whence he was elected a student of Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. Entering into holy orders, he was first made a prebendary of Bristol, and afterwards of Westminster, and rector of Witheringset in Suffolk. Besides this translation, he illustrated the eight decades of Peter Martyr Angelericus *de Novo Orbe* with curious notes. He also translated from the Portuguese, *Virginia*, richly valued by the description of Florida, her next neighbour; and wrote notes of certain commodities, in good request in the East Indies, Molucca, and China; but what has most deservedly perpetuated his name, is his great pains, and judgment, in collecting *English Voyages, Navigations, Trafficks, and Discoveries*[2]."

Both from the nature of this treatise on the origin and progress of maritime discovery, and from respect to the memory of Hakluyt, the father of our English collections of voyages and travels, it has been selected for insertion in this place, as an appropriate introduction to the *Second Part* of our arrangement; because its author may be considered as almost an original authority for the early discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Although it may be considered in some measure as not precisely conformable with our plan, yet one portion of this summary is directly in point; and, the whole being curious, and in no respect tedious, it is here given entire, changing the antiquated English of Hakluyt into modern language. Although said in its title to extend to the year 1555, the chronological series of Galvano properly ends in 1545; and the only subsequent incident, is a very slight notice of the voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, towards the White Sea, in 1553. In the original translation, and in the Oxford collection, this treatise is preceded by a dedication from Hakluyt to *Sir Robert Cecil*; and another dedication from the Portuguese editor, Francis de Sousa Tavares, to Don John, Duke of Aveira; both of which are here omitted, as having no directly

2 Oxford Collection, I. viii.

ly useful tendency, except so much of the latter as refers to the history of Galvano. Besides the present discourse, Galvano composed a history of the Molucca Islands, of which he had been governor, which work has unfortunately been lost, or at least is unknown in this country. He is likewise said to have published at Lisbon in 1555, an account of the different routes by which the merchandize of India had been conveyed into Europe at different periods.

Antonio Galvano, the author of the following Summary of the Discoveries of the World, was a Portuguese gentleman, who was several years governor of the Molucca Islands, and performed signal service to his country in that honourable station, by dissipating a formidable league, which had been entered into by the native princes of these islands, for the expulsion of the Portuguese; and, though possessing very inadequate resources for the protection of so important a commercial establishment, he confirmed and extended the dominion and influence of Portugal in these islands. When first appointed to the command in the Moluccas, Galvano carried with him a private fortune of 10,000 crusadoes, all of which he expended in the public service. Though he added a clear revenue to the crown of 500,000 crusadoes, in consequence of his successful, vigilant, and pure administration, he was so zealous in patronizing the propagation of the Christian religion among the islands belonging to his government, that, on his return to Lisbon in 1540, he was reduced to such extreme poverty, as to be under the necessity of taking refuge in the *hospital*, where he died in 1557.

Francis de Sousa Tavares, the original Portuguese editor of this treatise, in a dedication of the work to Don John Duke of Aveira, gives the following account of the work, and of its author:

"ANTONIO GALVANO, when on his death-bed, left me this book, along with his other papers, by his testament; and, as I am certain he designed that it should be presented to your highness, I have thought proper to fulfil his intentions in that respect. It was fitting that this treatise should be written by a native of Portugal, as it treats of the various ways in which the spiceries and other commodities of India were formerly brought to our part of the world, and gives an account of all the navigations and discoveries of the ancients and moderns, in both of which things the Portuguese have laboured above all other nations. In this treatise, and in nine or ten other books,

books, concerning India nd the Moluccas, this true Portuguese described the unfortunate and sorrowful times, before our day, in which he had been engaged. When he was appointed to the command of the islands and fortresses of the Moluccas, all the kings and chiefs of these islands had agreed to make war against our nation, and to drive them out of the country. Yet he fought against them all in Tidore, though he had only 130 Portuguese soldiers, against their whole united power, and gave them a signal overthrow, in which their king, and one Ternate, the principal author of the war, were both slain; besides which, he conquered their fortresses, and compelled them all to submit to the obedience and service of our sovereign. In this war, two great and wonderful events took place: the *first*, that all the chiefs and kings of these islands united against us, who used ever to be at variance among themselves; and *secondly*, that Galvano, with only the ordinary garrison, should obtain the victory against so great a combination. It has happened to other governors of the Moluccas, with an extraordinary number of European troops, and assisted by all the other native lords, to go to war with one king only, and to come back with loss; whereas he, with a small and inadequate force, successfully waged war against a confederacy of all the lords of these islands.

"Three brilliant exploits have been performed in India, beyond all others. The capture of Muar by Emanuel Falcon; the winning of Bitam by Peter Mascarenas; and this victory obtained by Galvano. Besides this great exploit, his father and four brothers were all slain in the kings service; and he, being the last of his lineage, carried with him about 10,000 crusadoes into the Moluccas, all of which he expended in propagating our holy faith, and in preserving these valuable islands, using all his power and influence to bring all the cloves into the kings coffers, by which he added 500,000 crusadoes yearly to the royal revenue. Had he gathered cloves on his own account, as other governors of the Moluccas have done, he might have come home very rich; but returning poor, and, in the simplicity of his nature, expecting to be rewarded for his honest services, he was entirely neglected, and had to take refuge in an hospital, where he remained seventeen years, till his death, when he was 2000 crusadoes in debt; partly for demands upon him from India, and partly borrowed from his friends to maintain him in the hospital.

hospital. After his death, the cardinal desired me to give his other writings to Damien de Goes, promising to content me for them, which otherwise I should not have done; yet hitherto I have not received any thing with which to execute his will. Yet, for all this, as in the prosperity of his victories he made no boast, so, in his adversity, he always preserved an unabated spirit. Your grace, therefore, may perceive, that this treatise, and his other works, were written under great afflictions; yet was he not willing to use the remedy of Zelim, the son of the great Turk Mahomet, who took Constantinople, and died in Rome, who used to make himself drunk, that he might forget the high estate from which he had fallen. Neither would he follow the councils of many of his friends, in withdrawing from the kingdom; saying, he had rather resemble Timocles the Athenian, than the Roman Coriolanus. For all which, this treatise ought to receive favour from your grace, allowing for any oversights of the author, if there be any such, as I am unfit to detect or correct them. God prosper your grace with long life, and increase of honour."

SECTION I.

Epitome of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries of the World, chiefly by means of Navigation, from the Flood to the close of the Fifteenth Century.

WHEN I first desired to compose an account of the ancient and modern discoveries by sea and land, with their true dates and situations, these two principal circumstances seemed involved in such difficulty and confusion, that I had almost desisted from the attempt. Even in regard to the date of the flood, the Hebrews reckon that event to have happened 1656 years after the creation: while the seventy interpreters make it 2242; and St Augustine extends the time to 2262 years [1]. In regard to geographical situations, likewise, there are many differences; for there never sailed ten or an hundred pilots in one fleet, but they made their reckonings in almost as many different longitudes. But considering that all these difficulties might be surmounted, by just comparison, and the exercise

[1] August. de Civit. Dic. l. 15. c. 20.

cise of judgment, I at length resolved to persist in my undertaking.

Some allege that the world was fully known in ancient times; for, as it was peopled and inhabited, it must have been navigable and frequented; and because the ancient people were of longer lives, and had all one law and one language, they could not fail to be acquainted with the whole world. Others again believe, that though the world might be once universally known by mankind, yet, by the wickedness of man, and the want of justice among nations, that knowledge has been lost. But as all the most important discoveries have been made by sea, and that chiefly in our own times, it were desirable to learn who were the first discoverers since the flood. Some allege the Greeks, others the Phenicians, while others say the Egyptians. The inhabitants of India, on the contrary, pretend that they were the first navigators; particularly the Tabencos, whom we now call Chinese; and allege in proof of this, that they were lords of all the Indies, even to Cape Bona Speranca, and the island of St Lawrence [2], which is inhabited by them; as likewise all the coasts of the Indian seas, also the Javas, Timores, Celebes, Macassar, the Moluccas, Borneo, Mindanao, Luçones, Lequeos, the Japans, and many other islands; also the countries of Cochin-China, Laos, Bramas [3], Pegu, Arracones [3], till you come quite to Bengala. Besides all these, New Spain, Peru, Brazil, the Antilles, and all the adjoining lands, are possessed by the same race, as appears by the fashions and manners both of the men and women, who have small eyes, flat noses, with other proportions resembling the Chinese. And to this day, many of these islands and countries are called by such names, as Bato-China, Bocho-China, and the like, indicating the countries of, or belonging to China.

It farther appears, that the ark of Noah rested upon the north part of the mountains of Armenia, in 40 degrees of latitude or upwards; and that Scythia, being a high land, and the first that appeared out of the universal deluge, was first peopled. And as the province or country of the Tabencos, or Chinese, is one of the chiefest of all Tartary, its inhabitants may be considered as the most ancient nation, and the oldest navigators. Their seas are calm; and, as lying between the tropics, their days and nights are nearly equal, and their

2 The Cape of Good Hope, and the island of Madagascar.—E.

3 Birmahs. 4 Arracan.

their seasons differ little in temperature; and as no outrageous winds swell their seas into storms, navigation among them is safe and easy. Their small barks called catamorans have only a large bough of a tree set up in the middle, serving as mast and sail; the master steers only with an oar, and the passengers sit on poles fastened to the bark.

It is said that the people of China were anciently lords of almost all Scythia, and were in use to sail along that coast, which reaches from east to west, in seventy degrees of north latitude. Cornelius Nepos says, that, in the time when Metellus, the colleague of Afranius, was proconsul of Gaul, the king of the Suevi sent to him certain Indians, who came to his country in a ship by the north and the flats of Germany [5]. These people probably came from China; as in that country, in the latitudes of 20, 30, and 40 degrees, they have strong and well-fastened ships, which can bear the seas and encounter the severity of the northern climate. Cambaia also has ships, and its inhabitants are said to have long used the seas; but it is not likely they should have gone to Gaul; for they only trade to Cairo, and are indeed a people of little trade and less clothing.

Those who escaped from the flood kept the hills, not daring for a long time to descend into the plains and low countries; and Nimrod, an hundred and thirty years afterwards, built the tower of Babel, intending it as a refuge in case of any future deluge [6]. Upon the whole, it seems probable that the inhabitants of China and the east were the first sailors; though others think the inhabitants of the west, particularly of Syria, were the first to use the sea [7]. This contest about the antiquity of navigation, I leave to the Scythians and Egyptians, who each challenge the honour to themselves. But leaving all contested points in this matter, I now apply to my proposed deduction, resting only upon what has been recorded in authentic histories. Ancient history says that Tubal, in the hundred and forty-third year after the flood, came by sea into Spain [8]; whence it appears that in these early times navigation was usual from Ethiopia to our parts of western Europe. It is also said, that Semiramis invaded the country on the river Indus, whence the Indians derive their name, and gave battle to king Stabrobates, in which he lost a thousand ships;

5 Pompon. Mela, l. 3. Plin. l. 2. c. 67.
6 Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1. c. 5.
7 Justin, l. 1.
8 Berosus.

ships [9]; by which it clearly appears there were then many ships in those parts, and that the seas were much frequented.

In the six hundred and fiftieth year after the flood, there was a king in Spain named Hesperus [10]; and Gonsalvo Fernandez de Oviedo, the chronicler of antiquities [11], affirms that he made discoveries by sea as far as Cape Verde and the Isle of St Thomas, of which he was prince, and that in his time the islands of the West Indies were discovered, and called the Hesperides, after his name. He alleges many reasons in proof of this assertion, and even says particularly, that these early navigators sailed in forty days from Cape Verde to these islands. Others say, that the islands of St Thomas and de Principe are the Hesperides, and not the Antilles; which is the more probable, as these ancient navigators only sailed along the coast, not daring to pass through the main ocean, having no compass, nor any means of taking altitudes for their guidance. It is not to be denied that many countries, islands, capes, isthmuses, and points, the names of which are found in histories, are now unknown; because, in course of ages, the force of the waters has wasted and consumed them, and has separated countries from each other formerly joined, both in Europe, Asia, Africa, New Spain, Peru, and other places.

In his dialogue called Timæus, Plato says there was anciently a great country and large islands in the Atlantic, named Atlantides, greater than Europe and Africa, and that the kings of these parts were lords of a great part of Spain; but that, by the force of great tempests, the sea had overflowed the country, leaving nothing but banks of mud and gravel, so that no ships could pass that way for long after. It is also recorded by Pliny [12], that close by the island of Cadiz, there was a well inhabited island called Aphrodisias, towards the Straits of Gibraltar, abounding in gardens and orchards; but we have now no knowledge of this island, except from the bare mention of it in ancient authors. The Isle of Cadiz is said to have been anciently so large as to join the continent of Spain. The Açores are held to have been a continuation of the mountains of Estrella, which join the sea coast beside the town of Cintra; and the Sierra Verde, or Green-mountains, which reach the coast, near the city of *Sasin*

9 Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 5.

10 Berosus.

11 Gons. Fern. l. 2. c. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 31.

12 Plin. l. 4. c. 22.

Sasin in the land of *Cucu*, or the island of Moudim in which Algarbe is situated, are supposed to have reached to Porto Santo and Madeira. For it is considered as an indubitable fact, that all islands derive their roots from the firm land or continent, however distant, as otherwise they could not stand firm. Other authors say, that from Spain to Ceuta in Barbary, people sometimes travelled on foot on dry land; that the islands of Corsica and Sardinia were once joined; that Sicily was united with Italy, and the Negropont with Greece[13]. We read also of the hulls of ships, iron anchors, and other remnants of shipping, having been found on the mountains of Susa, far inland, where there is now no appearance of the sea having ever been. Many writers affirm, that in India and Malabar, which now abounds in people, the sea once reached the foot of the mountains; and that Cape Comorin and the island of Ceylon were once united; also that Sumatra once joined with Malacca, by the shoals of Caypasia; and not far from thence there is a small island which, only a few years ago, was joined to the opposite coast. Ptolemy advances the point of Malacca three or four degrees to the south of the line; whereas its most southerly point, now called Jentana, is in one degree of north latitude, by which people pass daily the straits of Cincapura to the coasts of Siam and China; and the island of Aynan is said to have formerly joined the land of China; the southern extremity of which Ptolomey placed far to the south of the line, though it now only reaches to twentieth degree of north latitude.

It may even have been that Malacca and China, as Ptolemy sets forth, extended beyond the line to the south; as Malacca might join with the land called Jentana, and the islands of Bintam, Banca, and Salistres, and the land might be all slime and ouze; likewise China might be united with the Luçones, Borneo, Lequeuo, Mindanao, and others. Some are of opinion, that Sumatra joined with Java, across what is now the Straits of Sunda; and that Java also joined with the islands of Bali, Anjave, Cambava, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulva, Vintara, Rosalaguin, and others in that range, all of which are so near as to appear continuous, when seen from a small distance; and they still are so near together, that in passing through the channels which divide them, the boughs of the trees on each side may be touched by the hands. It is not long since several

13 Eratosth. ap. Strab. l. 1. p. 26.

several of the islands of Banda in the east were drowned by the sea overflowing them; and in China, about 180 miles of firm land are said to have become a lake. All these things are to be considered as coming within the limits of probability, especially when we take into account what has been related of similar events by Ptolemy and others, but which I here omit to return to my subject.

About 800 years after the deluge, the city of Troy was built by the Dardanians; and even before that time, spices, drugs, and many other kinds of merchandize, which were then more abundant than now, were brought from India to Europe, by the Red Sea. Hence, if credit can be given to these accounts, we may conclude, that the sea of old was much frequented, those of the east bringing their commodities to the haven of Arsinoe in the Arabian Gulf, now called Suez [14], in lat. 30° N. and at the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf; from whence the goods were carried by caravans, upon camels, asses, and mules, to Cassou, a city on the coast of the Levant sea, in lat. 32° N. Allowing seventeen leagues and a half to every degree of latitude, these two cities are said to have been 35 leagues, or 105 [15] miles distant from each other. On account of the heat, these caravans, or great companies of carriers, travelled only in the night, directing themselves by the stars, and by land-marks fixed in the ground for that purpose. But finding this journey attended with many inconveniencies, the course was twice altered in search of a more commodious route [16]. About nine hundred years after the flood, and previous to the destruction of Troy, Egypt was ruled by a king named Sesostris, who caused a canal to be cut from the Red Sea to that arm of the Nile which flows past the city of Heroum, that ships might pass and repass between India and Europe, to avoid the expence and trouble of carrying merchandize by land across the isthmus of Suez; and Sesostris had large caraks or ships built for this purpose [17]. This enterprize, however, did not completely succeed; for, if it had, Africa would have been converted into an island, as there are even now only twenty

14 Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

15 The miles here used are three to the league; but the league of the text is nearly equal to four English miles, and the assumed distance of these two ports 140 of our miles.—E.

16 Strab. l. 17. p. 560.

17 Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

twenty leagues or sixty miles of land between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

About this time the Grecians gathered a fleet and army, called the Argonautic expedition, under the command of Jason and Alceus [18]. Some say they sailed from Crete, and others from Greece; but they passed through the Propontis and the *sleeve* of St George into the Euxine, where some of the vessels perished, and Jason returned back to Greece. Alceus reported that he was driven by a tempest to the Palus Mæotis, where he was deserted by all his company; and those who escaped had to travel by land to the German ocean, where they procured shipping; and sailing past the coasts of Saxony, Friesland, Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Italy, returned to the Peloponnesus and Greece, after discovering a great portion of the coast of Europe.

Strabo, on the authority of Aristonicus the grammarian, says, that king Menelaus, after the destruction of Troy, sailed from the Grecian sea to the Atlantic, coasted along Africa and Guinea, doubled the Cape Bona Sperança, and arrived in India [19]; concerning which voyage many other particulars might be collected from the writings of the ancients. This Mediterranean Sea was sometimes called the Adriatic, the Ægean, and the Herculean Sea; and had other names, according to the lands, coasts, and islands, which it skirted, till, running through the Straits of Hercules, between Spain and Africa, it communicated with the great Atlantic Ocean. Thirteen hundred years after the flood, Solomon caused a navy to be constructed at Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, which sailed to Tharsis and Ophir, which some believe to have been islands in the East Indies. This fleet was three years on its voyage, and on its return brought gold, silver, cypress-wood, and other commodities [20]. The islands to which the navy of Solomon traded were probably those we now call the Luçones, the Lequeos, and China; for we know of few other places whence some of the things mentioned as forming their cargoes can be had, or where navigation has been so long practised.

Necho, one of the kings of Egypt, was desirous to have joined the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, and is said in history to have commanded some Phenicians to sail from the Red

18 Diod. Sic. l. 4. c. 4.
19 Strab. l. 1. p. 26.
20 Kings, I. 9. Chron. II. 8.

Red Sea by the Straits of Mecca, and to endeavour to return to Egypt by the Mediterranean [21]. This they accomplished, and sailed along the coast of Melinda, Quiloa, and Sofala, till they reached the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled; and, continuing their course to the north, they sailed along the coast of Guinea all the way to the Mediterranean, and returned to Egypt after two years absence, being the first who had circumnavigated Africa.

In the year 590 before the Incarnation, a fleet belonging to Carthaginian merchants sailed from Cadiz through the ocean, to the west, in search of land [22]. They proceeded so far that they came to the islands now called the Antilles, and to New Spain [23]. This is given on the authority of Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, in his General History, who says that these countries were then discovered; and that Christopher Columbus, by his voyages in after times, only acquired more exact knowledge of them, and hath left us a more precise notice of their situation, and of the way to them. But all those historians who formerly wrote concerning the Antilles, as of doubtful and uncertain existence, now plainly allow them to be the same with New Spain and the West Indies. In the year 520 before Christ, Cambyses, king of Persia, conquered Egypt, and was succeeded by Darius, the son of Hystaspes. This latter prince determined upon completing the projects of Sesostris and Necho, by digging a canal between the Red Sea and the Nile: But, being assured that the Red Sea was higher than the Nile, and that its salt water would overflow and ruin the whole land of Egypt, he abandoned his purpose, lest that fine province should be destroyed by famine and the want of fresh water [24]; for the fresh water of the Nile overflows the whole country, and the inhabitants have no other water to drink.

It may not be too great a digression from the subject, to say a few words concerning Egypt. The natives allege that they have in their country certain animals, of which one half of their bodies seem earth, and the other like rats, one species of which keeps continually in the water, while another species lives on the land. In my opinion, it is these animals which break the serpents eggs, of which there are many in the Nile, but which serpents are also called crocodiles. It is said

21 Herodot. l. 4. 22 Arist. de Mirand.
23 Gonz. Fern. Ovied. l. 2. c. 3.
24 Plin. l. 9. c. 58. de Maribus Nili.

said, that in ancient times these animals were inchanted, so that they could not do harm to any one: But since they have been freed from the power of inchantment, by the arts and learning of the Egyptians decaying, they have done much hurt, by killing people, wild beasts, and cattle, more especially those which live in the water and come often on land. Those that live continually on the land become strongly venomous [25]. The people beyond the city of Cairo used to catch these animals, and even to eat them, setting up their heads on the walls of the city. Concerning these crocodiles, it is related [26] that they often lie along the shores of the river with their mouths wide open; on which occasion, certain white birds, little larger than our thrushes, fly into the mouths of th cro-codiles, and pick out the filth from between his teeth, to the great delight of the crocodile; which, however, would surely close his mouth and devour the bird, had not nature provided the bird with a sharp sting, growing from the top of his head, which pricks the roof of the crocodiles mouth, and forces him to gape, so that the bird flies away unhurt. In this manner, by means of a succession of these birds, the crocodiles get their teeth cleansed. In this same river, there are many beasts resembling horses; and upon the land, there are certain birds like our cranes, which continually make war upon the serpents, which come thither out of Arabia: Which birds, and likewise the rats, which eat the eggs of the crocodiles, are held in great reverence and estimation by the Egyptians.

But now, to return to my subject of discoveries. In the year 485 before Christ, Xerxes, king of Persia, sent his nephew Sataspis to discover India; who sailed from the Mediterranean through the Straits of Hercules, and passed the promontory of Africa, which we now call the Cape of Good Hope; but, wearying of the length of the voyage, he returned back again, as Bartholomew Diaz did in our days [27]. In 443 A. C. Hamilco and Hanno, two Carthaginian commanders who governed that part of Spain now called Andalusia, sailed from thence with two squadrons. Hamilco, sailing towards the north, discovered the coasts of Spain, France, England, Flanders, and Germany; and some allege that he sailed to Gothland, and even to Thule or Iceland, standing under the Arctic

25 Joan. Leo Afric. l. 9. de Nilo.—Our author has got into a strange dilemma, by confounding crocodiles and serpents under one denomination.—E.

26 Plin. and Leo, ub. cit.

27 Plin. l. 2. c. 67.

Arctic circle, in 64 degrees north, and continued his voyage during two years, till he came to that northern island, where the day in June continues for twenty-two hours, and the nights in December are of a similar length; on account of which it is there wonderfully cold. His brother, Hanno, took his course to the south, along the coast of Africa and Guinea, and discovered the Fortunate Islands, now the Canaries, and the Orcades, Hesperides, and Gorgades, now called the Cape de Verde islands. Proceeding onwards, Hanno doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and went along the eastern coast of Africa to another cape, called Aromaticum, now called Gardafu, and thence to the coast of Arabia, and was five years employed in this voyage before his return to Spain [28]. Others allege, that Hanno proceeded no farther than Sierra Leona, which he colonized, and afterwards discovered as far as the equinoctial line; but it would rather appear, from the length of time he employed, that he must have accomplished the more extended navigation.

It is reported that the inhabitants of the country at the Cape of Good Hope are great witches, and by inchantment bring certain serpents so much under command, that they preserve their churches, churchyards, gardens, orchards, barns, and cattle, both from wild beasts and thieves. When these serpents see any person doing or intending to do harm, they wind themselves in such a manner around them as to make them prisoners, and then command their young ones to give notice to their masters, that they may come and secure the thieves. But if the thieves be numerous, or the wild beasts of too much strength, so that the serpents dare not encounter them, they go to their masters house, and if it happen to be in the night, they give many strokes with their tails, so as to awaken their masters, that they may provide for their defence [29].

A certain Italian, named Aloisius Cadamosta, relates, that when he was upon the discovery of Guinea, and resided in the house of Bisboral, the grandson of king Budomel, he heard one night, when in bed, a great noise and many blows given about the house, upon which Bisboral arose and went out; and, upon his return, Cadamosta demanded of him where

28 Plin. l. 6. c. 31. This subject will be discussed in the *Fifth* Part of our work; being much too extensive to admit of elucidation in a note.—E.

29 Hasty readers will have the justice to give the honour of this story to Galvano.—E.

where he had been, and he answered that he had been with his cobras or snakes, which called him [30]. In the Indies there are many snakes, and some of them very full of poison; yet the Indians carry them about their necks, and put them in their bosoms, and under their arms, without fear or injury; and at certain sounds, the snakes will dance, and do many other strange things at command.

I was informed by a certain Portuguese, who had been beyond the Cape of Good Hope, towards Sofala, Quiloa, and Melinda, that there were certain birds in that country, which would come to the negroes on a call, and as the negroes moved on through the woods, the birds would do the same from tree to tree, till at length they would alight on a tree whence they would not remove: And, on examining that tree, the negroes were sure to find wax and honey, but knew not whether it grew there naturally or not [31]. In the same country, they find much wax and honey in ant-holes, made by the ants, but somewhat bitter. In the seas of that coast, there are certain fish, known to the fishermen, which commonly swim upright in the water, having the faces and breasts of women [32].

In the year 355 before Christ, the Spaniards are said to have gone by sea to the flats of India, Arabia, and the adjoining coasts, to which they carried various merchandizes in great ships; and sailing to the north-west they came to certain flats which are covered by the tide, and left bare by the ebb, where they caught many *tunnies* of great size; which fishing turned out to their great profit, as they were very abundant and much esteemed [33].

Alexander, who flourished 324 years before Christ, travelled from Europe into Asia and Africa, passed through Armenia, Assyria, Persia, and Bactria; whence he descended by the mountains of Imaus and the vallies of Parapomissus, into India, and prepared a navy on the river Indus, with which he passed into the ocean. He there turned by the lands of Gedrosia, Caramania, and Persia, to the great city of

30 This story will be found hereafter very differently related by Cada Mosto himself, but with a sufficient spice of the marvellous.—E.

31 The Honey-guide, or Cuculus Indicator, will be noticed more particularly in the Travels through the Colony of the Cape.—E.

32 The Philosophers of the *nineteenth* century have *fortunately* rediscovered the *Mermaid* in the north of Scotland! Hitherto, wonderful things used to be confined to barbarous regions and ignorant ages.—E.

33 Arist. de Mirand. Strabo, l. 2. p. 68.

of Babylon, leaving the command of his fleet to Onesicratus and Nearchus, who sailed through the straits of the Persian Sea and up the river Euphrates, discovering the whole coast between the Indus and that river.

After the death of Alexander, Ptolemy became king of Egypt, who by some was reputed to have been the bastard son of Philip, the father of Alexander: He, imitating the before named kings, Sesostris and Darius, caused dig a canal from the branch of the Nile which passed by Pelusium, now by the city of Damieta [34]. This canal of Ptolemy was an hundred feet broad and thirty feet deep, and extended ten or twelve leagues in length, till it came to the *bitter wells*. He meant to have continued it to the Red Sea; but desisted on the idea that the Red Sea was three cubits higher than the land of Egypt, and would have overflowed all the country, to its entire ruin.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the year 277 before Christ, changed the direction of the Indian traffic. The goods from Europe, by his orders, were carried up the Nile from Alexandria to the city of Coptus, and conveyed across the desert from thence to the sea-port of Myos-Hormos on the Red-sea [35]. To avoid the excessive heat, the caravans travelled only in the night, directing their course by the stars; and water being very scarce in the desert, they had to carry a sufficient quantity with them for the journey. Afterwards, to avoid this trouble, deep wells were dug at certain intervals; and in other places large cisterns or reservoirs were constructed for the reception of rain water. Still later, in consideration of the dangers attending the port of Myos-Hormos, on account of flats and islands, Philadelphus sent an army into Troglodytica, where he constructed a haven called Berenice, in which the ships engaged in the Indian commerce took shelter, as a place of greater security. From thence the goods were transported to the city of Coptus, and afterwards to Alexandria, which became rich and famous, through its trade with India, beyond any other city in the world; insomuch that it is asserted that the customs of Alexandria yielded every year to Ptolemy Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, seven millions and a half of gold, though the traffic had then scarcely subsisted in that direction for twenty

34 Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

35 Strabo, l. 17. p. 560, 561.

twenty years [36]. After the reduction of Egypt and Alexandria under the power of the Romans, the customs are said to have advanced to double that amount; and the trade was so great, that 120 ships used to be sent yearly from Myos-Hormos to India. The ships set sail every year from Myos-Hormos about the middle of July, and returned back within the year [37]. The merchandize they carried amounted to the value of one million two hundred thousand crowns; and the returns were an hundred for one; and through this prodigious increase of wealth, the matrons and noble ladies of those days in Alexandria, were exceedingly profuse in decorating themselves with purple, pearls, and precious stones, and in the use of musk, amber, and other rich perfumes of various kinds; of all which the historians and other writers of that age treat at great length [38].

Pliny [39], on the authority of Cornelius Nepos, says that one Eudoxus, flying from Ptolemy Lathyrus, passed by sea through the gulf of Arabia, and sailing along the eastern coast of Africa, doubled the cape of Bona Sperança arrived by the Atlantic at Cadiz; and it would appear that this navigation was as often used in those days as it now is Caius Cæsar, the son of Augustus, going into Arabia, found in the Red Sea certain pieces of the ships which had gone thither from Spain.

Long after these days it was usual to pass to India by land. This was done by the kings of the Sogdians, the princes of Bactria, and other famous captains and many merchants, who travelled thither and into Scythia by land. Marcus Paulus Venetus writes largely of these countries; and though his book at first was reckoned fabulous, yet what he and others have reported is now found true, by the experience of travellers and merchants who have since been to the same parts.

It is reported that the Romans sent an army by sea to India against the great khan of Cathaia, 200 years before the Incarnation; which, passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and running to the north-west, found ten islands opposite to Cape Finisterre, producing large quantities of tin, which perhaps may have been those afterwards called the Cassiterides. Being come to 50 degrees of latitude, they found

36 Strab. l. 17. p. 549.
37 Plin. l. 6. c. 23.
38 Id. l. 12. c. 18.
39 Id. l. 2. c. 67.

found a strait passing to the west, through which they arrived in India, and gave battle to the king of Cathaia, after which they returned to Rome. Whether this story may appear possible or not, true or false, I can only say that I give it as I found it written in the histories of these times.

In the year 100 after the incarnation of Christ, the emperor Trajan fitted out a fleet on the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, whence he sailed to the islands of Zyzara; and passing the straits of Persia, entered into the ocean, by which he sailed along the coast to India, till he came to the place where Alexander had been. He there took some ships which came from Bengal, and learned the state of the country from the mariners. But being in years, and weary of the sea, and because he found it difficult to procure necessaries for his army, he returned back to Assyria [40].

After the Romans had subdued most part of the world, many notable discoveries were made. But then came the Goths, Moors, and other barbarous nations, who destroyed all. A. D. 412, the Goths took the city of Rome. Thereafter the Vandals went out of Spain, and conquered Africa. In 450, Attila destroyed many cities in Italy, at which time Venice began; and in this age the Franks and Vandals entered into France. In 474, the empire of Rome was lost, and fell from the Romans to the Goths. In 560, the Lombards came into Italy. About this time the sect of the Arians prevailed greatly, and Merlin the English prophet flourished. In 611, the Mahometan sect sprung up, and the Moresco government, which invaded both Africa and Spain. By this it may appear that all the world was in a state of war, and all places so very tumultuous, that traffic and merchandize ceased, no nation daring to trade with another by sea or land; nothing remaining stedfast, neither in kingdoms, signories, religions, laws, arts, sciences, or navigation. Even the records and writings of these things were burnt and destroyed by the barbarous power of the Goths, who proposed to themselves to begin a new world, and to root out the memory and knowledge of all other nations.

Those who succeeded in the government of Europe, perceiving the great losses of the Christian world by want of traffic and the stoppage of navigation, began to devise a way of passing into India, quite different from the route of the Nile

40 Ziphilin. in vit. Traj.

Nile and the Red Sea, and much longer and more costly [41]. The goods of India were brought up the river Indus as far as it was navigable. They were then carried by land in caravans through the country of Parapomissus into the province of Bactria, and shipped on the river Oxus, which falls into the Caspian, and thence across that sea to the haven of Citracan, or Astracan, on the river Rha, or Volga. Thence up that river, and to the city of Novogrod, in the province of Resan, which now belongs to the great duke of Muscovy, in lat. 54° N. The goods were carried thence overland to the province of Sarmatia and the river Tanais or Don, which is the division between Europe and Asia. Being there loaded in barks, they were carried down the stream of that river into the Paulus Mæotis to the city of Caffa, anciently called Theodosia, which then belonged to the Genoese, who came thither by sea in *galliasses*, or great ships, and distributed Indian commodities through Europe.

In the reign of Commodita, emperor of Armenia, a better course was provided for this traffic: The goods being transported by land from the Caspian, through the country of Hiberia, now Georgia, and thence by the Phasis into the Euxine, and to the city of Trebisond, they were thence shipped for the various parts of Europe [42]. It is recorded that Demetrius Nicanor determined, or actually began, to open a canal of above 120 miles in length between the Caspian and Euxine, for the greater convenience of the Indian trade. But he was slain by Ptolemy Ceraunos, and this famous enterprize fell to nothing [43].

All other ways being lost, by reason of the wars of the Turks, the spiceries of the Indian Islands, particularly of Java, Sumatra, and the city of Malacca, were carried up the river Ganges, in Bengal, to the city of Agra; thence they were carried by land to another city near the Indus, named Boghar, where they were discharged, because the city of Cabor, or Laor, the principal city of the Mogores, stands too far within the land. From thence they were carried to the great city of Samarcand in Bactria, in which the merchants of India, Persia, and Turkey met together with their several commodities, as cloth of gold, velvets, camblets, scarlet and woollen cloths, which were carried to Cathay and the great

41 Ramusio, V. f. 372. p. 2.
42 Strabo, l. 11.
43 Plin. l. 6. c. 11.

great kingdom of China; whence they brought back gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, silk, musk, rhubarb, and many other things of great value.

In after times these merchandizes, drugs, and spiceries, were carried in ships from India to the Straits of Ormus, and the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and were unladen at the city of Basora; from whence they were carried overland to Aleppo, Damascus, and Barutti; and there the Venetian galliasses, which transported pilgrims to the Holy Land, came and received the goods.

In the year 1153, in the time of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, it is said there came to the city of Lubeck, in Germany, a canoe like a long barge, with certain Indians, who were supposed to have come from the coast of Baccalaos[44], which is in the same latitude with Lubeck. The Germans greatly wondered to see such a boat and strange people, not knowing whence they came, nor being able to understand their language, especially as there was then no knowledge of their country. Although the boat was small in comparison with the seas it had to cross, it is yet possible that it might have been conveyed by the winds and waves; for in our days the *almadias* of the negroes, which are very small boats, venture to navigate from Quiloa, Mosambique, and Sofala, around the Cape of Good Hope, even to the island of St Helena, a very small spot in the ocean, at a great distance from land.

In the year 1300 after Christ, the great soldan of Cairo restored the trade of spiceries, drugs, and merchandize from India, by the Red Sea; at which time they unloaded the goods at the port of Judea[45], and carried them to Mecca; whence they were distributed by the Mahometan pilgrims[46], so that each prince endeavoured to increase the honour and profit of his own country. The soldans translated this trade to their own city of Cairo; whence the goods were carried to the countries of Egypt, Lybia, Africa, Tunis, Tremessen, Fez, Morocco, and Suz; and some of them were carried beyond the mountains of Atlas, to the city of Tombuto, and the kingdom of the Jalophos; till afterwards the Portugnese brought the Indian trade round the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon, as we propose to shew more at large in a convenient place.

A.D.

44 Newfoundland? 45 Jidda. 46 Leo Afric. Ramus. v. 1. f. 373.

A. D. 1344, Peter IV. reigned in Arragon, and the chronicles of his reign report that Don Lewis de Cerda, gransdon of Don John de Cerda, requested his aid to go and conquer the Canary Islands, which had been gifted to him by Pope Clement VI. a Frenchman. About this time, too, the island of Madeira is said to have been discovered by an Englishman named Macham; who, sailing from England into Spain with a lady whom he loved, was driven out of his course by a tempest, and arrived in a harbour of that island, now called Machico, after his name. The lady being oppressed with sea-sickness, Macham landed with her on the island, accompanied by some of his people; but in the mean time the ship weighed anchor and stood to sea, leaving them behind. On this the lady died of grief, and Macham, who was passionately fond of her, erected a chapel or hermitage on the island, which he named the chapel of Jesus, and there deposited her remains, engraving both their names and the cause of their coming to this place on a monumental stone. After this, he and his companions made a boat or canoe out of a large tree, and putting to sea without sails or oars, got over to the coast of Africa. The Moors among whom he arrived, considering their passage as miraculous, sent him to their king, who transmitted both him and his company to the king of Castile.

In 1395, while Henry III. reigned in Castile, in consequence of information given by Macham respecting this island, many persons of France and Castile were induced to attempt its discovery, and that of the Grand Canary. Those who went on this expedition were principally from Andalusia, Biscay, and Guipuscoa, who carried thither many men and horses; but I know not whether this was done at their own charge, or that of the king. But however that might be, these people seem to have been the first discoverers of the Canaries; where they took 150 of the islanders prisoners. There is some difference among authors respecting the time of this discovery, as some affirm that it did not take place till the year 1405.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Summary of Portuguese Discoveries, from the Commencement of the Fifteenth Century, to the Discovery of America by Columbus [1].

ACCORDING to the chronicles of Portugal, John I. went from Lisbon in 1415, attended by his sons Don Duarte, or Edward, Don Peter, and Don Henry, and other lords and nobles of his realm, into Africa, where he took the great city of Ceuta, which was one of the principal causes of extending the dominions of Portugal. After their return, Don Henry, the king's *third* [2] son, being then in Algarve, and desirous to enlarge the kingdom by the discovery of unknown regions, gave directions for discovering the coast of Mauritania; for in those days none of the Portuguese had ever gone beyond Cape Non, in lat. 29°. N. [3]. For the better accomplishment of this purpose, Don Henry prepared a fleet, and commanded the officers whom he employed to proceed in making discoveries to the south of that cape, which they did; but when they came to another cape, named Bajador, none of them dared for a long time to go beyond it, at which cowardice the prince was much displeased.

In 1417, in the reign of John II. of Castile, and while his mother the lady Catharine was regent of the kingdom, Ruben de Bracamonte, the admiral of France, craved a grant of the Canary Islands, and the title of king, for his kinsman John de Betancourt; which being conceded, he departed from Seville with an armament to attempt the conquest. The principal motive of this enterprize was to make a perfect discovery of Madeira, of which Macham had before given so much information; yet he went to the Canaries, where he carried a friar named Mendo as bishop, who had received that dignity from Pope Martin V. He reduced Lançerota, Fuerteventura, Gomera, and Ferro; whence he sent into Spain many slaves, and considerable quantities of honey, wax, camphire,

1 The only quotations used in this Section in the original translation by Hakluyt, are from the Asia of John de Barros, Decade 1. which it has not been deemed necessary to refer to here more particularly.—E.

2 It is singular that a Portuguese should not be more correct. Henry was the *fifth* son.—Clarke.

3 More accurately 28° 40′.—E.

phire, hides, orchill, figs, dragons-blood, and other merchandize, of which he made good profit. This armament is said to have likewise discovered Porto Santo. The island first occupied by Betancourt was Lançerota, where he built a castle of stone for the better defence of the new settlers.

In the year 1418, John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristram Vaz Teixera, gentlemen of the household to Don Henry, perceiving the great desire of their master to discover new countries, requested and obtained a bark to proceed to the coast of Africa; where they were overtaken by a violent tempest, and driven into a haven of the island now called Porto Santo, where they remained two years. In 1420, they discovered the island of Madeira, where they found the chapel, tomb, and stone on which Macham had engraved his name. Others write, that a Castilian had informed Don Henry of having made the discovery of Porto Santo; and that he sent Bartholomew Perestrello, John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristram Vaz Teixera, purposely in search of that island, according to the signs and directions indicated by the Castilian; and that these persons afterwards discovered Madeira in 1420, where they found the memorial and monument left by Macham the Englishman.

Betancourt, who begun the conquest of the Canaries, was slain in a war with the natives, leaving one Menante his heir; who afterwards sold the islands to one Peter Barba of Seville. But others say, that John de Betancourt went to France to procure reinforcements, to enable him to complete his conquests, and left the command of Lançerota with his nephew; who, hearing nothing of his uncle, and being unable to continue the contest with the natives, sold the Canaries to Don Henry, for an estate in the island of Madeira.

It is related that, in 1424, Don Henry sent a squadron with some land forces, under Don Ferdinando de Castro, on purpose to make a conquest of these islands; but, being repulsed by the bravery of the natives, de Castro prudently desisted from the enterprize and returned home; and that Don Henry afterwards resigned his claim to these islands in favour of the crown of Castile. The Castilian writers, however, assert that both Don Henry and the king of Portugal refused to give up these islands, until the dispute was ended by the judgment of Pope Eugenius IV. who awarded them to the king of Castile.

These islands, anciently called the Insulæ Fortunatæ, or Fortunate

Fortunate Islands, are seven in number, in lat. 28° N. where the longest day is thirteen hours, and the longest night the same. They are 200 leagues distant from the coast of Spain, and 18 leagues from the coast of Africa. The people were idolaters, and eat raw flesh for want of fire. They had no iron, but raised or tilled the ground with the horns of oxen and goats, for want of better implements of husbandry. Every island spoke a separate language, and many pagan customs prevailed among the natives; but now the Christian religion is planted among them. The commodities of these islands are wheat, barley, sugar, wine, and Canary-birds, which are much esteemed for the sweetness and variety of their song. In the island of Ferro they have no water but what proceeds in the night from a tree, encompassed by a cloud, whence water issues, and serves the whole inhabitants and cattle of the island [4].

In the year 1428, Don Pedro, the king's *eldest* [5] son, who was a great traveller, went into England, France, and Germany, and thence into the Holy Land and other places, and came home by Italy, through Rome and Venice. He is said to have brought a map of the world home with him, in which all parts of the earth were described, by which the enterprizes of Don Henry for discovery were much assisted. In this map the Straits of Magellan are called the *Dragons-tail*, and the Cape of Good Hope the *Front of Africa*, and so of the rest [6]. I was informed by Francis de Sosa Tavares, that in the year 1528, Don Fernando, the king's eldest son, shewed him a map which had been made 120 years before, and was found in the study of Alcobaza, which exhibited all the navigation of the East Indies, with the cape of Bona Sperança, as in our latter maps; by which it appears that there was as much discovered, or more, in ancient times as now [7].

Though attended with much trouble and expence, Don Henry

4 Opportunities will occur hereafter, in particular voyages, to discuss the circumstances of this wonderful tree.—E.

5 Galvano is again mistaken. Edward or Duarte was the *eldest* son; Pedro the *third*.—Clarke.

6 Dr Vincent, in his Periplus, considers this as a copy of the map of Marco Polo, which was exhibited in the church of St Michael de Murano, at Venice.—Clarke.

7 Even if this were fact, it proves nothing, as the Cape of Good Hope must have been inserted merely by the fancy of the draughtsman.—Clarke.——It may be added, that in 1528, it was no difficult matter to wrong date a forged map, on purpose to detract from the merit of the actual discoverers.—E.

Henry was unwearied in prosecuting his plan of discoveries. At length Gilianes, one of his servants, passed Cape Bojador, a place terrible to all former navigators, and brought word that it was by no means so dangerous as had been represented, he having landed on its farther side, where he set up a wooden cross in memorial of his discovery.

In the year 1433 died John king of Portugal, and was succeeded by his eldest son Duarte or Edward. In 1434, Don Henry sent Alphonso Gonzales Baldaja and Gillianes, who penetrated from Cape Bajador to another cape, where they found the country to be inhabited, and went forward to another point of land, whence they returned to Portugal. In 1438 king Duarte died, and his son Alphonso being young, the kingdom was governed during his minority by his uncle Don Pedro. In 1441, Don Henry sent out two ships under Tristan and Antonio Gonzales, who took a prize on the coast, and sailed to Cape Blanco, or the White Cape in lat. 20° N. [8]. From thence they brought home some Moors, from whom Don Henry learned the state of the country. Don Henry sent an account of these discoveries to Pope Martin, by one Fernan Lopez de Savado; and the Pope granted indulgences and everlasting pardon of sins to all who should die in attempting the discovery of the land of the infidels. In the year 1443, Don Henry commanded Antonio Gonzales to carry back the Moors to their own country, where they were ransomed for *black* Moors with curled hair, or negroes, and some gold; owing to which that place is now called Rio de Oro, or the Golden River, that thereby the desire of discovery might be the more increased. He sent soon afterward one named Nunnez Tristan, who discovered the islands of Arguin, who brought more slaves from thence to Portugal in 1444. One Lançarote, a groom of Don Henrys chamber, and three others, armed certain ships, with which they sailed along the coast to the islands of Garze, where they took 200 slaves, which were the first that were brought from thence to Portugal.

In 1445, Gonsalvo de Syntra, an esquire belonging to Don Henry, went captain of a bark into these parts; and landing on the coast, was taken by the natives, with six or seven of his people. The place where he was cut off got the name

8 More correctly in lat. 20° 54′ N. There is another Cape Blanco in Morocco in lat. 33° 10′ N. and this more southerly cape on the great desert is named *Branco* in our best charts.—E.

name of Angra de Gonsalvo de Syntra from him; and this was the first loss sustained by the Portuguese in their discoveries. In 1446, three caravels were sent out under Antonio Gonsales, Diego Aloizio, and Gomes Perez; who were ordered to refrain from going to Rio de Oro, to carry themselves peaceably to the natives, to traffic with them peaceably, and to endeavour to convert as many infidels as possible to Christianity; but in this they had no success. In the same year, Dennis Fernandes of Lisbon, an esquire to the king, entered upon these discoveries, more to acquire fame than for profit. In the course of his voyage he discovered the river *Sanaga* or Senegal, between 15 and 16 degrees of latitude [9]; and proceeding onwards, discovered Cape Verde, in 14 degrees [10], upon which he erected a wooden cross, and then returned, much elated at the success of his voyage. In 1447 Nunnez Tristan passed beyond Cape Verde to Rio Grande, and went beyond that river to another in twelve degrees [11]. He was here taken and slain, with eighteen other Portuguese, and the ship was brought home in safety by four or five of the crew who escaped the hands of the negroes.

In this year 1447, a Portuguese ship, in coming through the Straits of Gibraltar, was forced a great way to the westwards by a violent tempest, and came to an island having seven cities, the inhabitants of which spoke the Portuguese language, and they inquired of our mariners if the Moors still infested Spain, whence their ancestors had fled to avoid the distresses which occurred subsequent to the death of Don Roderigo, king of Spain. The boatswain of this ship brought home some of the sand from this island, and sold it to a goldsmith in Lisbon, who procured from it a good quantity of gold. Don Pedro, who then governed the realm, being made acquainted with this circumstance, caused the whole to be recorded in the house of justice [12]. Some think that this island belonged to what is now called the Antilles or New Spain; but though their reasons for this opinion are good, I

9 The mouth of the Senegal is in lat. 15° 45′ N.—E.

10 More correctly, 14° 45′ N.—E.

11 It is difficult to ascertain these two rivers: The Rio Grande here meant is properly named Gambia. The river in 12° N. may be the Casamansa, the Santa Anna, or the St Dominico: which last is exactly in 12° N. the two others a little farther north, and nearer the Gambia.—E.

12 This is one of the many palpable and clumsy fables which were advanced to defraud Columbus of the honour of having discovered the new world, and is even more ridiculous, if possible, than the voyages of Zeno, adverted to in our *First* Part.—E.

I omit them here, as not connected with my present purpose.

In the year 1449, King Alphonso granted license to his uncle, Don Henry, to colonize the Açores, which had been formerly discovered. In the year 1458, this king went into Africa, where he took the town of Alcaçer; and in the year 1461, he commanded Signior Mendez to build the castle of Arguin, in the island of that name, on the coast of Africa. In the year 1462, three Genoese gentlemen, of whom Antonio de Noli was the chief, the others being his brother and nephew, got permission from Don Henry to take possession of the Cape de Verde islands, which some believe to be those called Gorgades, Hesperides, and Dorcades, by the ancients. But they named them Mayo, Saint Jago, and Saint Philip, because discovered on the days of those saints. Some call them the islands of Antonio. In the year following, 1463, that excellent prince, Don Henry, died; having discovered, by his exertions, the whole coast of Africa, from Cape Non to the mountain of Sierra Liona, which is on this side of the line, in lat. 8° 30′ N. where no man had been before.

In 1469, the king of Portugal let out the trade of Guinea, afterwards called the Minas, to Fernan Gomez, for five years, at the yearly rent of 200,000 rees [13]; and under the express condition that he was every year to discover 100 leagues farther along the coast of Africa to the south. In 1470, this king went into Africa, accompanied by his son Prince John, where he took the town of Arzila; and the inhabitants of Tangier having fled from fear, he took possession of it also. In the year 1471, John de St Aren and John de Scovar, under the orders of Fernan Gomez, continued the discovery of the coast of Guinea as far as St George del Mina, in lat. 5° N. and 2° W. long.; the coast from Cape Verde to Cape Palmas trending S.E. after which it goes to the east, with even a small northerly inclination for about twelve degrees of longitude. In 1472, one Fernando da Poo discovered the island now called after his name, beyond Cape Formosa, in lat. 3° 40′ N. and about the same time the islands del Principe and St Thomas were discovered, the latter of which is situated under the equinoctial line. The firm land also was explored at the same time, all the way from the kingdom of Benin to Cape St Catherina, in lat. 1° 40′ S. This last dis-

13 Equal to L.138 : 17 : 9¼d, English money.—Halk.

covery was made by Sequetra, a person in the king's immediate service. Many suppose that then were these countries and islands discovered which had never been before known since the flood.

In the year 1480, the valiant King Don Alphonzo died, and was succeeded by his son Don John II. who, in 1481, gave orders to Diego d'Azambuxa to construct the castle of St George del Mina, on the African coast. In 1484, Diego Caon, a knight belonging to the court, discovered the coast as far as the river Congo, on the south side of the line, in seven or eight degrees of latitude [14], where he erected a stone pillar, with the royal arms and titles of Portugal, with the date of his discovery. He proceeded southwards from thence along the coast, all the way to a river near the tropic of Capricorn, setting up similar stone pillars in convenient places. He afterwards returned to Congo, the king of which country sent ambassadors by his ship into Portugal. In the next year, or the year following, John Alonzo d'Aveiro brought home from Benin pepper with a tail [15], being the first of the kind ever seen in Portugal.

In 1487, King John sent Pedro de Covillan and Alphonzo de Payva, both of whom could speak Arabic, to discover India by land. They left Lisbon in the month of May, and took shipping in the same year at Naples for the island of Rhodes, and lodged there in the hotel of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, belonging to Portugal. From thence they went to Alexandria and Cairo, and then along with a caravan of Moors to the haven of Toro. There they embarked on the Red Sea, and proceeded to Aden, where they separated; de Payva going into Ethiopia, while Covillan proceeded to India. Covillan went to the cities of Cananor and Calicut, and thence to Goa, where he took shipping for Sofala, on the eastern coast of Africa. He thence sailed to Mosambique, and the cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinda, returning back to Aden, where he and Payva had formerly separated. Thence he proceeded to Cairo, where he hoped to have rejoined his companion; but he here learnt by letter from

14 Only 6° 45′ S.—E.

15 Mr Clarke explains this as *long pepper;* but besides that this by no means answers the descriptive name in the text, long pepper certainly is the production of the East Indies. The article here indicated was probably one of the many species, or varieties of the Capsicum; called Guinea pepper, Cayenne pepper, Bird pepper, and various other names.—E.

from the king his master, that de Payva was dead, and he was farther enjoined by the king to travel into the country of Abyssinia [16]. He returned therefore, from Cairo to Toro, and thence to Aden; and hearing of the fame of Ormuz, he proceeded along the coast of Arabia by Cape Razalgate to Ormuz. Returning from the Gulf of Persia to the Red Sea, he passed over to the realm of the Abyssinians, which is commonly called the kingdom of Presbyter John, or Ethiopia, where he was detained till 1520, when the ambassador, Don Roderigo de Lima, arrived in that country. This Pedro de Covillan was the first of the Portuguese who had ever visited the Indies and the adjacent seas and islands.

In the year 1490, the king sent Gonzalo de Sosa to Congo with three ships, carrying back with him the ambassador of the king of Congo, who had been brought over to Portugal in 1484, by Diego Caon. During his residence in Portugal, this ambassador and others of his company had been instructed in the Christian religion, and baptized. Gonzalo de Sosa died during the outward-bound voyage; and Ruy de Sosa, his nephew, was chosen to the command of the expedition in his stead. Arriving in Congo, the king of that country received them with much joy, and soon yielded himself and the greater part of his subjects to be baptized; to the infinite satisfaction of the Portuguese, who by these means converted so many infidels from paganism to Christianity.

SECTION III.

Summary of Dicoveries made by the Spaniards and Portuguese, from the Era of Columbus, in 1492, *to the year* 1555.

IN the year 1492, when Don Ferdinand king of Castile [1] was

16 In the original this is called the country of Prester or Presbyter John. We have formerly, in the *First* Part of this work, had occasion to notice the strange idea of a Christian prince and priest, who was supposed to have ruled among the pagan nations of eastern Tartary. Driven from this false notion, by a more thorough knowledge of Asia, the European nations fondly transferred the title of Prester John to the half Christian prince or Negus of the semi-barbarous Abyssinians.—E.

1 Ferdinand was hereditary king of Arragon; but, by marrying Isabella, queen of Castile, had united the several monarchies of Spain under one government. Ferdinand had no share whatever in the honour of sending out Columbus,

was engaged in the siege of Granada, he sent *one* Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, with three ships, for the discovery of Nova Spagna. This Columbus had first offered his service for a western discovery to John king of Portugal, who refused to employ him. Being sufficiently furnished for his enterprize, Columbus set out from the town of Palos on the third of August 1492, having with him, as captains and pilots, Martin Alfonzo Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother [2], with an hundred and twenty other persons in the three ships. Some persons affirm, that this was the first voyage which was ever conducted by the observation of latitudes [3]. They took the Canaries in their way, whence shaping their course for Cipango, or towards Japan, they were much amazed to find the sea all full of weeds, and with great fear arrived at the Antilles on the tenth day of October; the first island they descried, called Guanahany by the natives, they named San Salvador. This island is in 25° N. latitude. After that they found many islands, which they called the Princes. The savages of those parts call these islands by the name of Lucaios, having indeed several names for them, and they stand on the north side of the line, almost under the tropic of Cancer. The island of St James, or Jamaica, lies between the 16th and 17th degrees of northern latitude [4]. Thence they went to the island which the natives call Cuba, named Ferdinando by the Spaniards, after the king, which is in 22 degrees; from whence they were conducted by the Indians to another island called Hayti, named Isabella by the Spaniards, in honour of the queen of Castile, and afterwards Hispaniola, or Little Spain.

In

Columbus, the sole charge being defrayed by his consort, Isabella, hereditary queen of Castile and Leon; and who had even to borrow money for the purpose. The contemptuous notice of *one* Christopher Columbus, must be pardoned to the patriotic rivalry of a Portuguese.—E.

2 Galvano is here inaccurate: It will be seen in the sequel, that Bartholomew Columbus did not accompany his brother in this voyage, being then in England.—E.

3 It is certainly possible that Columbus may have used that mode in his course to the Canaries: But as his run across the Atlantic was nearly on a parallel, he must have kept that part of his voyage by what is called dead reckoning, or by the log.—E.

4 The middle of Guanahana is in lat. 24° 30′ N. The centre of Jamaica in 18° 10′ N. The latitudes of Galvano are generally inaccurate; and he never pretends to assign any longitudes whatever. The series, likewise, in which he arranges the discoveries of Columbus is very inaccurate.—E.

In that island the admirals ship was wrecked, and Columbus caused a fort to be constructed of her timbers and planks, in which he left Roderigo de Arana with a garrison of thirty-eight men, to learn the language and customs of the country. Columbus then returned to Spain, carrying with him samples of gold and pearls, and other productions of the country, with ten Indians, six of whom died on the voyage; the rest were brought to Spain and baptized. On their way home, Columbus touched at the Açores; and on the fourth of March 1493, entered the port of Lisbon. This discovery gave much discontent to the king of Portugal. Immediately on his arrival, Columbus went into Castile, where he informed the king of his discoveries and of the dissatisfaction of the king of Portugal. On this he and his queen Isabella sent word of the recent discovery to Pope Alexander VI. at which information he and all the Italians were much astonished, as they marvelled that there should be any land besides what had been known to the Romans. Alexander made a grant of all these countries to the crowns of Castile and Leon, under condition that they should labour to extirpate idolatry, and establish the holy faith of Christ among the natives.

On the report of this discovery, so universal a desire of travelling arose among the Spaniards, that they were ready as it were to leap into the sea, that they might swim if possible to the newly discovered islands. After receiving the authority of the Pope, King Ferdinando sent Columbus a second time to the newly-discovered country, of which he made him admiral, giving him many other honours, and a particular coat of arms, having this motto,

For Castile and for Leon,
A new world discovered Colon *.

Columbus set out on his second voyage to the Antilles on the 25th October 1493, taking his course from Cadiz, with seventeen ships and fifteen hundred men, accompanied by his brothers Bartholomew and Diego Columbus, with many other knights, gentlemen of the law, and priests; having chalices, crosses, and other rich religious ornaments, and with great power and dignity from the Pope. The tenth day after commencing their voyage, they reached the Canaries; and from thence, in twenty-five or thirty days, they sailed to the Antilles, the first island they saw being in 14° N. due west from Cape de Verd in Africa. They called this island

* Gomara, l. 1. c. 15.

island Deseada [5], or the *desired island*, which is said to be 800 leagues from the Canaries. They afterwards discovered many more islands, which they called the Virgins, but which are named the Caribbee islands by the natives, from a nation of that name, who are bold warriors, and excellent marksmen with bows and arrows. They poison their arrows with the juice of a certain herb, and whoever is wounded with these is sure to die, biting himself like a mad dog. From thence they went to the principal island in these parts, named Boriquen by the natives, and St John by the Spaniards; and thence to Hispaniola, or Isabella, where they found all the men dead whom they had left on returning from the former voyage. Columbus left most of his people here to establish a colony, under the command of his brothers; and went with two ships to continue his discovery of Cuba and Jamaica. All these islands are between 16 and 20 degrees of northern latitude [6]. While the admiral was sailing in quest of discoveries, his brethren and those who were left in Hispaniola, were much incommoded by an insurrection among the savages; and Columbus went back to Spain, to give an account of his proceedings to the king and queen.

In January 1494, a congress of ambassadors from Spain and Portugal was held at Tordesillas, for the settlement of all disputes between the two countries respecting the new discoveries. The plenipotentiaries from Spain were Don Henry Henriques, Don John de Cardenas, and the Doctor Maldonado; those from Portugal, Ruy de Sosa, his son Don John, and the Doctor Ayres de Almada. After some conference, these plenipotentiaries divided the world between the two crowns, by a meridian line drawn from north to south, 300 leagues to the west of the islands of Cape Verd, all to the east of this line being appropriated to Portugal, and all to the west to Spain; leaving, however, the liberty of navigation equally to both [7]. In 1495, John II. king of Portugal, died, and was succeeded by his cousin Emanuel.

In

5 Cape de Verd is in 14° 30′ N. Deseada in 16° 30′ N. a difference of two degrees of latitude. Dominica, in 15° 30′ is the first land said to have been discovered by Columbus in his *second* voyage, in the authentic original narrative by his son, which will be found in the sequel.—E.

6 Counting from Dominica to the north side of Cuba, between 15° 30′ and 23° 15′.—E.

7 The negociators of the two crowns, as here related, seem to have been ignorant that this loose division of the globe gave the whole reciprocally to each of the parties.—E.

In the year 1496, a Venetian named John Cabota, or Gabota, went to England; and having acquired a knowledge of the new discoveries, and perceiving by the globe that the islands of the Antilles were almost in the same latitude with his own country, and lay much nearer to England than Spain and Portugal, he acquainted Henry VII. with this circumstance, and offered his services to make discoveries for the crown of England. Henry was much pleased with the proposal, and furnished him with two ships and three hundred men, with which he set sail in the spring of that year, and sailed west till he came in sight of land, in lat. 45° N. Whence he sailed northwards till he came into the latitude of 60 degrees, where the day is 18 hours long, and the night is very clear and bright. He there found the air very cold, with great islands of ice, and found no bottom with a line of 100 fathoms. From thence, finding the land turn eastwards, he coasted along it, discovering all the bay and river named Deseado [8], to see if it passed on to the other side of the land. Cabot afterwards sailed down the coast to the lat. of 38° N. though some people allege that he reached Cape Florida, in 25° N.

In the year 1497, Columbus was again sent out on discovery, with six ships furnished by the crown of Spain, and two others fitted out at his own expence. Sending his brother before, he sailed from Cadiz, taking his son Don Diego along with him. It was then reported, that he meant to take the island of Madeira, because he distrusted the Frenchmen, and therefore sent three ships thither; others say, that his object was for the Canaries. However this may be, he went with four ships to the Cape de Verd islands, whence he ran along a parallel, finding great rains and calms, and the first land he came to in the Antilles was an island in nine degrees of north latitude, called Trinidada [9], which lies close to the main land. Here he entered the Gulf of Paria, and came out by the Bocca de Dragone, or Dragons-mouth. Holding his course westwards along the coast of Paria, he came to the islands called Los Testigos, or the Witnesses, beyond which is the island

8 The apparent object seems to have been in search of a passage to the East Indies by way of the north-west, a chimera long and anxiously sought after. It is needless to make any observations on these indistinct notices, as the voyage of Cabot will be afterwards given at full length.—E.

9 The centre of Trinidada is in 10° 30' N. its S.W. point in 10° 12', and the N. E. cape in 10° 45' N.—E.

island of Cubagua, where there is a great fishing for pearl-muscles, and where also there is a well of rock oil. Beyond that he came to the Frailes islands, named Roques, Aruba, and Curaçoa, and other small islands, along the coast of the main land, and to the point of land named Cabo de Vela, having discovered 200 leagues of coast. He thence crossed over the Caribbean Sea, directly north for Hispaniola, passing by the island Beata.

In this same year [10] 1497, on the 20th day of June [11], King Emanuel sent a squadron of three ships for India, commanded by one Vasques de Gama, having under his command his brother Paulus de Gama and Nicolas Coello, as captains of the other two ships, the whole having a complement of 120 men. They were accompanied by a fourth ship laden with provisions. In fourteen days they reached the island of St Jago, one of the Cape Verds, whence they went along the coast beyond the Cape of Good Hope, erecting pillars of stone in proper places, as marks of discovery and possession, and came to Mosambique in lat. 15° S. After staying only a short time there, de Gama went to Mombaza and Melinda, the king of which last place gave him pilots, who conducted him to India, in which passage he discovered Los Baxos do Padua, or the Flats of Padua. In the month of May 1498, de Gama came to anchor before the city of Calicut, *and Panama* [12], where they remained till the first day of September, when they sailed towards the north, discovering all the coast till they came to the island of Angediva, on the western side of India, in 15° N. where they came to an anchor in the beginning of October. They remained here till February 1499, when they departed on their voyage homewards; coming first to Melinda, and so by Mosambique and along the coast to the Cape of Good Hope, and by the islands of Cape de Verd, and lastly to the city of Lisbon, in September of that year, having been absent on their voyage for twenty-six months.

On the 13th of November 1499, Vincent Yannez Pinzon, who had sailed with Columbus in his first voyage of discovery, and his nephew Aries Pinzon, departed from the port of Palos with four well appointed ships, fitted out at their own cost,

10 De Barros, Dec. 1. l. 4. c. 2. and to the end of ch. 11.—Hakl.

11 Osorius says this voyage commenced on the 9th of July.—Clarke.

12 This Panama seems a blunder of some ignorant copyist, for Panarame.—E.

cost, having a license from the king of Spain to prosecute discoveries in the new world, but with express orders not to touch anywhere that had been visited by Columbus. Going first to the islands of Cape de Verd, they passed the line and stood over towards the new world, which they fell in with at Cape St Augustine, in lat. 8° 30′ S. where they carved on the barks of trees the date of their arrival, and the names of the king and queen of Spain. They had several skirmishes with the inhabitants of Brazil, but got no advantage. Following the coast westwards [13], they entered the river named Maria Tambal, by which time they had made above thirty prisoners. The chief places where they touched were Cape St Augustine, Cape St Luke, Tierra de los Humos; the rivers of Marannon and of the Amazons, and the Rio Dolce, or Sweet river [14], and other places along the coast. At last, being come to 10° N. they lost two of their ships with their crews, and returned home, after having employed ten months and fifteen days in their voyage.

In March 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral sailed from Lisbon with thirteen ships for India, being ordered not to go near the coast of Africa, that he might shorten the voyage. Losing sight of one of his ships, he deviated from his course in hopes to rejoin it, and sailed till he unexpectedly fell in with the coast of Brazil, where he sent a bark in search of a safe harbour, which they found in 17° S. and called it Puerto Seguro. From thence they made sail for the Cape of Good Hope and Melinda, whence they crossed over to the river of Cochin, which was not before known. Here they loaded with pepper; and on their return Sancho de Thovar discovered the city of Sofala, on the eastern coast of Africa.

It is reported, that in the year 1500, one Gaspar Cortereal got a general license from King Emanuel to make discoveries in the new world. He fitted out two stout ships at his own cost, from the island of Tercera, and sailed to that part of the new world which is in 50° N. which has been since known by his name, and came home in safety to Lisbon. In a second voyage, his own immediate vessel was lost, and the other

13 The coast here is nearly N. and S. and their course must have been to the north.—E.

14 The Marannon and Amazons are the same river. Perhaps by the Rio Dolce the Orinoco may be meant; but in these slight notices of discovery it is impossible at times to ascertain the real positions, through the alterations of names.—E.

other came home. Upon this, his brother Michael Cortereal went to seek him with three ships, fitted out at his own charges; and finding many creeks and rivers on the coast, the ships divided for the more effectual search, agreeing that they should all meet again at an appointed time and place. The other two ships did so; but after waiting a reasonable time for Michael Cortereal, it was concluded that he was also lost, on which the other two ships returned to Lisbon, and no news was ever afterwards heard of the two brothers; but the country where they were lost is still called the land of Cortereal [15].

In March 1501, John de Nova sailed from Lisbon with four ships for India. In his outward-bound voyage he discovered an island in the Atlantic, in lat. 8° S. to which he gave the name of Ascension [16]. On his return from India, he fell in with another island in the Atlantic in 17° S. called St Helena, which, though very small, is yet of great importance from its situation. In the month of May of the same year 1501, three ships were sent from Lisbon by King Emanuel, to make a discovery of the coast of Brazil, which had been accidentally fallen in with by Cabral: Passing by the Canaries, they stopped for refreshments at the town of Bezequiche in the Cape Verds; and passing southwards from thence beyond the line, they fell in with Brazil in five degrees of south latitude, at Cape St Roquo, and sailed along the coast southwards, till they reckoned themselves to have reached 32° S. Finding the weather cold and tempestuous, they turned back in the month of April 1502, and got to Lisbon in September of that year, having been out fifteen months on their voyage.

In the same year 1502, Alfonso Hojeda went to discover the Terra Firma, and followed its coast till he came to the province of Uraba [17]. In 1503, Roderigo Bastidas of Seville went with two caravels at his own cost, to the Antilles, where he first came to the Isla Verde, or the Green island, close by Guadaloupe; whence he sailed westwards to Santa Martha and Cape de la Vela, and to the Rio Grande or Great river. He afterwards discovered the haven of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagena, the islands of S. Bernard de Baru, the Islas de Arenas,

15 From the latitude indicated by Galvano, the land of Cortereal may have been somewhere on the eastern side of Newfoundland.—E.

16 Barros, Dec. 1. l. 5. c. 10.

17 Gomara, l. 2.

nas, Isla Fuerta, and the Point of Caribana, at the end of the Gulf of Uraba, where he had sight of the Farrallones, close by the river of Darien. From Cape de la Vela to this last place, which is in lat. 9° 40′ N. is 200 leagues. From thence he stood over to Jamaica for refreshments. In Hispaniola he had to lay his ships on the ground to repair their bottoms, because a certain species of worms had eaten many holes in the planks. In this voyage Bastidas procured *four hundred marks* [18] of gold; though the people were very warlike, and used poisoned arrows.

In the same year 1502, Columbus entered upon his fourth voyage of discovery, with four ships, taking with him his son Don Ferdinando. The particular object of this voyage, by command of King Ferdinand, was to look out for the strait which was supposed to penetrate across the continent of the new world, and by which a route to India by the west was expected to be discovered. He sailed by Hispaniola and Jamaica to the river Azua, Cape Higueras, the Gamares islands, and to Cape Honduras, which signifies the Cape of the Depths. From thence he sailed eastwards to Cape Garcias a Dios, and discovered the province and river of Veragua, the Rio Grande, and others, which the Indians call Hienra. Thence to the river of Crocodiles, now called Rio de Chagres, which rises near the South Sea, within four leagues of Panama, and runs into the Caribbean Sea. He went next to the Isle of Bastimentos, or of Provisions, and after that to Porto Bello; thence to Nombre de Dios and Rio Francisco, and the harbour of Retreat. Then to the Gulf of Cabesa Cattiva, the islands of Caperosa and Cape Marmora; having discovered two hundred leagues along the coast. He thence returned to the island of Cuba, and from that to Jamaica, where he laid his ships aground, on account of their bottoms being much eaten by the worms.

On the tenth of February 1502, Don Vasques de Gama, now admiral, sailed from Lisbon for India, with nineteen or twenty caravels. On the last day of February he reached Cape de Verd, whence he went to Mosambique, and was the first who crossed over from thence to India. In this passage he discovered the islands of Amirante, in four degrees of south latitude. Having taken in a cargo of pepper and drugs, de

18 About 3200 ounces, worth about L. 16,000 sterling; equal in modern efficacy, perhaps, to L.100,000.—E.

de Gama returned to Lisbon, leaving Vincent Sodre to keep the coast of India, with four stout ships. These were the first of the Portuguese who navigated the coast of Arabia Felix, which is so barren, that the inhabitants are forced to support their camels and other cattle on dried fish. The sea on that coast is so abundant in fish, that the cats are in use to take them. One Antonio de Saldania is reported to have discovered Socotora, formerly named Coradis, and the Cape of Guardafu in 1503.

In 1504, Roderigo de Bastidas, formerly mentioned, with the aid of John de Ledesma, and others of Seville, fitted out two ships, and taking John de Cosa as his pilot, went on discovery to the Terra Firma of America, where Carthagena now stands. He is said to have here met with Lewis de la Guerra, and they in conjunction landed in the island of Codego, where they made prisoners of 600 savages. Going a little farther along the coast, they entered the Gulf of Uraba, where they found sand mingled with gold, being the first of that kind which was brought to Spain. From thence they sailed for St Domingo, loaded with slaves, but almost famished for want of victuals, as the natives refused to traffic with them for any. In the end of this year Isabella, queen of Castile, died. While she lived, no subject of Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, or any other of the provinces, depending on her husband King Ferdinand, was allowed to sail to any of the newly-discovered countries; but only her own subjects of Castile and Biscay, by whom all these lands were discovered; excepting only such of her husbands subjects as might be in a servile capacity to her own, or a few that could procure special licenses.

In 1505, on the twenty-fifth of March, Francisco de Almeida, the viceroy of India, sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of twenty-two sail. On his way to India, he stopped at Quiloa, where he built a fort, appointing Peter Fereira to command it. From beyond Melinda he passed over to the island of Anguediva, of which he appointed Emanuel Passavia to be captain. He built a fort also at Cananor, of which he gave the command to Laurence de Brito; and one at Cochin, which was given in charge to Alphonso de Noronha. This year likewise, Peter de Anahay built a fort at Sofala, of which he was made captain. In the latter end of this year the viceroy commanded his son Laurenço to go to the islands of Maldivia. Beating up against contrary winds, he arrived at these islands

islands which in ancient times were called Traganæ [19], but Ytterubenero by the Moors, and by us Ceilan. Here he went on shore, and entered into treaty with the people, and returned to Cochin. In the middle of this island there is a high rock, having the print of a mans foot, said to have been that of Adam when he ascended to heaven, which the Indians hold in great reverence.

In 1506, after the death of Isabella, King Philip and Queen Joan came to take possession of the crown of Castile, and King Ferdinand retired into his own dominions of Arragon. In that same year Philip died, and Ferdinand resumed the government, giving license to all Spaniards to go to the new discovered countries; but not allowing the Portuguese to go there. In this year, likewise, Christopher Columbus died, in the month of May, and was succeeded in his dignities by his son Don Diego.

In March 1506, Tristan de Acunha and Alphonso de Albuquerque went to India with fourteen ships, and refreshed by the way at Bezequiche, in the Cape de Verd islands. Before reaching the Cape of Good Hope they discovered certain islands, in 37° S. which are now called the islands of Tristan de Acunha. During this voyage, the fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and Alvaro Teliz ran so far that he came to Sumatra, whence he returned to Cape Guardafu, having discovered many islands, seas, and countries, not known before that time to the Portuguese. At the same time, Emanuel Telez de Meneses was driven on the outside of the great island of St Lawrence, or Madagascar, and having surveyed its coasts, came to Mosambique, where he met with Tristan de Acunha, who was the first captain that wintered there. Meneses, having reported that there was plenty of ginger, cloves, and silver in Madagascar, was sent back there, and traversed a considerable part of the island; but not finding any thing of value, returned to Mosambique, whence he went to Melinda, and Brava, and thence to Socotora, where he built a fort, of which he appointed one Antonio de Noronha to be captain. In 1507, Tristan de Acunha returned to Europe, and Alphonso de Albuquerque remained in India with five or six ships, to keep the command of the sea. In the course of that year or the next, Albuquerque

19 Probably an error for Taprobana, the name by which Ceylon was known to the ancients.—E.

Albuquerque stood over to discover the coast of Arabia, which he explored, and doubled the Cape of Rosalgate, which is under the tropic of Cancer.

In 1509, Diego Lopez de Sequiera went from Lisbon for India with four ships; and stopping at the island of Madagascar was almost a year on his voyage. Arriving at Cochin in the month of May, the viceroy gave him another ship, in which he went to Malacca in September, passing between the islands of Nicubar and many others. He went also to Sumatra; to the cities of Pedir and Pacem; and all along that coast to the island of Puloreira, and the flats of Capacia; thence he stood over to the city of Malacca, in lat. 2° N. where the people took and slew some of his men. After this he returned to Cochin, having discovered five hundred leagues in this voyage. The island of Sumatra is the first land in which we knew of mens flesh being eaten, by certain people in the mountains called Bacas, who gild their teeth. In their opinion the flesh of the blacks is sweeter than that of the whites. The flesh of the oxen, kine, and hens in that country is as black as ink. A people is said to dwell in that country, called *Daraqui-Dara*, having tails like sheep [20]. There are likewise springs of rock oil or bitumen. In the kingdom of Pedir, likewise, there is said to be a river of oil; which is not to be wondered at, as we are assured there is also a well of oil in Bactria. It is farther said that there is a tree in that country, the juice of which is a strong poison if it touch a mans blood; but if drank, it is a sovereign antidote against poison. They have here also certain gold coins, called drachms, brought, as they say, into their country by the Romans [21], which seems to have some resemblance to truth, because beyond that country there are no gold coins.

In 1508, Alphonso de Hojeda went with the license of King Ferdinand, but at his own charges, to conquer the province of Darien, in the Terra Firma of the new world. Landing in the country of Uraba, he called it Castilia del Oro, or Golden Castile, because of the gold found in the sand along its coast. He went first from the city of San Domingo, in Hispaniola,

20 The Cakerlaka of other writers, which can only be large monkeys or baboons, called men with tails, through ignorance or imposture.--E.

21 Rumi still continues the eastern name of the Turkish empire, as the successor of the Roman emperors, in Assyria and Egypt. Hence these Roman gold coins may have come in the way of trade from Assyria or Egypt, or may possibly have been Venetian sequins.—E.

paniola, with four ships and three hundred soldiers, leaving behind him the bachelor Anciso, who afterwards compiled a book of these discoveries. He was followed by a fourth ship with provisions and ammunition, and a reinforcement of 150 Spaniards. Hojeda landed at Carthagena, where the natives took, slew, and devoured seventy of his men, by which his force was much weakened. Some time after, but in the same year, Diego de Niquesa fitted out seven ships in the port of Beata, intending to go to Veragua with 800 men; but coming to Carthegana, where he found Hojeda much weakened by his losses, they joined their forces, and avenged themselves of the natives. In this voyage Niquesa discovered the coast called Nombre de Dios, and went into the sound of Darien, on the river Pito, which he named Puerto de Misas. Coming to Veragua, Hojeda went on shore with his soldiers, and built there the town of Caribana, as a defence against the Caribbees; being the first town built by the Spaniards on the continent of the new world. He also built another at Nombre de Dios, and called it Nuestra Seniora de la Antigua. A town was built at Uraba, in which Francis Pisarro was left with the command, who was there much annoyed by the natives. They likewise built other towns, the names of which I omit. In this enterprize the Spaniards did not meet with the success they expected.

In 1509, Don Diego Columbus, the second admiral of New Spain, went to the island of Hispaniola with his wife and household; and she, being a noble woman, carried with her many ladies of good families, who were there married; by which means the Spaniards began to multiply in their new colony, and Hispaniola became famous and much frequented. Columbus likewise reduced Cuba into order, and took measures for its colonization, where he placed one Diego Velasques as his lieutenant, who had accompanied his father in his second voyage of discovery.

In April 1511, Alphonso de Albuquerque went to Malacca from Cochin; and finding certain Chinese about to return from Malacca into their own country, he sent a Portuguese along with them, named Duarte Fernandes, with letters for the king of the Mantias, now called Siam. They passed through the Straits of Cincapura, and sailed northwards along the coast of Patane to the city of Cuy, and thence to Odia, the chief city of the kingdom, in 14° N. [22]. The king

22 The author must here mean Cochin China by the coast of Patane.—E.

king of this country received Duarte with great honour, as he was the first Portuguese who had been in these parts, and sent back ambassadors along with him to Albuquerque. They travelled overland to the westwards, till they came to Tanacerim, on the Bay of Bengal, in 12° N. where they embarked in two ships and sailed to Malacca. The inhabitants of Siam, through which they travelled, eat of all kinds of beasts, and even of what we repute to be vermin. The people of this country are reputed the most virtuous and honest of any in those parts of the world, and pride themselves much on their poverty and chastity; yet have a strange practice of carrying round bells within their foreskins, which is not permitted to the king and priests. They do not rear any poultry or pigeons about their houses. The kingdom is 250 leagues in length and 80 in breadth [23].

Elephants are so numerous in this country, that on going to war, the king is said to carry 30,000 into the field, besides others which are left in the several garrisons. This king has great pride in the possession of a white elephant, having red eyes, which glare like a flame of fire. In this country there is a certain species of small vermin, which attaches itself to the trunks of the elephants, to suck their blood, by which many elephants die. The skull of this insect [24] is so hard as to be impenetrable to a musket shot. They have on their livers the figures of men and women, which the natives call Toketa, resembling a mandrake; and it is affirmed, that whoever has one of these about him cannot be killed by an iron weapon. They have also wild kine in this country, in the heads of which certain stones are found, which have the virtue to bring good fortune to merchants.

After the return of Duarte Fernandes from Siam, Albuquerque sent a knight named Ruy Nunnez de Acunha, as ambassador to the king of the Sequies, the country we now call Pegu. He went in a junk of the country, passing Cape Rachado, and thence to the city of Pera, on the river Salano, on which river are many other villages, where Duarte had been before; and he afterwards went by Tanaçerim to the city of Martavan, in 15° N. and the city of Pegu in 17° N. This was the first Portuguese who travelled in that kingdom, and

23 About 1000 by 320 English miles.—E.

24 This story of the skull of a small insect is quite unintelligible, and must have been misunderstood entirely by Hakluyt, the translator: It is the Elephant, probably, that is here meant.—E.

and who brought back a good account of the country and people.

In the end of 1511, Albuquerque sent three ships to the islands of Banda and Molucca, under command of Antonio de Breu and Francis Serrano, with an hundred and twenty men. Passing through the Straits of Saban, and along the island of Sumatra, and other islands on their left, named the Salites, they came to the islands of Palimbang and Lu-Suparam, whence they sailed by the noble island of Java, and eastwards between it and the island of Madura. In this last island the men are strong and warlike, and care little for their lives, even their women going out to war. These people are almost continually engaged in war and mutual slaughter, like the Mocos, and seem to place their only delight in bloodshed. Beyond Java they came to another island called Bali, and afterwards to Avajave, Sambaba, Solor, Galao, Malva, Vitara, Rosalanguin, and Arus; whence are brought beautiful birds, in much estimation on account of their feathers [25]. Beyond these islands they came to numbers of others, lying in 7 or 8 degrees of south latitude, all so close together as to appear like one entire mainland, and stretching near 500 leagues in length. The ancient cosmographers describe all these islands by one general name, the *Javos*; but more recent knowledge has found that they have all separate names. Beyond these, and more to the north, there are other islands, which are inhabited by a whiter people, clothed in shirts, doublets, and trowsers, something like the Portuguese dress, and who also have silver money. Their magistrates carry red staves in their hands, as badges of command, and seem to have some affinity in this respect with the people of China. There are other islands in these parts, of which the inhabitants are red; and it is reported they are the same people with the Chinese.

De Breu went northwards to the small island of Gumnape or Ternate, from the highest part of which flakes or streams like fire fall continually into the sea. He went thence to the islands of Burro and Amboyna, and came to anchor in the haven of Guliguli, where, in a village near a river, they found dead men hanging up in the houses, as the people are cannibals. Here they burnt the ship of Serrano, as she was old and

25 Probably the bird of Paradise.—Clarke.

and rotten; and going to a place on the other side of the island, in 8° S. they loaded cloves, nutmegs, and mace, in a junk or barque, which Serrano bought. It is said, that in an island not far from Banda, there are immense quantities of snakes, especially in a cave in the centre of the island. The same is said of Formentera, in the Mediterranean, anciently Ophiusa, between Majorca and Minorca. On their return from Banda towards Malacca, in 1512, Francis Serrano perished with his junk on the flats called Baxos de Luçapinho, nine or ten of the Portuguese crew escaping to the island of Mindanao, who were sent for by the kings of the Moluccas. These were the first of the Portuguese who came to the Islands of Cloves, which are in lat. 1° N. and they remained there seven or eight years. Some Portuguese and princes of the Moors once endeavoured to go near that part of the isle of Ternate which throws out fire, but could not accomplish it. But Antonio Galvano accomplished this enterprize, and found a spring so cold that he could not bear his hand in the water, nor suffer any of it in his mouth, though almost directly under the line.

In these Molucca islands, there are certain men who have spurs on their ancles like cocks; and I was told by the king of Tidore, that in the islands of Batochina, there are people with tails, who have a lactiferous nipple on the scrotum. There are small hens also in these parts, many of which are black in the flesh, and lay their eggs, larger than those of ducks, in holes above nine feet under ground. They have likewise hogs with horns, and excellent talking parrots, which they call *Noris*. There is also a river so very hot that it takes off the skin of any living creature that bathes in its waters, and yet contains living fish. Their crabs are very sweet to eat, yet their claws are so strong that they will break the iron of a pickax; and there are small hairy crabs in the sea which are rank poison, as whoever eats of them immediately dies. In these seas are certain oysters, called *Bras*, having shells of so great size, that they might serve as fonts for baptizing children. In these seas there are certain living stones, which grow and increase like plants, of which excellent lime may be made by burning in the usual manner, when taken fresh from the sea; but, if allowed to remain long in the air, it loses all its strength, and will not afterwards burn into lime. There is a tree which bears flowers only at sun-set, which fall off immediately when blown. There is likewise a certain fruit, where-

 of

of if a woman who has conceived shall eat, the child by and by moves. There is, farther, a certain herb which followeth the sun, and removes after it, which is a strange and marvellous thing.

In 1512, while on the voyage from Malacca to Goa, the ship in which Albuquerque embarked was lost. Simon de Andrada and a few Portuguese were driven among the Maldivia islands, where they remained till they learnt the fate of the viceroy. These islands are low, small, and very numerous, and are full of palm trees, or *Cocoas*, which are good against all kinds of poison.

In this year 1512, John de Solis, a native of Lisbon, and chief pilot to King Ferdinand, went from Spain by license to discover the coast of Brazil. Following the course of the Pinsons, he went to Cape St Augustine, and thence sailed along the whole coast to the harbour of De Lagoa; and in lat. 35° S. he discovered a river called Parana-guaçu, or the Great River, and from signs of silver he gave it the name of Rio de la Plata, or the River of Silver. It is even said that he went farther at this time; and returning into Spain, gave an account of his discovery to King Ferdinand, from whom he demanded and obtained leave to colonize the country, and received the appointment of governor. On this he provided three ships, and returned to that country in 1515, but was slain by the natives. The family of de Solis produced several great discoveries in these parts [26].

In the same year 1512, John Ponce de Leon, who had been governor of the island of St John in the Antilles, armed two ships, with which he went in search of the island of Boyuca, where it was reported there was a spring which made old men young again; but after searching for six months he could not find it. In 25° N. he discovered a point of the continent upon Easter-day, which he called the country of Florida; and because he expected the land would yield gold and silver, he begged it from King Ferdinand, but died in the discovery of the country, as many had done before.

In the year 1513, Vasco Nunnes de Valboa, or Balboa, hearing of the *South Seas*, determined to go thither; and being a man of courage, though strongly dissuaded by several of his company, he marched on the enterprize with 290 men. Leaving Darien on the first of September, and taking

26 P. Martyr, Dec. 3. c. 10.

taking some Indians along with him as guides, he marched directly across the isthmus, sometimes without opposition, and having at other times to fight his way. In a certain place called Careca, he found some negroes with curled hair, who were captives among the Indians. At length, on the 25th of the same month of September, being the festival of St Michael, he came in sight of the South Sea: He there embarked in a canoe, much against the will of *Chiapes*, the caçique of that part of the coast, who endeavoured to persuade him that the navigation was very dangerous; but he persisted in his design, that he might be the first who had navigated this new discovered sea, and came back in safety. He returned thence to Darien, bringing with him a good store of gold, silver, and pearls, which he had taken during the march; and for this good service, he was much honoured and favoured by King Ferdinand.

In February 1513, Alphonsus de Albuquerque went from Goa towards the Straits of Mecca with twenty ships, and arriving at the city of Aden, battered it with his cannon, and passing the Straits entered the Red Sea, and wintered at the island of Camaran. This was the *first* Portuguese captain who gave an account of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, which are of great importance in regard to trade.

In May 1514, Pedro Arias de Avila was sent out from St Lucar, as governor of Castilia del Oro, or the Golden Castile, for so the Spaniards named the countries of Darien, Carthagena, and Uraba. He carried with him fifteen hundred men and seven ships; and Vasco Nunnes de Balboa, who discovered the South Seas, was sent out at the same time as admirial of the coasts of that newly discovered sea. In the beginning of the year 1515, de Avila sent Gaspar Morales with 150 men to the Gulf of St Michael, to discover the islands of Tararequi [27], Chiapes, and Tumaccus. A caçique, the friend of Balboa, gave him many canoes, or boats made of one tree, with which they passed to the Isle of Pearls, where they were at first resisted; but Chiapes and Tumaccus pacified the caçique of that island, who submitted himself, and received baptism, taking the name of the governor, Pedro Arias, and presented Morales with a basket of pearls weighing 110 pounds, some of which were as large as hazel nuts, weighing 20, 25, 26, and even 31 carats, each of four grains; and one of these pearls was sold for 1200 ducats. In March 1515, de Avila sent

27 The island of Tararequi is in lat. 5° N.

sent Gonsalva de Badajos, with 80 soldiers, to discover new lands, who went to Nombre de Dios, where he was joined by Lewis de Mercado with a reinforcemeut of 50 men. They resolved to proceed to the south, as the richest country; and taking some Indians as guides, they found some slaves along the coast marked with the irons used by the Portuguese. They marched a considerable way through the country with much difficulty, but made a considerable booty in gold, and took forty serviceable slaves. But a caçique, named Pariza, attacked them and slew or took most of the party. After this the governor sent out his son, John Arias de Avila, to be revenged and to explore the country. This party went westwards to Cape de Guerra, in little more than 6° N. and thence to Punta de Borica, and to Cape Blanco, in 8° 30' N. having, as they affirm, discovered 250 leagues; and besides this they founded the city of Panama.

In the month of May 1515, Alphonsus de Albuquerque, the Portuguese viceroy of India, sent Fernando Gomes de Limos from Ormus, as ambassador to the Xec or Shah Ismael, king of Persia; and it is said they travelled 300 leagues through a country as pleasant as France. This Xec, or Shah Ismael, went much a-hunting, and was fond of trout fishing, which are abundant in the rivers of his kingdom. The women of Persia are the most beautiful in the world; insomuch that Alexander the Great used to call them the *golden-eyed women*. In this year died the viceroy Alphonsus de Albuquerque, who was succeeded by Lopez Suares.

In 1516, Fernando Perez de Andrada was commanded by the king of Portugal to pass to the great kingdom of China and likewise to Bengala, with a dispatch to John Coelo, who was the first Portuguese who drank of the waters of the Ganges. In April 1517, Andrada took in a loading of pepper at Cochin, as the principal merchandize for sale in China, for which country he sailed with eight ships, four Portuguese and four Malayans. On his arrival in China, finding he could not be allowed to land without an embassy, he dispatched Thomas Perez, with instructions for that purpose, from the city of Canton, where they came to anchor. The embassy travelled 400 leagues by land to the city of Pekin, where the king resided; for China is the largest kingdom in the world. From Sailana in the south, which is in 20° N. it reaches to the latitude almost of 50° N. which must be 500 leagues

leagues in length, and it is said to be 300 leagues in breadth [28]. Fernando Perez was fourteen months in the isle of Veniaga, endeavouring to acquire as much knowledge as he could of the country; and although one Raphael Perestrello had formerly been there, in a junk belonging to some merchants of Malacca, yet Perez certainly deserves the merit of this discovery; as well because he acted by the command of the king his master, as in discovering so much by land by means of Thomas Perez, and by sea through George Mascarenhas, who sailed to the city of Foquiam, in 24° N.

In the year 1517, in which Charles, afterwards emperor, came into Spain, Francis Fernandes de Cordova, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa, armed three ships from Cuba, at their own expence, having also with them a barque belonging to the governor Diego Velasques, with which they came to land in Jucutan, in 20° N. at a place which they called Punta de las Duennas, which was the first place in which temples and houses of stone and lime had been seen in the new world. The people here, who were better clothed than in any other place, had crosses which they worshipped, and set upon the tombs of their dead; whence it appeared as if they had formerly been in the faith of Christ; and some suppose that this had been the situation of the *seven cities*. In this expedition they were upon the north coast of Jucutan, being the first discovery of New Spain, or Mexico; and they returned thence to Cuba with some samples of gold, and some prisoners.

In the year 1518 [29], Lopez Suares commanded Don John de Silveira to go and make peace with the Maldive islands, which he did accordingly. From thence Silveira went to the city of Chatigam, or Chittigong, on one of the mouths of the Ganges, under the tropic of Cancer; for it is to be noted, that this river, and the Indus, which lies 100 leagues beyond Diu, and the river of Canton in China, all fall into the sea under one parallel of latitude. Although, before this period, Fernando Perez had

28 These leagues are elsewhere explained as 17½ to the degree, or about 4 English miles: Hence the estimate of Galvano is 2000 miles long by 1200 miles broad; certainly a very extensive dominion. China Proper may be said to extend in length from lat. 21° to 41° N. and in breadth from long. 97° to 121° E. not very inferior to the above estimate; but including the immeasurable bounds of its dependencies, Chinese Tartary, Thibet, and almost the whole of central Asia, it prodigiously exceeds the magnitude here assigned by Galvano.—E.

29 Castagnada, l. 4, c. 36. 37. Osorius, l. 11. f. 315. p. 2.

had been commanded to sail to Bengal, yet Silveira must be looked upon as the actual discoverer of that country; for he went as captain-general, and remained there long, making himself acquainted with the manners of the people, and the commodities of the country.

In the same year 1518 [30], Diego Velasquez, governor of the island of Cuba, dispatched his nephew, John de Grisalva, on the first of May, with four ships and two hundred soldiers, to discover Jucutan. On the 3d of May, he fell in with the island of Cozumel, in 19° north latitude, which he named Santa Cruz, because discovered on the 3d of May, being the anniversary of the holy cross. Grisalva coasted along the land, on the west side of the bay of Honduras, and came to an island, which he named Ascension, because discovered on Ascension day. They went unto the end of that island, in 16° of latitude, whence they came back, finding no passage [31], and proceeded to a river in lat. 17° N. which they called the river of Grisalva. They were boldly opposed by the people on this coast; yet they brought thence some gold, silver, and feathers, and returned to Cuba. In the same year, Francis Garay fitted out three ships from Jamaica at his own expence, and went to Cape Florida, in lat. 25° N. which seemed a most pleasant island; and thinking it better to people islands than the firm land, because more easily conquered and kept under subjection, he went on land; but the inhabitants of Florida killed a great many of his people, and he was forced to re-embark and go away. Sailing from thence he came to the river of Panuco, 500 leagues from Cape Florida, sailing all the way along the coast, and endeavouring to land in various places, but the natives repulsed him in every place. Many of his people were killed and eaten by the savages in Chila, the natives hanging up their skins in the temples of their gods, as a memorial of their own valour. Yet Garay visited this place next year, as he had seen some indications of gold and silver, and even applied to the emperor to be appointed governor of the coast he had discovered.

In

30 Pet. Mart. IV. iv. Gomar. II. xiv. and xvii.

31 The text is obscure, and seems to indicate that they were unable to pass between the island of Ascension and the main of Yucutan. The latitudes are extremely erroneous: Cozumel is in lat. 20° N. The island of Ambergris, perhaps the Ascension of the text, is in 18° 30'. From errors in latitude and alterations of nomenclature, it is often impossible to follow distinctly the routes of these early voyagers.—E.

In February 1519 [32], Fernando Cortez sailed from Cuba for the country now called New Spain, with eleven ships and 550 Spaniards. He landed first in the island of Cozumel, where he immediately destroyed all the idols, and planted crosses and images of the Virgin on all the altars. From thence he went to the Cabo de las Duennas, on the peninsula of Yucatan, and thence to the river of Tabasco, where he attacked a city called Potoncion. This place was surrounded with wood; the houses were built of stone and lime, and roofed with tiles, and the people resisted the assailants manfully; but St James appeared on horseback to the assistance of the Spaniards, and they took the place. This, as the first town subdued by them on the continent, they named Vittoria. From thence they went to a place named St Juan de Vilhua, said to be 60 or 70 leagues from Mexico, where one Tendilli was governor for King Muteçuma. Though the Spaniards and he could not understand each other, yet Tendilli gave them good entertainment. Cortes had twenty women along with his expedition, one of whom, named Marine, was born in the country of the Indians, and was the first native of New Spain who received baptism. She and Anguilar served as interpreters between Cortes and the natives. Tendilli sent immediate intelligence to Muteçuma, that there had arrived in his country a bearded people, for so they called the Castilians. On the reception of this news, Moteçuma was greatly troubled, for his gods, or devils rather, had revealed that a people of the description of these Spaniards was to overthrow his law and dominion, and to become lords of the country; wherefore Muteçuma sent gifts to the value of twenty thousand ducats to Cortes, but refused any interview.

As the ships could not ride in safety at St Juan de Vilhua, Cortes sent Francis de Montejo, and the pilot Antonio Alaminos, in two brigantines, to look out for a safe anchorage. They went to Panuco, in lat. 23° N. whence they came back to Culvacan as a safer harbour. But Cortes went by land westwards to a city named Zempoallan, where he was well received. From thence he went to Chiavitztlan, with the lord of which town, and of all the surrounding country, he entered into a league against Muteçuma. On the arrival of his ships at the appointed haven, he went there and built a town, which he named *Villa rica de la Vera Cruz.* From

32 Pet. Mart. IV. vi. Gomar. II. xviii, &c.

From thence he sent a vessel to Spain with presents, and a letter to the Emperor Charles V. giving an account of his proceedings, and of his determination to visit Muteçuma, and soliciting a commission as governor of the country [33].

Before proceeding on his march to Mexico, Cortes destroyed all his ships, lest his men might mutiny, as they seemed disposed; and leaving 150 Spaniards in Vera Cruz, with as many Indians to serve them, he began his march. Going first to Zempoallan, he learnt that Francis Garay was on the coast with four ships, and he contrived to inveigle nine of his men, from whom he understood that Garay, who had been in Florida, was now at the river Panuco, where he had got some gold, and meant to remain and build a town, now called Almeria. Cortes destroyed the idols of Zempoallan, and overthrew the tombs of their kings, whom the people worshipped as gods, and exhorted them to worship the true God. He set out from Zempoallan for Mexico on the 16th of August 1519, and after three days march came to the city of Zalapan, and thence to another named Sicuchimatl; at both of which places he was well received, and was offered to be conducted to Mexico, such being the orders of Muteçuma. Going from thence he ascended a hill three leagues high, on which vines were seen growing; and in another place he saw above a thousand load of wood ready cut. Beyond this he passed a plain country, which he named Nombre de Dios. At the foot of this mountain, he rested his troops at a place called Teuhixuacan; whence, through a desert country, he came to another mountain, which was covered with snow and excessively cold, and where the troops rested in a town named Zacotlan. Marching thus from town to town, he arrived at a territory called Tlaxcallan, which was at war with Muteçuma; and as the people were valiant, they fought against Cortes; but at length they agreed, and formed a league with him against the Mexicans.

Thus, from country to country, he came at length within sight of Mexico; and Muteçuma, being afraid, received him kindly, giving him and all his people lodgings in the capital, and all things necessary. After a time, fearing to be slain, Cortes made Muteçuma prisoner, and brought him to his own quarters, keeping him under a secure guard. Cortes inquired at Muteçuma the extent of his dominions, where the

33 Gomar. II. xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv.

the mines of gold and silver were, and the number of kings who dwelt in the land. And joining eight intelligent Spaniards with an equal number of Indians, he sent them, in four companies, to travel into four separate countries, Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tututepec. The messengers to Zucolla had 80 leagues to travel, and those who went to Malinaltepec 70; both of which provinces were under subjection to Muteçuma: they found both of these countries fertile and well peopled, and they brought back samples of gold, which the natives found in the rivers. The country of Tenich was at war with Muteçuma, and would not admit the Mexicans into their country; but they sent ambassadors to Cortes with presents, offering him their amity, at which Muteçuma was much displeased. Those who went to Tututepec, near the South Sea, brought back samples of gold, and praised the pleasantness of the country; reporting that there were many good harbours on the coast, and they presented to Cortes a beautiful cloth of cotton, on which the coast, with all its harbours and creeks, was distinctly represented. But at this time, by the coming of Pamphilus de Narvaez, the whole kingdom of Mexico was thrown into confusion.

On the 10th August 1519, Fernando de Magellanes went from Seville with five ships, on a voyage for the islands of Malacca [34]. Going along the coast of Brazil, he came to the Rio Plata, which had been previously discovered by the Spaniards. Thence prosecuting his voyage of discovery, he came to Port St Julians, in lat. 49° S. where he lost one of his ships. With the remaining four he came to the straits named after himself, in 52° 30′ S. and wintered in that place, where he and his people endured much distress from snow and ice, and extreme cold. They found the people of the country of extraordinary stature and great strength; insomuch that they took men by the legs, and rent them asunder as easily as one of us could tear a hen in two. These people, named *Patagones*, but called *Morcas* by the Brazilians, live on fruits and by the produce of the chase. In the beginning of September of the following year, 1520, the weather became somewhat temperate, and leaving Port St Julian, Magellanes went to the straits which now bear his name; whence one of the ships

34 This certainly ought to be called the Molucca islands; but Galvano uniformly applies the same name, Malacca, both to the spice islands and the city of Malacca on the Continent.—E.

ships returned to Spain, of which Stephen de Porto, a Portuguese, was captain and pilot. The other three passed through into a vast sea called the *Pacific*; where they found no inhabited land till they arrived in lat. 13° N. when they came to certain islands named *Los Jardines.* They sailed thence to the archipelago of St Lazarus, where, in an island named *Matan*, Magellanes was slain and his ship burnt. The remaining two ships went to Borneo, and thence to the Moluccas, leaving many others discovered, which I do not mention, because I have not seen any exact account of this voyage [35].

About this time Pope Leo X. sent Paulus Centurio on an embassy to the great duke of Muscovy, requiring him to send an army along the coast of Tartary into India; and the duke was almost persuaded to have made the attempt, if certain inconveniencies had not hindered [36].

In February 1520, Diego Lopez de Sequeira, governor of India, sailed by the strait of Mecca [37], carrying with him the ambassador of Prester John and Roderigo de Lima, who was sent ambassador to that prince. They came to the island of Maçua or Massoua, on the African shore of the Red Sea, in lat. 17° N. where the ambassadors and their Portuguese attendants were set on shore. Peter de Covillan had been sent there formerly by John II. of Portugal; but the best account of that country was furnished by Francis Alvarez.

In this year 1520, the licentiate Lucas Vasques de Aillon, and others of St Domingo, sent two ships to procure slaves at the Lucayos or Bahama islands; but finding none there, they passed on along the continent, beyond Florida, to certain countries called Chicora and Gualdape, and to the river Jordan and Cape St Helena, in lat. 32° N. [38]. The Spaniards landed here, and were hospitably received by the natives, who furnished them with every thing they needed: but,

35 Gomar. IV. iii. Pet. Mart. V. vii. 36 Ramusio, I. 374.

37 This seems to mean the Straits of Babelmandel. Having lost sight of Prester John in Tartary, the Portuguese were delighted with the discovery of a Christian king in Africa, the Negus of Abyssinia; and transferred to him that popular fable.—E.

38 These countries, with the river and cape mentioned in the text, are now unknown, these arbitrary names having merged in the nomenclature of more recent settlers. If the latitude be nearly accurate, it may have been on the confines of Georgia and South Carolina.—E.

but, having inveigled many of the unsuspecting natives on board their ships, they carried them away for slaves. In their way back to St Domingo, one of these vessels was lost, and the other was in great danger. On learning the news of this discovery, the licentiate Aillon made application to the emperor for the government of that country, where he expected to find much wealth, and received the appointment.

About this time, learning the success of Cortes in Mexico, and that he had applied to the emperor for the commission of governor, Diego Velasques, governor of Cuba, who considered that it ought to belong to him, fitted out an armament of eighteen ships, under the command of Pamphilus de Narvaez, already mentioned, with a thousand men and eighty horses, whom he sent to Mexico in order to supersede Cortes. Landing in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz, he sent an order to the garrison to receive him as governor; but they made his messenger prisoner, and sent him to Cortes, then at Mexico. On this Cortes wrote to Narvaez, desiring him not to raise any disturbance in the country, and offering to submit to his authority if he held a commission from the emperor. But Narvaez corrupted the people of the country; upon which Cortes went from Mexico, and took Narvaez prisoner in the town of Zempoallan, putting out one of his eyes. After this the soldiers of Narvaez submitted to Cortes; who detached two hundred soldiers to the river of Garay or Panuco, and a similar detachment under John Vasquez de Leon to Cosualco. He sent likewise a messenger to Mexico with an account of his victory; but the natives, having risen in rebellion, killed his messenger.

Cortes now set forwards on his return to Mexico, with one thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horsemen, and found Peter de Alvarado and the garrison he had left in Mexico in charge of Muteçuma, in safety. But the Mexicans continued their insurrection, and on one occasion Muteçuma was killed by a stone thrown by one of his own subjects. They then elected another king, and the Spaniards were forced to evacuate the city with great difficulty and danger. Driven out of Mexico, and having only 504 footmen and 40 horse remaining, Cortes retired with much difficulty to Tlaxcallan, where he was well received. He here mustered a force of 900 Spanish infantry and 80 cavalry, and gathered 200,000 Indians among the friends and allies whom he had secured,

 enemies

enemies of the Mexicans, and marched back to Mexico, which he took in August 1521 [39].

In October 1521, Cortes sent 200 foot and 35 horse, with a number of his Indian allies, under the command of Gonsalo de Sandoval, against Tochtepec and Coazacoalco, which had rebelled, and which Sandoval reduced to obedience. To retain this country under subjection, he built a town called *Medelin*, 120 leagues from Mexico, and another named *Santo Spirito*, on a river four leagues from the sea [40]. In this year 1521, died Emanuel, king of Portugal, and was succeeded by his son, John III.

In this same year, one of Magellans ships sailed from Malacca with a loading of cloves. They victualled at the island of Burro, and went from thence to Timor, in lat. 11° S. [41]. Beyond this island, about 100 leagues, they came to other islands, all inhabited, one of which was called *Eude*. Passing on the outside of Sumatra, they found no land till they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where they took in wood and water; and sailing thence by the islands of Cabo Verde, they arrived at Seville, where they were received with great honour, both on account of their valuable cargo of cloves, and because they had circumnavigated the whole world [42].

In January 1522, Gil Gonzales fitted out four ships from Tararequi, on the South Sea, intending to discover the coast of Nicaragua, and especially to search for a strait or passage, which was said to communicate between the South and North Seas. Sailing along the coast, he came to a harbour which he named St Vincent, where he landed with 100 Spaniards, some of whom had horses, and penetrated 200 leagues inland, whence he brought back to the value of 200 pesoes in gold. On his return to the harbour of St Vincent, he found his pilot, Andrew Nigno, who had been to Tecoantepec, in lat. 16° N. and had sailed 300 leagues. From thence Gonzales returned to Panama, and so overland to Hispaniola [43].

In April 1522, the Trinity, commanded by Gonzala Gomez de Espinosa, another of the ships of Magellan, sailed from Tidore for New Spain. And, as the wind was scanty, they

39 Gomar. II. l. 40 Id. II. lx.

41 Malacca of the text ought certainly to be Molucca: Bouro is in lat. 3° 30′ S. Timor between 8° 30′ and 10° 20′ S.—E.

42 Gomar. IV. viii. 43 Id. VI. iv. li.

they steered towards the N. E. in lat. 16° N. where they found two islands, which they named the Islands of St John. In lat. 20° N. they came to another island, which they called *la Griega*, where some of the simple natives came on board, whom they kept to shew in New Spain. Continuing their course to the N. E. for four months, they came into lat. 42° N. where they saw numbers of seals, and tunnies; and the climate appeared to them so cold and inhospitable, that partly on that account, and partly owing to contrary winds, they returned towards Tidore, having been the first Spaniards who had been in so high a northern latitude in these seas. On their return to Tidore, they found one Antonio de Britto employed in building a fortress, who took their goods from them, and sent forty-eight of them prisoners to Malacca [44].

In the same year 1522, Cortes was desirous to possess some harbours on the South Sea, on purpose to open a trade with Malacca, Banda, Java, and the other spice islands. For this purpose he sent four Spaniards with Indian guides to Tecoantepec, Quahutemallan, and other harbours, where they were well received, and whence they brought back some of the natives to Mexico. These people were much caressed by Cortes; who afterwards sent ten pilots to examine the coast, but they could find no good harbour, after a survey of seventy leagues. A caçique, named Cuchadaquir, used them hospitably, and sent two hundred of his people to Cortes with presents of gold and silver; and the people of Tecoantepec did the same. Not long afterwards, this friendly caçique sent to Cortes, requesting aid against his neighbours, who warred against him. Cortes accordingly, in the year 1523, sent Peter de Alvarado to his assistance, with 200 foot and 40 horse, who built a town called St Jago, in which he left a garrison. The caçiques of Tecoantepec and Quahutemallan inquired at Alvarado concerning certain *sea monsters* that had been on their coast the year before; meaning the ships of Gil Gonzales de Avila, at which they had been much amazed; and they wondered still more on being informed that Cortes had many such, and much larger than those they had seen. They displayed a painting of a mighty carak, having six masts, with sails and shrouds, and having armed horsemen on board [45].

In

44 Gomar. IV. viii, and xii. Castagn. VI. xli. 45 Gomar. VI. xii.

In May 1523, Antonio de Britto, the Portuguese governor of the Molucca isles, sent Simon de Bru to discover the passage from thence by the island of Borneo to Malacca. They came in sight of the islands of Manada and Panguensara, and thence through the strait of Treminao and Taquy to the islands of St Michael, in 7° S. and then to the island of Borneo, where they came in sight of *Pedra Branca*, or the *white stone*; whence, passing through the strait of Cincapura, they came to the city of Malacca [46].

In the same year 1523, Cortes went with 300 Spanish foot, 150 horse, and 20,000 Mexicans, to make a complete discovery and conquest of Panuco, and to punish the inhabitants for having killed and devoured the soldiers of Francis Garay. The natives resisted him, but were overthrown; and to keep the country under subjection, he built a town on the river, near Chila, which he named Santo Stephano del Puerta, in which he left a garrison of 100 foot and 30 horse, under the command of Peter de Valleia. In this expedition he lost many of his people, both Spaniards and Mexicans, and several horses [47].

In this same year 1523, Francis de Garay, having a commission from the emperor as governor of all the coast he had discovered from Florida to Panuco, fitted out nine ships and two brigantines, with 850 soldiers and 150 horses, on purpose to take possession of his government. Some men joined him from Jamaica, where he had furnished his squadron with warlike ammunition; and sailing thence to the harbour of Xagua, in the island of Cuba, he there learnt that Cortes had taken possession of the coast of Panuco. That he might not meet with the fate of Narvaez, he sent the doctor Zuazo to Mexico, to endeavour to enter into treaty with Cortes. Garay arrived in the Rio de las Palmas on St Jameses day, and sent Gonçalo de Ocampo up the river to explore the country, who reported, on his return, that the country was bad and desert. Yet Garay landed with 400 foot soldiers and some horse, and commanded John de Grijalva, to explore the coast, while he marched by land to Panuco, in which

46 Castagn. VI. xlii.

47 Gomar. II. lxi. The text, in Hakluyts translation, has the absurd number of 76,000 Castilians lost in this war; 76 is a more probable number, and is considerable out of his small force: yet, the text may mean 76,000 *Castellans* of gold, as the sum expended on the expedition; and which Hakluyt, or his printer, changed to that number of *Castilians*.—E.

which march he crossed a river to which he gave the name of Rio Montalto. In this march he came to a large town, in which he found much poultry, to the great refreshment of his troops. Here, likewise, he took some of the inhabitants of Chila, whom he employed as messengers to different places. After a long and difficult march, he arrived at Panuco, but found no provisions; the country having been exhausted in the war with Cortes, and by being plundered by the soldiers. From this place he sent Gonçalo de Ocampo to St Stephano, or Istevan del Puerto, to inquire if the garrison would submit to his authority. They sent him a favourable answer; but, by means of an ambush, they made forty of his cavalry prisoners, alleging that they had come unwarrantably to usurp the government which belonged to another. Besides this misfortune, Garay lost four of his ships, by which he was greatly disheartened. While Cortes was preparing an expedition to Panuco, to resist Garay, Francis de las Casas and Roderigo de la Paz, brought letters-patent to Mexico, by which the emperor gave him the government of New Spain, including Panuco. On this he desisted from going personally on the expedition, but sent Pedro de Alvarado with a respectable force, both of infantry and cavalry, to defend his government against aggression, and dispatched Diego de Ocampo to communicate the letters-patent to Garay; who thought it better for him to yield himself to Cortes, and went accordingly to Mexico [48].

In the same year, 1523, Gil Gonçales de Avila, discovered and peopled a town called *San Gil da Buena-vista*, in lat. 14° N. almost in the bottom of the bay of Ascension or Honduras [49]. Likewise, on the 6th December of this year, Peter de Alvarado was sent by Cortes from Mexico with 300 foot, 170 horse, four field-pieces, and some Mexican nobles, to discover and conquer Quahutemallan, Utlatlan, Chiassa, Xochnuxco, and other towns towards the South Sea. After a most fatiguing march of 400 leagues, passing by Tecoantepec to Xochnuxco, he discovered and conquered the whole of that country, where he built a city called St Jago de Quahutemallan, now Guatimala, of which and of the country he subdued, he is said to have got the government. In this expedition they passed some rivers, the water of which was so hot that

48 Gomar. Conqu. de Mex. f. 226.

49 Id. 242. This bay reaches no farther to the S. than 14° 10′ N.—E.

that they could scarce endure to wade them. They found likewise certain hills which produced alum, and one out of which a liquor like oil distilled; likewise sulphur in great abundance, from which the Spaniards made excellent gunpowder [50]. On the 8th December of the same year, Cortes sent Diego de Godoy, with a hundred foot, thirty horse, two field-pieces, and many friendly Indians, to Spiritu Santo; where, joining the captain of that town, they went to Chamolla, the capital of a province of the same name, which they reduced under subjection [51].

In February 1524, Cortes sent Roderigo Rangel, with 150 Spaniards, and many Tlaxcallans and Mexicans, against the Zapotecas and Nixtecas, and other provinces not yet well discovered. They were at first resisted, but soon defeated the natives, and reduced the country to subjection. In the same year, Roderigo de Bastidas was sent to discover and reduce the country of Santa Martha; but refusing to allow the soldiers to plunder a certain town, he was assassinated in his bed by Peter Villaforte, formerly his fast friend, who joined in the conspiracy against him. Pedro de Lugo and his son Don Alfonso were afterward governors of that place, where they conducted themselves as covetous tyrants, and became much disliked [52]. In the same year, the licentiate Lucas Vasques de Aillon obtained the goverment of Chicora from the emperor, on which he fitted out some vessels from St Domingo, and proceeded to explore and colonize that country; but he was lost with all his people. I know not how it should have happened, except by the righteous judgment of God, that so little should now remain of all the gold and precious stones which were got in the Antilles by the Spaniards; but much the greater part has been dissipated to little purpose, and nothing great or valuable has ensued from the discovery [53].

In this same year, 1524, Cortes sent a fleet under the command of Christopher de Olid, to Cuba, to transport provisions and ammunition to Mexico, which had been purchased there by Alonso de Contreras; and Olid had orders to discover and colonize the country about Cape Higueras, and the Coast of Honduras, and likewise to send Diego Hartado de

50 Id. f. 229. 230.
51 Id. f. 233.
52 Gomar. Conqu. f. 234. and Hist. Gen. III. xxi.
53 Id. Hist. Gen. II. vii.

de Mendoça by sea, in search of a strait towards Darien, which was reported to pass that way into the South Sea, which object of research had been commanded by the emperor to be attended to. He sent also two ships from Panuco, to explore the coast from thence to Florida; and he commanded other vessels to examine the coast of the South Sea, between Zacatullan and Panama. On the arrival of Olid at Cuba, he entered into a league with Diego Velasquez against Cortes: and, instead of prosecuting the orders he had received, he set sail for Puerto de Cavallos, in lat. 10° N. [54], near which he built a town, which he named *Triumpho de la Cruz.* He made Gil Gonzales de Avila prisoner, and killed his nephew, and all the Spaniards who were with him, except one child; thus acting in direct opposition to Cortes, who had expended, in fitting out the present expedition, the sum of 30,000 castellans of gold, entirely to gratify Olid [55]. On learning this treachery, Cortes went by land from Mexico in the month of October 1524, to take revenge on Olid, carrying with him a force of 300 Spaniards, part foot, and part horse, and accompanied by Quahutimoc, king of Mexico, and many of the chief Mexican nobles. On coming to the town of Spiritu Santo, he procured ten guides from the caciques of Tavasco and Xicalanco, who likewise gave him a map painted on cotton cloth, delineating the situation of the whole country, from Xicalanco to Naco and Nito, and even as far as Nicaragua, with their mountains, hills, fields, meadows, rivers, cities, and towns; and Cortes ordered three ships from the harbour of Medellin to follow him along the coast [56]. When he had reached the city of Izancanac, Cortes learned that King Quahutimoc and his Mexicans had conspired to betray or destroy him and his Spaniards; wherefore he hanged the king and two of his principal nobles. Cortes then proceeded to Mazatlan; and from thence to Piaca, which stands in the middle of a lake, and is the chief city of a province of the same name, and hereabout he began to learn tidings of the Spaniards under Olid, of whom he was in search. From thence he proceeded to Zuzullin, and came at length

54 In this latitude, on the shore of Costa Rica, there is a town now called Porto Cartago; but whether that indicated in the text it is difficult to say, as Galvano is not always perfectly accurate in his latitudes.—E.

55 Gomar. Hist. Gen. II. lxv. and Conqu. f. 243.

56 Gomar. Hist. Gen. II. lxvi, and Conqu. f. 246-251.

length to Nito; from whence he went to a bay on the coast, called St Andre, where, finding a good haven, he built a town called Natividad de nuestra Sennora. He went thence to Truxillo, on the coast of Honduras, where he was well received by the Spanish settlers. While here, a ship brought intelligence of an insurrection having broke out in Mexico during his absence; on which, he ordered Gonsalo de Sandoval to march with his company by land, from Naco to Mexico, by the ordinary and safest road of Quahutemallan, or Guatimala, towards the South Sea; and, leaving his cousin Ferdinando de Saavedra to command in Truxillo, he went himself by sea along the coast of Yucutan to Chalchicocca, now called St Juan de Ullhua, and thence to Medellin and Mexico, where he was well received. Cortes was absent eighteen months on this expedition, during which he travelled 500 leagues [57], and suffered many hardships.

In the year 1525, Francis Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro, went from Panama to discover Peru, on the south of the line, which they called *Nueva Castillia.* Pedro Asias, governor of Panama, refused to take any concern in this expedition, on account of certain evil news which had been brought to him by Francis Vezerra. Pizarro went first in a ship with 124 soldiers, and was followed by Almagro with seventy men in another ship. Almagro came to Rio de San Juan, in lat. 3° N., where he got 3000 pezoes of gold; and not finding Pizarro, of whom he was in search, he lost heart, and returned to Panama. Pizarro went first to the island of Gorgona, and thence to the isle of Gallo, from whence he proceeded to the river called *Rio del Peru,* in lat. 2° N. from which the rich and famous country of Peru derives its name. He sailed thence to the river of St Francis, and Cape *Passaos,* where he passed the equinoctial line, and came to *Puerto Vejo,* in lat. 1° S. and sailed on to the rivers of Chinapanpa, Tumbez, and Payta, in four or five degrees of southern latitude, where he received intelligence concerning King Atabalipa, and of the vast riches of his palace. On receiving this intelligence, Pizarro returned to Panama, from whence he went to Spain, where he solicited and obtained the government of the rich country he had discovered; having spent above three

57 The Spanish leagues are 17½ to the degree of latitude, hence this march exceeded 2000 English miles.—E. Gomar. Hist. Gen. II. lxvi. Id. Conqu. 246-273.

three years in the discovery, with much labour and great danger [58].

In the same year, 1525, seven ships were fitted out from Spain, under the command of Garcia de Loaisa, for a voyage to the Molucca Islands. Sailing from Corunna, and passing by the Canaries, they came to the coast of Brasil, where they discovered an island in lat. 2° S. which they named St Matthew; and, finding orange trees, hogs, and European poultry, they concluded it to be inhabited; but, by inscriptions on the bark of trees, they learnt that the Portuguese had been there seventeen years before. A small pinnace of this squadron, commanded by Juan de Resaga, passed the straits of Magellan, and ran along the whole coast of Peru and New Spain, carrying the intelligence to Cortes of the expedition of Loaisa to the Moluccas: But the admiral ship only of this squadron, commanded by Martin Mingues de Carchova, arrived at its destination, where the Moors of the Moluccas received the Spaniards hospitably; Loaisa and all the other captains died by the way.

In the same year Stephen Gomez sailed from Corunna, to endeavour to discover a strait in the northern parts, by which ships might sail from Europe to the Moluccas. This person had been refused employment in the fleet commanded by Loaisa, but the Count Ferdinando de Andrada, with the Doctor Beltram, and a merchant named Christopher de Sarro, fitted out a galleon for him at their joint expence. He went first to the island of Cuba, whence he sailed to Cape Florida, sailing only by day, as he was ignorant of the coast. He passed Cape Angra, and the river Enseada, and so went over to the other side; and it is reported that he came to Cape Razo [59] in lat. 46° N. whence he returned to Corunna with a cargo of *slaves*. But news spread through Spain that he was come home laden with *cloves*, which occasioned much joy at the court of Spain, till the mistake was discovered. Gomez was ten months engaged in this voyage. In this same year, Don George de Menesses, governor of Molucca, and Don Henriques, sent a vessel on discovery towards the north, commanded by Diego de Rocha, having Gomez de Sequiera as pilot. In lat. 9° or 10° N. they discovered several islands in a group, which were called the islands of Sequiera; whence they returned to the island of Bato-China.

In

58 Gomar. Hist. Gen. V. i. and ii.

59 The ambiguity of the language is here utterly inexplicable.—E.

In 1526, Sebastian Gabota, chief pilot to the emperor, a native of Bristol in England, whose father was a Venetian, sailed from Seville with four ships, intending to have gone to the Moluccas by a western course. Gabota came to Pernambuco in Brasil, where he waited three months for a favourable wind to get round Cape St Augustine. In the Bay of *Patos*, or of ducks, the admirals ship was lost; and despairing of being able to accomplish the voyage to the Moluccas, he built a pinnace for the purpose of exploring the Rio Plata. Gabota accordingly ran sixty leagues, or 120 miles up that river; when coming to a bar, he left the large ships there, and went with the boats of the squadron 120 leagues, or 480 miles farther up the river Parana, which the inhabitants considered to be the principal river. He here constructed a fort, and remained in that place above a year. From thence he rowed still farther up the Parana, till he came to the mouth of another river called *Paragioa*, or Paraguay; and, perceiving that the country produced gold and silver, he kept on his course, sending one of the boats in advance, which was taken by the natives. On this, Gabota thought it more prudent to return to his fort, after having penetrated 200 leagues or 800 miles up this river. He took on board the people he had left at the fort, and returning to the ships at the bar, sailed back to Seville in 1530. He reported that the Rio Plata was navigable for a great way, and that it rises from a lake named *Bombo*[60] in the kingdom of Peru, whence, flowing through the valleys of Xauxa, it receives the rivers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, and several others, by which its waters are greatly increased. It is also said that the river of San Francesco comes from the same lake, which likewise is very great; because rivers that flow from lakes are larger than those which proceed from springs.

In the year 1527, Panfilo de Narvaez sailed from St Lucar de Barameda with five ships, having 600 soldiers, 100 horses, and great abundance of provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries, to take possession of Florida, as far as the river Palmas, of which he was appointed governor. Not being able to land at the place he wished, he went on shore with

60 Meaning probably the lake of Titicaca in Peru. It is hardly necessary to say that this slight survey of the Plata must be erroneous, especially in its reports. The Rio San Francisco, alludes to one of the sources of the Great Maranon, or river of the Amazons.—E.

with 300 of his soldiers, some horses, and a supply of provisions, nearer Cape Florida, ordering the ships to proceed to the river Palmas, in which voyage they were nearly all lost. Those who escaped shipwreck, suffered extreme hardships from hunger and thirst on a dry barren island, called Xamo by the natives, and which the Spaniards named *Malhada.* In this island they were attacked by the natives, and many, both of the Spaniards and natives, were slain.

Narvaez, and his people, saw some gold among the Indians of Florida, who said they had it from *Apalachen.* He therefore went to that town in search of gold, where they found abundance of bay trees, and others of many different kinds, and plenty of beasts and birds, but neither gold nor silver. From Apalachen, he went to a town called Aute, and from thence to Xamo, a poor and barren country. In this place, the natives requested the Spaniards to cure their sick, of whom they had great numbers; and the Spaniards being in extreme poverty and distress, prayed for the sick, and used such endeavours as were in their power, towards their relief; And it pleased God that many, both of the sick, and those who were ill from wounds, recovered; nay, even one that was supposed to be dead, was, by them, restored to life. Owing to this, the Spaniards were greatly esteemed, and even reputed as gods, so that the people offered them no injury, and even gave them such things as they had. By these means, they passed through many countries, and many strange nations, differing from each other in language, customs, and dress, and came at length among a people that lived continually among their flocks and herds, like the Arabs. Many of the tribes through which they travelled were so poor as to feed on snakes, lizards, spiders, ants, and all kinds of vermin, yet were well contented with their hard fare, and were much given to singing and dancing. This people are reported to purchase all their wives from their enemies, and to kill all their own daughters, lest by marrying into hostile tribes their enemies should increase in numbers. In some places, the women continued to suckle their children till they were ten or twelve years old; and there were certain men, being hermaphrodites, who married each other. In this manner, the Spaniards penetrated above 800 leagues, or 3200 miles through the country, till at length, not above seven or eight of the whole armament reached the city of St Michael of

of Calvacan, in lat. 23°. N. or higher, on the coast of the South Sea[61].

Learning, as has been formerly mentioned, that Garcia de Louisa had passed through the Straits of Magellan, on a voyage to the *Islands of Cloves*, Cortes fitted out three ships from Civitlanejo, now St Christophers, in lat. 20°. N. on the western coast of New Spain, intending to send there in search of Loaisa, and that they might discover the way to the Moluccas, and open up the spice trade with New Spain. Leaving Civatlanejo, on All Saints day, 1527, under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, the cousin of Cortes, they fell in with the islands formerly discovered by Magellan, which he had named *the Pleasures*; whence they sailed to the islands which had been discovered by Gomez de Sequeira, and called by his name, but not knowing of this previous discovery, he named them *Islas de los Reyes*, or the Isles of the Kings, because discovered on Twelfth day. During this part of the voyage, two ships of the squadron separated from Saavedra, and were never more heard of. Sailing on from island to island, he arrived at the Island of Candiga, where he ransomed two Spaniards for seventy ducats, who had belonged to the crew of Loaisa, who was shipwrecked in that neighbourhood. Saavedra reached the Moluccas in March 1528, and anchored at the Island of Gilolo, where he found the sea calm, the winds moderate, and no tempests; and he estimated the distance from thence to New Spain at 2050 leagues, or 8200 miles. At this period, Fernando de la Torre was governor of the Molucca islands, and lived in the city of Tidore, having been chosen instead of Martin Yniguez de Carquiçano, who was recently dead. Torre waged a fierce war with Don George de Meneses, captain of the Portuguese; and in a fight of the fourth of May, Saavedra took a Portuguese galliot, and slew Fernando de Baldaya the captain. In June, Saavedra set sail on his return towards New Spain, taking with him Simon de Brito, Patalin, and other Portuguese prisoners; but, after several months sail, he was forced back to Tidore by contrary winds, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and the rest of the Portuguese prisoners hanged. In

61 Ramusio, III. 310. Ramusio gives a long and minute account of this unfortunate expedition, entitled, Relation made by Alvaro Nunez, of what befel the armament sent to the *Indies* (America) under Pamphilo Narvaez in the year 1527, to the end of 1536; when he returned to Seville with *three* only of his companions.—Clarke.

In this year, 1528, Cortes sent 200 infantry, and sixty cavalry, with a large force of Mexicans, to explore and subdue the country of the Chihimecas, which was reported to be rich in gold. He then took shipping for Spain, where he landed with great pomp, bringing with him 250,000 marks in gold and silver. On his arrival at Toledo, where the emperor then resided, he was very graciously received. The emperor created him marquis *della Valle*, and married him to the lady Jane de Zuniga, daughter to the Conde de Aguilar; after which he returned to resume the government of New Spain.

Saavedra, of whom we have lately made mention, returned from the Moluccas towards New Spain, in May 1529: and, during the voyage, came in sight of land, in lat. 2° S. He ran along the coast to the S. S. E. from that time to the end of August, upwards of 500 leagues, finding a clean coast, free from shoals and rocks, with good anchoring ground, inhabited by a black people, with curled hair. The people of the Moluccas named the inhabitants of this coast *Papuas*, because they are black with frizzled hair; and both Portuguese and Spaniards have adopted the same name. Having reached to four or five degrees south of the line, he returned northwards; and near the equinoctial he discovered an island, which he called *de los Pintados*, or of the painted people, as the inhabitants were of a white complexion, but marked with a hot iron [62]; and, from various circumstances, he concluded that they were originally from China. A kind of boat put off from the shore, containing a number of these islanders, making many threatening signs and gestures, as if ordering the Spaniards to go away from their land, and even proceeded to throw stones from slings at the ship, but, as the stones did no harm, Saavedra would not allow his people to fire upon them. A little beyond this island, in 10° or 12° of north latitude, they discovered a group, consisting of many small low islands, covered with grass, and full of palm trees, to which they gave the name of *Los Jardines*, or the gardens [63]. Saavedra came to anchor in the midst of these islands,

62 The inhabitants of this island were most probably *tatooed*, of which custom a particular description will be given hereafter, in the particular voyages of discovery in the South Sea.—E.

63 The longitudes being altogether neglected in these relations by Galvano, it is impossible to form any conjecture as to the islands indicated in the

islands, where he remained several days, and concluded that the people had come originally from China, but had, by long residence, degenerated into lawless savages, using no labour or industry. They wear a species of white cloth, made of grass, and are quite ignorant of fire, which put them in great terror. Instead of bread they eat cocoas, which they pull unripe, burying them for some days in the sand, and then laying them in the sun, which causes them to open. They eat fish also, which they catch from a kind of boat called *parao*, or *proa*, which they construct with tools made of shells, from pine wood that is drifted at certain times to their islands, from some unknown regions. The wind and weather becoming more favourable for his return to New Spain, Saavedra resumed his voyage thither, intending to have gone to Panama, to unload the cloves and other merchandize he had brought from the Moluccas. His purpose was to have carried this merchandize in carts from Panama, about four leagues, or sixteen miles overland, to the river Chagre, which is said to be navigable, and which discharges itself into the North Sea not far from Nombre de Dios, where the goods could be reshipped for Spain; by which means all kind of goods might be brought from India in a shorter time, and with less danger, than by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, as the voyage from the Moluccas to Panama is almost a perfectly straight course between the line and the tropics. But, in the present voyage, they were never able to procure a favourable wind, and were therefore forced back to the Moluccas, where they arrived in great affliction, as Saavedra died by the way[64]. Had Saavedra lived, he intended to have opened a navigable communication from sea to sea, through the land of Castilia del Oro and New Spain, which might have been done in one or other of the following places:—1. From the gulph of St Michael to Uraba, which is 25 leagues, or 100 miles. 2. From Panama to Nombre de Dios, which is 17 leagues, or 68 miles, much the greater part consisting

the text. They may possibly have belonged to the Carolines of modern maps, which extend between long. 135° and 180° E. and about the latitudes of the text.—E.

64 The account which Galvano gives of this voyage is very vague and inconclusive. We shall find afterwards that the Spaniards found out the means of counteracting the perpetual eastern trade winds of the Pacific within the tropics, by shaping a more northerly course from the Philippine islands, where they established the staple of their Indian commerce, between Acapulco and Manilla.—E.

consisting of the river Chagre, navigable for small craft. 3. Through the river *Xaquator*, now St Juan, in the province of Nicaragua, which springs out of a lake that reaches to within three or four leagues of the South Sea, and falls into the North Sea, being navigable by large boats and lighters. 4. The other place is from Tecoantepec, through a river, to Verdadera Cruz, in the bay of Honduras [65].

In the year 1529, Damiano de Goes, a Portuguese, travelled over all Spain, and went from Flanders into England and Scotland, being at the courts of the kings of these countries; after that he returned into Flanders, and travelled through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxemburgh, Switzerland, and through the cities of Cologne, Spires, Strasburg, Basil, and other parts of Germany, and so back to Flanders. He went thence into France, through Piccardy, Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, the dukedom of Bourbon, Gascony, Languedoc, Dauphiny, and Savoy; passing into Italy by Milan, Ferrara, and Lombardy, to Venice. Turning back, he passed through the territory of Genoa, the dukedom of Florence, and all Tuscany, to Rome and Naples. Thence back, through Italy, to Ulm, in Germany, and through Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, to the confines of Greece. Thence through Poland, Prussia, and Livonia, to the great dukedom of Moscovy; and thence back into Germany, and through the dominions of the Landgrave, and the dukedom of Saxony, into Denmark, Gothland, and Norway, penetrating to lat. 70°. N. In the course of these travels, which occupied him during 22 years, he saw, spoke to, and was conversant with, all the kings, princes, nobles, and chief cities of all Christendom; for which reason, I thought the great extent of his travels was worthy of remembrance.

In 1529 or 1530, Melchior de Sosa Tavarez went from Ormus to Bassora, and the islands of Gissara, with some ships of war, and sailed up to where the Euphrates and Tigris unite together,

65 Galvano certainly mistakes here in assigning Tecoantepec, which is at least 340 miles from the nearest part of the bay of Honduras. If a navigation were practicable from Tecoantepec, it would more probably be towards Tabasco, at the bottom of the bay of Campechy. Perhaps he ought to have said from Guatimala to the gulf of Dolse, at the bottom of the bay of Honduras. This splendid navigation between the Atlantic and Pacific, within the tropics, like that between the Mediterranean and Red Sea, still remains an unsolved problem. It will be resumed hereafter, among the voyages and travels to Spanish America.—E.

together, being the first of the Portuguese who had sailed so far on the fresh water in these parts. Not long after this, a Portuguese, named Ferdinando Coutinho, being at Ormus, determined to return overland from thence to Portugal. For this purpose he went to Arabia, and up the river Euphrates, for the space of a month, and saw many countries and kingdoms that had not been before visited by the Portuguese. He was made prisoner at Damascus; whence he crossed the province of Syria to the city of Aleppo. He had been at the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem, in the city of Cairo, and at Constantinople, where the Great Turk resides. After seeing that Court, he passed over to Venice; and, from thence, through Italy, France, and Spain, to Portugal, he came back to Lisbon. This person, and Damiano de Goes, were the most adventurous of the Portuguese, who, in our time, had seen and discovered the greatest extent of foreign realms for their own satisfaction.

About the year 1530, Francis Pizarro, who has been already mentioned as having gone to Spain to obtain the government of Peru, returned to Panama, having procured all things as he wished, carrying with him four brothers, Ferdinand, John, Gonsalvo, and Francis Martines de Alcantara[66]. They were not well received by Diego de Almagro and his friends, because Pizarro had not sufficiently represented his merits in the discovery of Peru to the emperor, in which he had lost an eye, but took the whole merit to himself. In the end, however, they agreed; and Almagro supplied Pizarro with seven hundred pezoes of gold, providing him likewise with provisions and ammunition, and other necessaries towards his intended expedition against Peru. Soon after this arrangement with Almagro, Pizarro, and his four brothers before-mentioned, set out with such soldiers and horses as they could procure on their expedition. Being unable, from contrary winds, to reach Tumbez, where he proposed to have landed, he was under the necessity of disembarking at the river of Peru; whence he marched along the coast with great difficulty, on account of many rivers and marshes, in which some of his men were drowned in crossing. Coming to the town of Coache, they found much gold and emeralds in that place; some of which they broke, to see if they were perfect.

66 These seem all to have been brothers to Pizarro, and named from the town of Alcantara in Spain.—E.

perfect. From thence Pizarro sent twenty thousand pezoes of gold to Almagro at Panama, to enable him to send supplies of men, horses, ammunition, and provisions, and went from Coache to the haven named *Porte Viejo*, where he was joined by Sebastian Benalcazar, with all the supplies he had sent for. In the year 1531, after the arrival of these reinforcements, Pizarro passed over from Porto Viejo to the rich island of Puna, in the bay of Guayaquil, where he was outwardly well received by the governor, who yet conspired to kill him and his men; but Pizarro prevented him, and took many of the Indians, whom he bound with chains of gold and silver. Such was the jealousy of the governor of Puna, that he caused those who had the charge of his wives to have their noses and privities cut off. In this place, Pizarro found above six hundred prisoners belonging to king Atabalipa, who was then at war with his eldest brother Guascar. Pizarro set these prisoners at liberty, on promise of procuring him a friendly reception in Peru; but they forgot their engagements afterwards, and excited the people to war against the Spaniards. From Puna, Pizarro sent three Spaniards to Tumbez, in Peru, to treat of amity; but the Peruvians seized them, and put them to death. On hearing of this cruel action, Pizarro crossed over to the main, and made a sudden attack, during the night, on the city of Tumbez, killing great numbers of the inhabitants. The remainder submitted and made peace, presenting him large gifts of gold and silver, and other riches. Pizarro then built a town on the river Cira, which he named St Michael of Tangarara, which was the first habitation of the Christians in these parts; and he appointed Sebastian de Benalcazar to the command. After this, he made search for a secure haven on the coast, and found one every way to his wish at Payta.

In the same year, 1531, Diego de Ordas went, with 600 soldiers and 35 horses, to settle the country on the Maranon, or river of the Amazons; but, dying on the voyage, this expedition proved fruitless. Afterwards, in the year 1534, Hierom Artal was sent thither with 130 soldiers, yet he came not to the river, but formed settlements at *St Michael de Neveri*, and other places in Paria. Aries d'Acugna, a Portuguese gentleman, went likewise to the Maranon, with ten ships, 900 men, and 130 horses, where he spent much, and did little to purpose; but the greatest loser in this expedition was John de Barros. This great river Maranon is in lat. 3° S.

S.[67], its mouth being 15 leagues, or 60 miles across, with many inhabited islands, on which there are many trees producing incense, much larger than those of Arabia. It produces gold and precious stones, and an emerald was found there as large as the palm of the hand. The people of that country make a kind of drink of a species of *oats* that are as large as quinces.

Nunnez de Gusman was sent from Mexico, in 1531, with 500 soldiers, half of whom were cavalry, and 6000 Indians to carry his baggage and provisions, to discover and subdue the countries to the northwest of the kingdom of Mexico. In this expedition he reduced the countries of Xalisco, Ceintiliquipac, Ciametlan, Tovalla, Cnixo, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places. On this expedition he marched through Mechuacan, where he acquired much gold, and 10,000 marks of silver. To the country of Xalisco he gave the name of New Galicia, because it was rugged and mountainous, and the people robust and hardy. He built many towns in the conquered countries; particularly Compostella, Guadalajara, after the place of his own birth in Spain, Santo Espirito de la Conception, and St Michael, which last is in lat. 24° N. In 1532, Cortes sent Diego Hurtado de Mendoça in two ships from Acapulco, which is 70 leagues from Mexico, on purpose to explore the coast of the South Sea, as he had been ordered to do by the emperor. Mendoça sailed from Acapulco to the harbour of Xalisco, or Xalis, on the river Barania, in lat. 22° N. where he wished to take in wood and water. But he was resisted there, by the orders of Nunnes de Gusman, and obliged to proceed on his voyage. Some of his men mutinied, and he put them all on board one of his ships, that they might return to New Spain. Being in want of water, these people put in at the bay of Vanderas, not far south from Xalis, where they were all slain by the Indians. In this voyage of discovery, Hurtado sailed 200 leagues along the coast, but did nothing worthy of being recorded.

In 1533, Pizarro went from Tumbez to Caxamalca, where he took king Atabalipa prisoner, who engaged to pay a vast sum in gold and silver for his ransom. On purpose to procure this, Pedro de Varco and Ferdinando do Sotto were sent

67 The mouth of the Maranon is exactly under the line.—E.

sent to the city of Cusco, in lat. 17° S.[68], a journey of 200 leagues, all upon causeways of stone, with bridges wherever necessary, and having lodging-places at proper distances for the conveniency of the *Yngas*, by which name the kings of Peru are distinguished. The armies of the Peruvians are very numerous, as they often bring more than 100,000 men into the field; and they lodge on these causeways, as already mentioned, where they always have abundance of provisions and other necessaries, as is said to be the custom in China. Ferdinando Pizarro went with some horsemen to Paciacama, 100 leagues from Caxamalca, to discover the country; and, on his return, he learnt that Guascar, the brother of Atabalipa, had been put to death by his command; and that Ruminaguy, the general of the army of Atabalipa, had risen in arms, in the city of Quito, against the Spaniards. After the reception of this intelligence, Atabalipa was strangled by the orders of Pizarro[69]. After the death of the two kings of the Peruvians, Pizarro continually extended his authority over the dominions of Peru, and built many cities, towns, and forts, in convenient situations, to hold the country under subjection. He detached Sebastian de Benalcazar, whom he had before made governor of St Michael de Tangarara, with 200 infantry and 80 horse, to Quito, against Ruminaguy. Benalcazar proceeded successfully in reducing the country to subjection from one city to another, eastwards, for 120 leagues, not far from the equinoctial line; where Peter Alvarado found certain mountains so cold, and loaded with such quantities of snow, that 70 of his men were frozen to death. Having reduced the city of Quito, he established himself and his people in that place, calling it the city of St Francis; and it seemed very strange to the Spaniards to find, in that country, abundance of cattle, wheat, barley, and other plants, similar to those of Spain. After sending Benalcazar to reduce the city of Quito, Pizarro himself undertook to reduce the royal residence of Cusco, in about 13° 20′ S. in which expedition he was opposed by Quisquiz, a Peruvian general, whom he easily defeated; and he soon afterwards took possession of Cusco, the exceedingly rich and wealthy capital of the Peruvian monarchy. About this time Mango, a brother of Atabalipa, joined Pizarro, who made him Ynga, or

68 The latitude of Cusco is only 13° 30′ S.—E.

69 Gomar. Hist. Gen. V. vi. vii. viii. ix.

or king of the country, in name only, while he assumed the whole authority and revenues of the kingdom to himself[70].

In the same year, 1534, Jaques Cartier, a native of Britanny, went with three ships to the land of Corterealis[71], and the gulf of St Lawrence, otherwise called *Golfo Quadrato*, or the square gulf, which he fell in with in lat. 48° 30′ N. He proceeded northwards to the latitude of 51°, in the hope of being able to penetrate in that direction to China, by a north-west passage, to bring drugs and other merchandize from thence to France. Next year Cartier made a second voyage to the same regions, and found the country pervaded by many large rivers, and abounding in provisions. He sailed 300 leagues up one of these rivers, in a south-west direction, and named the country New France, now Canada; but finding the water to become fresh, he was satisfied there could be no passage that way to the South Sea; and having wintered in the country, he returned next year to France.

About the end of the year 1535, or beginning of 1536, Don Anthony de Mendoça came from Spain to the city of Mexico, as Viceroy of New Spain, being appointed to supersede Cortes, the discoverer and conqueror of that rich and extensive territory. At this time Cortes was absent from the seat of government, having gone to Tecoantepec, on purpose to fit out two ships on a voyage of discovery. These he sent out under the command of Fernando de Grijalva and Diego Bezerra de Mendoça, the former having a Portuguese pilot, named Acosta, and the pilot to the latter being Fortunio Ximenez, a Biscayan. On the first night after leaving Tecoantepec, the two ships separated. Ximenez raised a mutiny against his captain, in which Bezerra was slain, and many of the crew wonnded. Some time afterwards, Ximenez went on shore in the bay of Santa Cruz, for wood and water, where he, and more than 20 of his people, were slain by the Indians. Two of the mariners, who were in the boat, escaped to Xalisco, and told Nunnes de Gusman, who commanded at that place, that they had seen indications of pearls during the voyage. Gusman went accordingly with a ship in search of pearls, and explored above 150 leagues of the coast[72].

It

70 Gomar. Hist. Gen. V. xvi. xviii. xix.

71 So named from the two brothers, Gaspar and Michael Cortereal, who are said to have been lost on this coast of North America in 1500, as formerly mentioned by Galvano.—E.

72 Xalis, or Xalisco, the residence of Gusman, is in lat. 21° 45′ N. The mouth of the river St Francis, on the north-eastern shore of the gulf of California,

It is said that Grijalva sailed 300 leagues from Tecoantepec, without seeing any land, except one small island in 20° N. to which he gave the name St Thomas, as having been discovered on the day of that saint [73].

In the year 1535, Pizarro built the city which he named *Ciudad de los Reys*, or of the kings, on the river of Lima, in lat. 20° S. to which he removed the inhabitants of Xauxa, as a more convenient situation for the residence of the government, and in a better country [74]. He built also the city of St Jago in Porto Viejo, and many other towns, both along the coast and in the inland country; and he procured from Spain horses, asses, mules, cattle, hogs, goats, and sheep, to stock his territories, and many kinds of trees and plants, such as rosemary, oranges, lemons, citrons, vines, and other fruits, wheat, barley, and other grains, with radishes, and many other kinds of vegetables, which were disseminated all over the country [75]. In the same year, Diego de Almagro went from the city of Cusco to the provinces of Arequipa and Chili, in lat. 30° S. The march was of great length, and he discovered a great extent of country; but he suffered great extremities of cold, hunger, and fatigue, in consequence of the ruggedness of the mountains, and the ice and snow, insomuch that many of his men and horses were frozen to death. About this time Ferdinando Pizarro came from Spain to the city of Lima, bringing with him the patent of Marquis of Atanillos, for his brother, Francis Pizarro, and a commission for Diego de Almagro, by which he was appointed governor of all the land he had hitherto discovered, and 100 leagues beyond, under the name of the *New kingdom of Toledo*. Ferdinando Pizarro went to the city of Cusco, of which he was made governor, and John de Rada went into Chili to Almagro, carrying with him the orders of the emperor. On receiving the letters patent of the emperor, Almagro marched directly for Cusco, which he considered to be included in his government, by which a civil war was kindled between him and Pizarro. On this march he and his people were severely oppressed by famine, and were even forced to feed

lifornia, is in lat. 26° 40' N. so that the discovery on the present occasion seems to have comprised about 350 miles to the north of Xalis.—E.

73 Gomar. Hist. Gen. II. lxxiv. xcviii.

74 Xauxa, or Jauja, stands on the high table land of Peru; Lima, or de los Reys, near the coast of the South Sea, in the maritime valley, or low country, and on the river Rimac, called Lima in the text.—E.

75 Gomar. Hist. Gen. IV. xxiii. and V. xxii.

feed upon their horses which had died four months and a half before, when on their march southwards into Chili [76].

In this same year, 1535, Nunnez d'Acunha, who was governor of India for the crown of Portugal, while building a fortress in the city of Diu, sent a fleet, under the command of Vasquez Perez del San Paio, to the river Indus, which is under the tropic of Cancer, 90 or 100 leagues to the north-west from Diu. He also sent an army against Badu, the king of Cambaia, or Guzerat, of which a renegado named Cosesofar was captain [77]. The fleet came to the bar of the great river Indus in December, where the same phenomena were observed as were formerly experienced by Alexander, according to the relation of Quintus Curtius [78].

In the same year, Simon de Alcazava sailed from Seville, with two ships and 240 men. Some say he was destined for New Spain, others for the Moluccas, and others again that he meant to have proceeded for China, where he had formerly been, along with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. However this may have been, he went first to the Canaries, and from thence to the straits of Magellan, without touching at Brazil, or any other part of the coast of South America, and entered into these straits in the month of December, having contrary winds, and very cold weather. Under these difficulties, the soldiers entreated him to turn back, which he refused, and went into a haven on the south side of the straits, in lat. 53° S. where he ordered Roderigo de Isla to land, with 60 of the people, to explore the country; but the people mutinied against Alcazava, and slew him; and, having appointed such captains and officers as they thought proper, they returned back. In their voyage homewards, one of the ships was lost on the coast of Brazil, and such of the Spaniards as escaped drowning, were killed and eaten by the savages. The other ship went to St Jago, in the island of Hispaniola, and thence

76 Gomar. H. G. V. xxiv. and xxv. Almagro appears, both on his march to Chili and back to Cusco, to have gone by the high mountainous track of the Andes, and the carcases of his dead horses must have been preserved from corruption amid the ever during ice and snow of that elevated region.—E.

77 The text seems ambiguous, and it appears difficult to say whether Galvano means, that Cosesofar, or Coje Sofar, was captain under D'Acunha, or general of the Guzerat army, belonging to Badu.—E.

78 This probably refers to the *Bore*, or great and sudden influx of the sea, after a great recession.—E.

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returned to Seville, in Spain [79]. In the same year, Don Pedro de Mendoça went from Cadiz for the river Plata, with twelve ships and 2000 men, being the largest armament, both of ships and men, that had ever been sent from Spain to the new world. Mendoça died on his return to Spain, but most part of his men remained in the country on the Rio Plata, where they built a large city, containing now 2000 houses, in which great numbers of Indians dwell along with the Spaniards. From this place they discovered and conquered the country to a great extent, even to the mines of Potosi and the town of La Plata [80], which is at the distance of 500 miles from Buenos Ayres.

Cortes having learnt, in the year 1536, that his ship, of which Fortunio Ximenez was pilot, had been seized by Nunnez de Guzman, sent three ships to Xalisco, while he marched thither by land with a respectable force; and, on his arrival there, he found his ship all spoiled and rifled. When his small squadron was come round to Xalisco, he went himself on board, and left Andrew de Tapia to command his land force. Setting sail from thence, he came, on the first of May, to a point of land, which he named Cape St Philip, and, to an island close by this cape, he gave the name of St Jago. Three days afterwards, he came to the bay where the pilot Ximenez was killed, which he named Bahia de Santa Cruz, where he went on land, and sent out Andrew de Tapia to explore the country. Cortes again set sail, and came to the river now called *Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo*, where the ships were separated by a tempest. One was driven to the bay of Santa Cruz, another to the river of Guajaval, and the third was stranded on the coast near Xalisco, whence the crew went overland to Mexico. After waiting a long while for his other two ships, Cortes made sail, and entered into the gulf of California, otherwise called *Mar Vermejo*, or the Vermilion Sea, and by some, the sea of Cortes. Having penetrated 50 leagues within that gulf, he espied a ship riding at an anchor, and, on his approach towards her, had nearly been lost, if he had not received assistance from that other ship. Having repaired his own ship, he departed from thence

79 Gomar. H. G. IV. xiii.

80 Probably a mistake for La Paz, the principal town of the north-western district, or mining province, belonging to the Viceroyalty of La Plata. —E.

thence with both ships; and, having procured provisions at a very dear rate, at St Michael de Culiacan, he went to the harbour of Santa Cruz, where he received information that Don Antonio de Mendoça had arrived from Spain as Viceroy of Mexico. He therefore left Francis de Ulloa with the command of his ships, ordering him to proceed on discoveries; and going to Acapulco, he received a messenger from Don Antonio de Mendoça, the new viceroy, certifying his arrival, and the assumption of his authority. Mendoça likewise sent him the copy of a letter from Francis Pizarro, stating that Mango, the Inca of Peru, had risen in arms, and assailed the city of Cusco with 100,000 fighting men, having slain his brother, John Pizarro, and above 400 Spaniards, with 200 horses; and that he himself, and the Spanish dominions in Peru, were in imminent danger, unless speedily and effectually assisted.

Cortes, not yet resolved on submitting to the authority of Mendoça, fitted out two ships, under the command of Ferdinando de Grijalva and one Alvarado, on purpose to discover the route to the Moluccas by the way of the equinoctial line, because the islands of Cloves are under that parallel. They went first to St Michael de Tangarara, in Peru, where they landed succours for Pizarro, and thence, all along the line, to the Moluccas, as they were ordered; and they are said to have sailed above 1000 leagues without sight of land on either side the whole way. At length, in lat. 2° N. they discovered an island named *Asea*, which was believed to be one of the islands of Cloves. Five hundred leagues farther, more or less, they came to another, which they named *Isla de los Pescadores*, or island of Fishers. Going still in the same course, they saw another island, called *Hayme*, on the south side of the line, and another named *Apia*, after which they came in sight of *Seri*. Turning one degree to the north, they came to anchor at an island named *Coroa*, whence they came to another under the line named *Meousum*, and thence to *Busu*, still holding on the same course [81].

The people of all these islands are black, with frizzled hair, whom the people of the Moluccas call Papuas. Most of them are witches, and eat human flesh; and are so much given to wickedness,

81 The only island mentioned in this voyage, which can be traced by the names in our modern maps, is the Piscadores, about lat. 11° N. long. 167° E. —E.

wickedness, that the devils walk among them as companions. Yet when these wicked spirits find any of the Papuas alone, they kill him with cruel blows, or smother him; for which reason they always go out in companies of two or three together. There is in this country a bird as large as a crane, which has no wings wherewith to fly, but runs on the ground with the swiftness of a deer, and, of the small feathers of this bird, the natives make hair for their idols. They have likewise a particular herb, the leaf of which, after being washed in warm water, if laid on any member, and licked with the tongue, will even draw out the whole blood of a mans body; and, by means of this leaf, the natives let blood of themselves, when afflicted by sickness.

From these islands they came to others named the *Guellas*, in lat. 1° N. *east and west* [82], from the island of Ternate, in which the Portuguese have a fortress. These islands are 124 leagues from the island of *Moro*, and between forty and fifty leagues from Ternate. From thence they went to the island of *Moro* [83], and the islands of Cloves, going about from one island to another; but the natives would not permit them to land, desiring them to go to the fortress, where captain *Antonio Galvano*, the author of this work, would receive them in a friendly manner, who was, as they stiled him, *factor* of the country, and they could not be allowed to land without his license. This circumstance is worthy of being noticed, that the natives were so well affected to the Portuguese as to venture their lives, with their wives, children, and goods, in their service.

In the year 1537, John de Vadillo, the governor of Carthagena, went with a powerful armament from the port called *St Sebastian de Buena Vista*, in the gulf of Uraba, to the Rio Verde, whence he went by land, without previously knowing any part of the way, and without carriages, to the very extremity of Peru and the town of La Plata, a distance of 1200 leagues, a most memorable journey. The whole country, from the Rio Verde to the mountains of Abibe, is full of rugged hills, thick forests, and many rivers, through which they had to pierce their way with infinite toil. The mountains of Abibe are said to be twenty leagues broad, and can

82 This strange expression is quite inexplicable, and must have been misunderstood by Hakluyt.—E.

83 Probably Morty, of our present maps.—E.

can only be passed over in the months of January, February, March, and April, as from incessant heavy rains at all other times of the year, the rivers are so swelled as to be quite impassable. In these mountains there are many herds of swine, many dantes, lions, tigers, bears, ounces, large wild-cats, monkeys, vast snakes, and other vermin. There are also abundance of partridges, quails, turtle-doves, pigeons, and other birds of many different kinds. The rivers also were so full of fish that they killed them with staves; and they affirmed, if they had been provided with rods and nets, that a very large company of men might be subsisted, without ever being in distress for want of food. In this expedition they noted the diversities of people, languages, dress, and other circumstances, during the whole way, through many countries, kingdoms, and provinces, and the great difficulties and dangers they encountered till their arrival at the *Villa de la Plata*, and the adjoining sea. This was the most extensive discovery which has been ever heard of by land, and in so short a time; insomuch that, if it had not been performed in our own days, it could hardly have been credited [84].

In 1538, certain friars of the order of St Francis went from Mexico to preach to the natives in the northern part of New Spain, and to convert them to the Catholic faith. One Mark de Nizza penetrated farther than any of the rest.—Passing through Culvacan, or Culiacan, he came into the province of Sibola, or Cinaloa, where he pretended to have found seven cities, and that the farther he went the richer was the country in gold, silver, and precious stones, with many sheep bearing wool of great fineness. On the fame of this wealth, the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça, and Cortes, determined to send a force to take possession of the country; but, as they could not agree on this subject, Cortes and his wife went over to Spain in 1540, where he died seven years afterwards [85].

In 1538, I, Antonio Galvano, being governor of the Molucca islands, sent a ship, commanded by Francis de Castro, towards the north, with orders to convert as many as he could to the Christian Faith. Castro himself baptized many; as the lords of Celebes, Maccassar, Amboina, Moro, Moratax, and of several other places. On his arrival at the island of

84 Chron. del Peru, c. ix, xx.
85 Ramus. III. 356.

of Mindanao, six kings received the water of baptism from de Castro, with their wives, children, and subjects; and I gave orders that most of these should receive the name of John, in honour of king John III. who then reigned in Portugal.

The Portuguese and Spaniards who have been in these islands, affirm that there are in them a certain species of hogs, which, besides the ordinary teeth in their jaws, have two others growing out of their snouts, and other two behind their ears, of a large span and a-half in length[86]. There is likewise said to be a certain tree, that part of which that grows towards the east is a sure antidote against all kinds of poison, while the western half of the same tree is itself a deadly poison. The fruit of this tree is like large pease; of which is made the strongest poison on earth. There is another tree of a very singular nature, for if any one eat of its fruit, he becomes twelve hours mad; and, on regaining his senses, cannot remember any thing that happened during his madness. There are likewise certain land-crabs, which have the same effect of producing temporary madness when eaten. The islanders also pretend that there is a certain stone in these islands of so wonderful a property, that whoever happens to sit upon it is sure to be afflicted with rupture. It is farther worthy of remark, that the inhabitants of these islands gild their teeth.

In the year 1539, three ships which had been ordered by Cortes to discover the coast northwards from Culiacan, and which sailed from Acapulco, under the command of Francis Ulloa, having touched at *St Jago de Buena Sperança*, entered into the gulf of California, which Cortes discovered, and sailed up that gulf till they came almost to the farther end of it, in lat. 32° N. at a place which they named *Ancon de San Andres*, because they came there on the day of that Saint. They returned southward along the other, or western coast of the gulf of California; and, having doubled the point of that peninsula, called *Cabo de San Lucas*, within certain islands, they sailed northwards, along the external coast of California, till they again reached to the same latitude of 32° N. whence they returned into New Spain; forced to this measure by contrary winds and want of provisions, after having

86 This obviously refers to an inaccurate description of the Babyroussa. —E.

ving been absent a whole year on this voyage. In these discoveries, Cortes expended 200,000 ducats, according to his own account[87]. Cortes and his captains explored the coast of New Spain, from the lat. of 12° N. to 32° or 700 leagues; all of which was rather warm than cold, although snow is found on some of the mountains for the greater part of every year. From Cabo del Enganno to Cabo de Liampa in China, the distance is 1000 or 1200 leagues.

In New Spain there are many trees, flowers, and fruits of various kinds, that are useful to man. The principal tree is named *Metl*, which does not grow either very tall or very thick. The natives plant and dress this tree as we do our vines; and they allege that it has forty different kinds of leaves, resembling woven cloth, which serve for many useful purposes. When tender, these leaves are made into conserves. From it they make a kind of paper, and a substance like flax; and it is also manufactured into mantles, mats, shoes, girdles, and cordage. This tree produces such strong and sharp prickles, that they are used instead of needles for sewing. The roots are used as fuel; and their ashes make excellent ley for the manufacture of soap. The natives open up the earth from the roots of this tree, and, by scraping or wounding them, they extract a juice which is a rich syrup. By boiling this juice, it is converted into honey; and, when purified, it becomes sugar; and may likewise be made into wine and vinegar. The fruit of this tree is called *Coco*. The rind roasted, crushed, and applied to sores or wounds, has a most healing quality. The juice of the roots and tops, mixed with incense, is a sovereign antidote against the bite of a viper and other poisons. From all these useful properties, this is the most profitable tree that is known in these parts[88].

There are certain birds in New Spain called Vicmalim, having a long small bill, which live on dew and the juice of roses and other flowers; their feathers are very small, and of beautiful colours, and are much esteemed to work up into ornaments with gold. These birds die, or sleep rather, every year in the month of October, sitting on a small bough in some warm and close place; and they revive again in the month of April, when the flowers appear. There are snakes likewise in this country, which sound as if they had bells attached

87 Gomar. H. G. II. lxiv. Ramus. III. 329.
88 Gomar. H. G. VI. xvii.

tached to them, when they creep along. There are other snakes also, which are said to engender by the mouth, as vipers are reported to do with us. There are likewise certain hogs, which have a navel on the ridge of the back; which the hunters cut out the moment they are killed, as otherwise the carcase would corrupt and stink, so as to be uneatable. Besides which, there are certain fishes which are named *Snorters*, because they make a snorting noise like hogs[89].

In the year 1538, a civil war broke out in Peru, between Pizarro and Almagro; in the course of which, Almagro was taken prisoner and beheaded. After which, in the year 1539, Pizarro sent Peter to Baldivia into Chili; where he was at first well received, but the people afterwards rose against him, and sought to put him to death by treason. Notwithstanding the long and severe war he had to wage against the natives of Chili, Baldivia explored the country to a great extent, discovering the whole coast as far as lat. 40° S. and even farther. While Baldivia was occupied in these discoveries, he received intelligence of a king called *Lucengolma*, who commonly brought 200,000 men into the field, when engaged in war against another neighbouring king. Lucengolma was likewise said to have a temple in an island, in which there were 2000 priests. It was farther reported, that beyond the dominions of this king, there lay a country inhabited by a nation of Amazons, whose queen was named *Guanomilla*, which signifies *the golden heaven*. But, hitherto, these things rest merely on report, and have not been ascertained for truth, by actual discovery. About this time Gomez de Alvarado reduced the province of *Guanaco* to obedience; and Francis de Chavez subdued the *Conchincos*, who often vexed the town of Truxillo and its adjoining country, by various inroads. Peter de Vergara reduced the *Bracamores*, a people to the north of Quito; John Perez de Veragara subdued the *Ciaciapoians*; Alfonsus de Mercadiglio subdued the people of *Mulubamba*; Ferdinando and Gonsalvo Pizarro reduced *Collao*, a country rich in gold; the lower part of which was subdued by Peter de Candia; Peranzures went also on an expedition into the same country. In this manner the Spaniards dispersed themselves over the whole country, and conquered

89 In this paragraph we have very vague indications of humming-birds, rattlesnakes, and of the animal now called Pecari.—E.

quered an extent of more than 700 leagues; yet not without much labour, and considerable loss of men[90].

The countries of Brazil and Peru stand east and west from each other, their coasts being almost 800 leagues distant at the nearest points, which are the Cape of St Augustine and the harbour of Truxillo, nearly in the same parallel of latitude. The greatest extent of Peru, measuring from the river of Peru in the north, to the Straits of Magellan in the south, is 950 leagues. Through the whole of this country certain mountains, called the Andes, extend from north to south, which divide Brazil on the east, from Peru, or the empire of the Incas on the west. In the same manner, the mountains of Taurus and Imaus divide Asia into two parts; which mountains begin on the Mediterranean, in 36 or 37 degrees of north latitude, over against the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and extend eastwards to the sea of China. Thus, likewise, the mountains of Atlas in Africa divide the *tawny* moors from the *black* moors, or negroes who have frizzled hair. These mountains begin at Mount *Moies*, near the desert of Barca, and extend under the tropic of Cancer to the Atlantic. The mountains of the Andes are high and rugged, and barren in some places, without trees or even grass; and it almost always either rains or snows on their highest ranges, accompanied with sudden and violent tempests of wind. There is so great a scarcity of wood in these parts, that the inhabitants use turf or peats for fuel, as is done in Flanders. In these mountains and countries, the soil is in some places black, in others white, or red, blue, green, yellow, and violet; and, with some of these earths, the natives dye various colours, without using any other mixture. From the bottoms of these mountains, but principally on the east side, there flow many rivers, both small and great. Among these are the rivers Amazons, St Francis, and La Plata, and many others, which pervade the country of Brasil[91], which are much larger than those of Peru, or of Castilia del Oro. The country of Peru, between the Andes and the western sea or Pacific, is from 15 to 20 leagues in breadth, all of a hot sandy soil, yet fertile, as being well watered, and produces

90 Gomar. H. G. V. xxxv. and Chron. del Peru, c. 103.

91 The word Brazil in the text obviously includes the whole flat country to the east of the Andes, Guiana, Brazil, Paraguay, Buenos Ayres, and Patagonia.—E.

produces many excellent trees and fruits. It produces many turnips, rapes, and other such herbs and roots; likewise abundance of flags, rushes, herbs, and flowers, of so loose and tender a texture, that the leaves drop off on the slightest touch. Among these herbs and fresh flowers, the natives often dwell without beds or houses, even like cattle in the fields, and some of them have tails[92]. These people are gross, and wear long hair, but have no beards; and they speak divers languages. One of the plants of this region called *aipo*, resembles rue, and bears a yellow flower, which cures all kinds of rotten sores; yet, if applied to sound flesh, will eat it to the bone.

They say that these mountains abound in tigers, lions, bears, wolves, wild-cats, foxes, dantes, ounces, hogs, and deer; and with many birds, both ravenous and others, most of them being black; while under the north, both birds and beasts are mostly white. There are also great numbers of large and terrible snakes, which are said to have destroyed a whole army of one of the Incas, that was marching this way: Yet, according to report, an old woman did so enchant them, that they became quite harmless and gentle, insomuch that they would allow people to sit upon them. It is reported that, from Tumbez to Chili, there are no peacocks, hens, cocks, nor any eagles, hawks, kites, or other ravenous birds; but there are many ducks, geese, herns, pigeons, partridges, quails, and many other kinds of birds. There is likewise a certain fowl like a duck, which has no wings, but is covered all over with fine thin feathers. A certain species of bitterns are said to make war upon the sea-wolf or seal; for when this bird finds them on land, it tries to pick out their eyes, that they may not see their way back to the water, and then kills them; and the fight between the bitterns and the seals is said to be a pleasant sight.

Those who live on the tops of the Andes, between the cold and the heat, are mostly blind of one eye, and some are totally blind;

92 This idea, ever since the time of Lord Monboddo, has been renewed, and occupies the attention of the explorers of Africa; links may exist, in creation, with which we are yet unacquainted.—Clarke.

The fancy of tailed men has probably arisen from inattentive observers, seeing people clothed in the skins of beasts, with the tails hanging down. The natives of New South Wales wear tails in imitation of the Kangaroo: Yet, having been closely observed, are not described as tailed men.—E.

blind; so that hardly can two men be found but one of them at least is half blind. Notwithstanding the great heat of the sand in Peru, it yields good crops of Maize and Potatoes, and an herb called *cocoa*, which the natives carry continually in their mouths, as those in the East Indies do *Betle*, and which they say satisfies both hunger and thirst. It is affirmed that, from Tumbez southwards, for the space of 500 leagues, there is neither rain, thunder nor lightning, with only some light showers. In Peru, there are certain animals, called *xacos*[93] by the natives, and sheep by the Spaniards, because they are covered with wool; but their shape resembles that of deer, and they have saddle backs like a camel, and are capable of carrying burdens of about a hundred weight each. The Spaniards ride upon them; and, when weary, they turn their heads backward, and void a wonderfully stinking liquor from their mouths. From the rivers La Plata and Lima, or Rimac, inclusively to the southwards, there are no crocodiles, lizards, snakes, or other venomous reptiles; but the rivers produce great store of excellent fish. On the coast of St Michael on the South Sea, there are many rocks of salt, covered with eggs. At the point of St Helena, there are springs from which a liquor flows, that serves instead of pitch and tar. It is said that there is a fountain in Chili which converts wood into stone. In the haven of Truxillo, there is a lake of fresh water, the bottom of which is good hard salt; and in the Andes, beyond Xauxa, there is a fresh water river which flows over a bottom of white salt. It is also affirmed that there formerly dwelt giants in Peru, of whom statues were found at Porto Vejo; and that their jaw bones were found in the haven of Truxillo, having teeth three or four fingers long.

In the year 1540, the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoça, sent Ferdinando Alorchon with two ships, to explore the bottom of the gulph of California, and divers other countries. In the same year, Gonsalvo Pizarro went from Quito to discover the *Cinnamon* country, of which there ran a great fame in Peru. Taking with him a force of 200 Spaniards, partly horse and part foot, with 300 Indians to carry the baggage, he marched to *Guixos*, the most distant place or frontier of the empire of the Incas; in which place there happened a great earthquake, accompanied

93 This word ought to have been *Pacos*. Of these animals, with the Llamas and Vicugnas, different species of the camel genus, a more extended account will occur, when we come to the particular travels in Peru.—E.

accompanied with much rain and dreadful lightning, by which seventy houses were swallowed up. From that place they passed over a chain of cold and snowy mountains, where they found many Indians frozen to death, and they wondered much at finding so much snow immediately under the equinoctial line. From thence they proceeded to a province called *Cumaco*, where they were detained two months on account of constant rain; and beyond this, they came to the cinnamon trees, which are of great size, with leaves resembling those of the bay tree. The leaves, branches, roots, and every part of this tree, tasted like cinnamon, but this taste and flavour was particularly strong in the root; yet that was still stronger in certain knobs, like *alcornoques*, or acorns, which were good merchandize. This appears to have been of the same nature with wild cinnamon, of which there is great abundance in the East Indies, particularly in the island of *Jaoa*, or Java. From this cinnamon country, they proceeded onwards to the province and city of Coca, where they halted for fifty days; after which they travelled for sixty leagues along a river, without being able to find any bridge or ford at which they could pass over. In one place they found this river to form a cataract of 200 fathoms in perpendicular fall, making such a noise as was almost sufficient to deafen any person who stood near. Not far beyond this fall, the river was found to glide in a smooth channel, worn out of the rock; and at this place they constructed a bridge by which they passed to the other side, and entered into a country called Guema, which was so poor, that they could only get fruit and herbs to subsist upon. Travelling onwards from that place, they came to a district where the people had some degree of civilization, and wore cotton clothing of their own manufacture, and used canoes. They here built a brigantine, in which, and in some canoes, procured or taken from the natives, they embarked their sick, with their treasure, provisions, and spare apparel, under the charge of Francis de Orellana; while Gonsalvo Pizarro marched by land with the rest of the people along the river, going every night into the boats. In this manner they proceeded for about 200 leagues; when one night, on coming to the river side, in hopes of joining the boats as usual, Pizarro could not see or hear of them. He and his people were reduced, by this unfortunate incident, to a state of almost utter despair: In a strange, poor, and barren country, without provisions, clothing, or any other

other convenience, and at a vast distance from their friends, with a prodigious extent of difficult and dangerous road interposed between them and Quito, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their horses, and even their dogs. Yet holding a good heart, they proceeded onwards in their journey for eighteen months, penetrating, as is said, almost 500 leagues, without ever seeing the sun or any thing else to comfort them. At length, of the 200 men who had set out from Quito, only ten returned thither; and these so weak, ragged, and disfigured, that they could not be recognized. Orellana went 5 or 600 leagues down the river, passing through various countries and nations on both sides, among whom he affirmed that some were Amazons [94]. From the mouth of that river, Orellana went home to Spain, and excused himself for having deserted Pizarro, and those who marched by land, by alleging, that he had been forced down the river by the strength of the current, which he was utterly unable to stem. By some, this river is named after Orellana, who first navigated its waters; and others call it the river of the Amazons, on account of a female nation of warriors, who are said to inhabit its banks [95].

In the year 1541, Don Stephen de Gama, the Portuguese governor of India, went with a squadron into the Red Sea, by the strait of Mecca, or of Babelmandel, and came to anchor off the island of Maçua, or Massoua; from whence he sailed along the coast of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, to the island of Suachem, in lat. 20° N. and to the harbour of Cossier, in 27°. From thence, he crossed over to the Arabian shore, and the city of Toro, and sailed from that place to Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea, and returned from thence to India, having extended the Portuguese knowledge of that sea farther than had ever been done before. On the way between Cossier and Toro, Gama is said to have found an island of brimstone, which had been dispeopled by Mahomet, wherein many crabs are bred, which increase nature, on which account, they are much sought after by the unchaste. It

94 It will be seen afterwards, in the account of the West India Islands, and the Continent of Guiana, that there are many warlike tribes of Caribs, or Caraibs, constantly engaged in predatory warfare; whose women, when their husbands are absent in search of prisoners for *food*, take arms for the protection of themselves and children; whence they have been reported as nations or female warriors, or Amazons.—E.

95 Gomar. H. G. V. xxxvi.

It is true that Lopez Suarez, when governor of India, had navigated the Red Sea, as far as Judda, the haven of Mecca, in lat. 23° N. 150 leagues from the straits of Babelmandel; but Gama penetrated to the very northern extremity of the gulph [96]. In the same year, Diego de Almagro killed the Marquis Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Martinez de Alcantara, in the city of Lima, or *de los Reyes*, and usurped the government of Peru.

In the same year, 1541, Don Antony de Mendoça, viceroy of Mexico, sent an army of Spaniards and Indians from Mexico, under the command of Francis Vasquez de Coronado, by way of Culiacan, into the province of Sibola, or Cinaloa, which is in lat. 30° N. [97]. Coronado endeavoured to treat on friendly terms with the natives, and requested to be furnished with provisions; but received for answer, that they were not accustomed to give any thing to those who came into their country in a warlike manner. Upon this, the Spaniards assaulted and took the town, to which they gave the name of New Granada, because the general was a native of Granada in Old Spain. The soldiers found themselves much deceived by the reports of the friars who had been in those parts, as already mentioned under the year 1538, who said that the country was rich in gold, silver, and precious stones. Not being willing, therefore, to return empty-handed to Mexico, they went to the town of *Acuco*, where they heard of *Axa* and *Quivira*, the king of which was reported to worship a golden cross, and the picture of the Queen of Heaven, or the blessed Virgin. In this journey, the Spaniards endured many hardships, but the Indians fled every where before them, and one morning, they found thirty of their horses had died during the night. From *Cicuic* they went to *Quivira*, a distance of 200 leagues in their estimation, the whole way being in a level country; and they marked their route by means of small hillocks of cow dung, that they might be the better able to find their way back. At one time they had a storm of hail, the hailstones being as large as oranges. At length

96 The true latitudes of the places mentioned in the text are, Suakim, 19° 30′, Massoua, 15° 20′, Cossier, 26° 16′, Judda, 21° 20′, Suez, 30°. —E.

97 The latitude of 30°. N. would lead to the idea of Sonora being the district, or province, indicated in the text by Sibola; Cinaloa is only in 26° N. yet, from the context, appears to be the country intended by Galvano. —E.

length they reached Quivira, where they found the King *Tatarax*, whose only riches consisted in a copper ornament, which he wore suspended from his neck. They saw neither cross, nor image of the virgin, nor any indication whatever of the Christian religion. This country, according to their report, was very thinly inhabited, more especially in its champaign or level parts, in which the whole people wandered about with their cattle, of which they have great abundance, living much in the same manner with the Arabs in Barbary, removing from place to place according to the seasons, in search of pastures for their cattle. The cattle belonging to these Indians are almost as large as horses, having large horns, and bear fleeces of wool like sheep, on which account the Spaniards gave them that name. They have abundance of another kind of oxen or cattle, very monstrous in their form, having hunches on their backs like camels, with long beards, and long manes like horses. The Indians live by eating these oxen, and by drinking their blood, and clothe themselves in their skins. Most of their food is raw, or at least slightly roasted, as they have no pots in which to boil their food. They cut their meat with certain knives made of flint. Their fruits are damsons, hazel-nuts, melons, grapes, pines, and mulberries. They have dogs of such vast strength, that one of them will hold a bull, be he never so wild. When the Indians remove from place to place, these dogs carry their wives, children, and household stuff on their backs; and are so strong as to carry fifty pounds at once [98]. I omit many other circumstances of this expedition, because the plan I have prescribed requires brevity [99].

In the year 1542, when Diego de Frietas was in the port of Dodra, in the kingdom of Siam, three Portuguese of his crew deserted, and went in a junk towards China. The names of these men were, Antonio de Mota, Francis Zeimoro, and Antonio Pexoto; who directed their course for the city of Liampa, in lat. 30° N. or upwards [100]. Having encountered a great storm,

98 The idea that a dog, even able to bear a load of fifty pounds, should carry a woman, is truly absurd. If there be any truth in the story, the dogs must have performed the services in the text by drawing sledges; yet nothing of the kind has hitherto been found in North America, though common in North-east Asia.—E.

99 Gomar. H. G. VI. xviii. and xix.

100 In other writers Liampa and Siampa, or Tsiompa, are synonimous; but that place is in lat. 12°. N. The latitude of the text would lead us to he eastern coast of China, between Ningpo and Nankin.—E.

storm, they were driven to a great distance from land, and came in sight of an island far to the east, in lat. 32° N. which they called Japan, and which seems to be the isle of Zipangri, mentioned by Marco Polo the Venetian, which is exceedingly rich in gold and silver, and other valuable commodities.

In the same year, 1542, Don Antonio de Mendoça, the viceroy of New Spain, sent certain sea captains and pilots to explore the coast of Cape del Engannon, where a fleet, sent by Cortes, had been before. They sailed as far as the latitude of 40° N. where they came in sight of a range of mountains covered with snow, which they named *Sierras Nevadas*, or the snowy mountains, in lat. 40° N. They here met with certain merchant ships, which carried on their stems the images of a kind of birds called *Alcatrarzi*, and had their yards gilded, and their bows laid over with silver. These seemed to belong to the islands of Japan or to China, as the people said that their country was within thirty days sail [101]. In the same year, the viceroy Mendoça sent a fleet of six ships, with 400 Spanish soldiers, and as many Mexicans, under the command of his brother-in-law, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos, a person in high estimation, to the Mindanao islands. They sailed on the eve of All Saints, from the harbour of Natividad, in lat. 20° N. and shaping their course towards the west, they came in sight of the island of St Thomas, which had been before discovered by Hernando de Grijalva; and beyond that, in 17° N. they got sight of another island, which they named *La Nublada*, or the Cloudy Island; and from thence, they came to another island, which they named *Roca Partida*, or the cloven rock. On the 3d of December, they discovered certain shoals, having only six or seven fathoms water. On the fifteenth of the same month, they had sight of the islands which were discovered by Diego de Roca, Gomez de Sequeira, and Alvaro de Saavedra, called *los Reyes*, or islands of the kings, because discovered on Twelfth day. And beyond these, they found a cluster of islands, in 10° of latitude, and came to an anchor in the midst of them, where they took in wood and water. In January 1543, leaving these islands, they came in sight of certain other islands, from which the natives came off to them, in a kind of boats, bearing crosses in their hands, and they saluted

101 Gomar. H. G. VI. xviii.—This story, which Galvano has reported from Gomara, seems altogether unworthy of credit.—E.

saluted the mariners in the Spanish language, saying, *Buenos dias Matelotes*, or, good day companions. The Spaniards were much surprized at being thus accosted in their own language, and seeing such indications of Christianity, at so great a distance from Spain, not knowing that many of the natives in these parts had been baptized by Francis de Castro, at the command of me, Antonio Galvano, as formerly mentioned. From these unlooked-for circumstances, some of the Spaniards named these islands *Islas de los Cruzos*, or the Islands of Crosses, and others called them *Islas de los Matelotes*, or the Isles of Companions [102]. On the first of February, Ruy Lopez came in sight of the noble island of Mindanao, in 9° N. [103]. But he could neither double that island, owing to contrary winds, nor would the natives permit him to come to anchor on their coast, because the five or six christened kings and their people had promised obedience to me Antonio Galvano, and were unwilling to incur my displeasure. On this account, and constrained by contrary winds, Lopez sailed along the coast in quest of a place of safety; and, in four or five degrees of latitude, he found a small island called Sarangam by the natives, which he took possession of by force, and named it Antonio after the viceroy of Mexico. Ruy Lopez and his people remained here a whole year, during which many things occurred worth notice; but as these are treated of in other histories, I refrain from mentioning them, confining myself entirely to discoveries.

In the month of August of the same year, 1543, Ruy Lopez sent Bartholomew de la Torre in a small ship to New Spain, to acquaint the viceroy of his proceedings. Torre went first to the islands named *Siria*, *Gaonata*, *Bisaia*, and many others, in 11° and 12° N. lat. where Magellan and de Castro had both been formerly, and where the latter baptized many of the natives; and the Spaniards called these the *Philippinas*, in honour of the prince of Spain [104]. In these

 islands

102 The Matelots are laid down in our modern maps, in lat. 9° N. Long 137° E. not far E. N. E. of the Pelew, or Pillelew islands.—E.

103 This great island of Mindanao, to the south of the Philippines, reaches from 9° 30′ N. to 5° 30′, and from long. 122° to 126° 20′ E. being about 300 miles long, by 270 miles broad.—E.

104 The Philippines, exclusive of Mindanao and Palawa, extend from lat. 9° to 18° 40′ both N. and are in E. long. 122° but their present geographical names, Luzon, Samar, Leyte, Zebu, Negros, Pany, Mindora, and several other smaller isles, have no resemblance whatever with those of the text.—E.

islands Torre procured provisions, and wood and water, whence he sailed for several days with a fair wind, edging towards the north-east, till he came right under the tropic of Cancer. On the 25th of September, they came in sight of certain islands, which they named *Malabrigos*, or the evil roads; beyond which they discovered *Las dos Hermanas*, or the Two Sisters; and beyond these again, four islands which they called *los Volcanes*. On the second of October they came in sight of *Farfana*, beyond which there is a high pointed rock, which throws up fire in five places. Sailing in this manner, for some time, in 16° of north latitude, they were obliged by continual contrary winds, to bear up again for the Philippine islands, and in their way back, had sight of six or seven additional islands, but did not anchor at any of them. They found also an archipelago, or numerous cluster of islands, in 15 or 16 degrees of north latitude, well inhabited by a white people, with beautiful well-proportioned women, and much better clothed than in any other of the islands of these parts; and they had many golden ornaments, which was a sure sign that there was some of that metal in their country. These people likewise had barks or vessels of forty-three cubits long, by two fathoms and a half in breadth, constructed of planks five inches broad, and which were rowed with oars. The people told the Spaniards that they were in use to sail in these vessels to China, which was not above five or six days sail from thence, and offered to supply them with pilots, if they were inclined to go thither. Several of these barks, handsomely decked, came off to the Spanish ship, in which the master, and other principal people, sat on a high platform, while the rowers sat underneath, who were *blackamoors* or negroes with frizzled hair. Being asked whence they had these negroes, they answered that they were brought from certain islands near Sebut, where there were abundance to be had. The Spaniards wondered much at finding negroes in this place, being above 300 leagues from the nearest land of the negroes: It is therefore probable that these people were not originally natives of this part of the world; but that they have been scattered somehow in various places over the circuit of the earth, as they are found in the islands of Nicobar and Andaman, in the bay of Bengal. From thence, for the space of 500 leagues, we do not know of any other black people: Yet Vasco Nunnez de Valboa pretends to have discovered them, when he went to explore the coast of the South Sea,

in

in a country which he named *Quareca*; but there never were any found in New Spain, Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

In the year 1544, Don Gutierre de Vargas, bishop of Placenza, the cousin of Mendoça, sent a fleet from Seville to the straits of Magellan, instigated by the advice of the viceroy. Some said that this fleet was destined for the Moluccas, others for China, and others again, that it was meant only to explore the coast from the straits along Chili to Peru. However this may have been, the fleet was unable, from contrary winds, to get through the straits, except one small bark which got into the South Sea, and sailed along the whole coast, till it came to *Chirimai* and *Arequipa*, which is above 500 leagues, which were now explored; all the rest of the coast having been formerly discovered by Diego de Almagro, Francis Pizarro, and their people, at various times[105].

In January of the year 1545, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos, formerly mentioned, came with his Spaniards to the isle of *Moro*[106], and the city of *Camato*, where he was well received by the kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and the people of the country; for I, Antonio Galvano, had then left the Moluccas; and they put the governor Don George de Castro to much trouble, and great expence. In the same year, 1545, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos, sent another ship from Tidore for New Spain, under the command of Ignatius Ortez de Rotha, and having Jaspar Rico as pilot, with orders to attempt the passage by the south side of the line. Ortez sailed to the coast of Papua, which he explored; and, as he knew not that Saavedra had been there formerly, he challenged the credit and honour of the discovery. Finding the natives of a black colour, with frizzled hair, he named the country on that account New Guinea. Thus, the memory of Saavedra was then almost lost, as every thing is apt to fall into oblivion, unless put upon record, and illustrated by writing.

In June of this year, 1545, one Pedro Fidalgo, a Portuguese, sailed in a junk from the city of Borneo; but being driven to the north by contrary winds, he fell in with a large island, the south extremity of which lay in nine or ten degrees of north latitude, while it stretched to lat. 22° N. at its other

105 Gomar. H. G. IV. xiv.

106 Probably Morty, the most north-easterly of the Moluccas.—E.

other end, which is called the island of Luçones, from the name of the nation by which it is inhabited. Perhaps it may have some other name, of which, as yet, we have not been informed. This island runs from the north for a great way directly south, and then takes a turn towards the south-east. It is said that Fidalgo sailed for 250 leagues along the coast of this island, which is in the midway between Mindanao and China, and he reported that the land was fruitful, and well clothed with trees and verdure; and that the inhabitants will give two pezoes of gold for one of silver, although so near China, in which the relative value of these metals is so well understood.

In the year 1553, certain ships were sent out from England, which sailed to the northward, along the coast of Norway and Finmark, and from thence east, in seventy or eighty degrees of north latitude, till they came to Muscovy, to which country one of the ships penetrated; but I have not been able to learn what became of the rest. From the land of Muscovy, a ship may sail eastwards to Tartary, at the farthest extremity of which China is situated. It is reported that there is a wall above 200 leagues in length, between Tartary and China, in about lat. 50° N.

From all the preceding discoveries, it may be concluded, that, as the whole earth is 360 degrees, and the ancient writers allow $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues for every degree, the entire circuit of the earth would thus be 6300 leagues; but as, in my opinion, each degree is exactly seventeen leagues, the circuit will then be only 6120 leagues. However this may be, the whole circuit of the globe has been discovered and sailed over, from east to west, even almost as it is encompassed and visited by the sun in its diurnal course. It is quite otherwise, however, in respect to the northern and southern parts of the earth. For, towards the north pole, there has only been discovered hitherto to the latitude of 77° or 78°, which make an extent of 1347 leagues; and between the equinoctial and the south pole, there has only been discovered to the latitude of 52° or 53° south, or to the Straits of Magellan; which amounts to no more than 960 leagues. Now, adding these two together, their sum is just 2257 leagues: And, deducting this sum from 6300 leagues, there still remains to be discovered, in the north and south, 4043 leagues.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

THE JOURNEY OF AMBROSE CONTARINI, AMBASSADOR FROM THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE TO UZUN-HASSAN, KING OF PERSIA, IN THE YEARS 1473, 4, 5, AND 6, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS relation of a journey into Persia, between the years 1473 and 1477, is from a collection of voyages and travels, principally in Asia, made in the *twelfth*, *thirteenth*, *fourteenth*, and *fifteenth* centuries, which was published at the Hague, in the French language, in 1735. That collection usually goes under the name of *Bergeron*, whose name appears on the title somewhat equivocally as the author; but who is mentioned in the advertisement as a writer belonging to the middle of the preceding century; and the only part of the work that can be attributed to him, is a *Treatise of Navigation, and of the Modern Voyages of Discovery and Conquest, especially those made by the French, &c.* which serves as an introduction to this compilement. The editor of this collection gives no account of himself, or of the sources from whence he has derived his different articles; and only says, that the journal of Contarini was translated into French, that it might be published along with the other contents of his volume. From the *Bibliotheque Universelle des Voyages*, by G. Boucher de la Richarderie, a new work of great research, published at Paris in 1808, we learn that the journal of Contarini was published in Italian at Venice, in a duodecimo volume, in 1543. So far as is known to us, it now appears for the first time in an English translation. This article might have been more aptly placed towards the close of the *first* part of the present collection, but escaped notice in proper time; and it appears of too much importance, both in itself, and as an early

early document, to be omitted from punctilious attention to rigid systematic arrangement.

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

"The illustrious republic of Venice, having done me the honour to appoint me ambassador to Uzun-Hassan, king of Persia, I accepted the employment with much pleasure, both that I might do acceptable service to my own country, and for the general good of Christendom. I neither considered the difficulties nor the dangers of the journey, but placed my trust solely on the assistance of God; preferring the interests of my country, and of the Christian world, to my own ease and safety. On purpose to render my discoveries useful to the public, I have carefully and briefly recorded every circumstance deserving of attention, that occurred during my long and laborious journey; as relative to the provinces, cities, and places through which I travelled, and the manners and customs of the different nations among whom I sojourned. In short, I have omitted nothing deserving of notice, that occurred during my *three* years journey, having left Venice on the first day of Lent, in the year 1473, and having returned to my beloved country on the 24th of February in the year 1476 [1]."

Section I.

The Ambassador, after passing through Germany, Poland, Russia, and the Tartarian Deserts, or Upper European Sarmatia, arrives at Caffa or Theodosia.

I left Venice on the 23d of February, in the year 1473, accompanied by the venerable priest Stephen Testa, who acted as my chaplain and secretary, and by Demetrius de Seze, my interpreter, together with two servants, Maffei de Bergamo, and John Ungaretti, all of us disguised in ordinary German dresses, our money being concealed in the clothes of Stephen Testa. We went by water in the first place to the church of *St Michael in Murano*, where we heard mass, and

1 In the latter part of this journey, the date of his return to Venice is the 10th of April.—E.

and received the benediction of the prior; after which, we mounted our horses, which were there in waiting, and reached Treviso [2] the same day. I anxiously wished to have procured some person to accompany us on the journey who knew the road, but could not meet with any, nor could I even procure a guide for hire. Leaving Treviso on the 24th, we arrived that day at Cogiensi, now called Cornegliano [3]; and knowing the dangers and difficulties we must experience during our long journey, we here confessed, and partook of the holy sacrament of the eucharist, after which we resumed our journey. We fortunately overtook a German, named Sebastian, who said he knew me and the object of my journey, and offered to keep us company to Nuremburgh. I gladly accepted of this person as a companion of our journey, inwardly thanking God for affording us a guide. We continued our journey to the frontiers of Germany, passing through several cities and castles, belonging to different princes and bishops, vassals of the empire, among which the city of Augsburg seemed one of the most beautiful. Not far from that place our German companion, Sebastian, left us, taking the road for Francfort. We parted from him with many embraces, giving him thanks for his numerous attentions, and mutually wishing each other a good journey.

Having procured a new guide, we arrived at Nuremburg on the 10th of March. This is a fine city, having a river running through the middle of it, and is defended by an excellent citadel. While here, I inquired of my landlord if there were any travellers going our way. He informed me that there were two ambassadors from the king of Poland then in the city, who, he was certain, would be happy to receive a visit from me. I therefore sent my chaplain, Stephen Testa, to inform these gentlemen of my being in Nuremburg, and of the purpose of my journey, and of my desire to pay them a visit. They received my message with much civility, and I accordingly went to wait upon them. These gentlemen were counsellors of state to his Polish Majesty, one of whom was an archbishop, and the other a knight, named Paul. After mutual compliments, I informed them that I proposed paying my respects to their sovereign, and was furnished with a passport. Notwithstanding the sorry equipage in which I travelled,

2 Called Tarvisin, in the original.—E.
3 Called Conigiano, in the edition of Bergeron.—E.

travelled, they received me with much honour. I remained four days in Nuremburg, during which I formed a friendly intimacy with the Polish ambassadors, and then resumed my journey in their company, being likewise accompanied by an ambassador belonging to the king of Bohemia, eldest son of the king of Poland.

Departing from Nuremburg on the 14th of March, now nearly sixty horsemen in company, we crossed through Germany, always lodging in good cities or castles, some of which were extremely beautiful, both in respect to their situation and the excellence of their fortifications; but I omit describing them, as they are well known to travellers. The journey across Germany took us twelve days, during which we passed through the greater part of the dominions of the Maregrave of Brandenburg, and arrived at the imperial city of Francfort, a tolerably good and well fortified city on the Oder. We rested here till the 29th of March. As this city is near the confines of Poland, we had an escort of cavalry belonging to the Maregrave of Brandenburg, which accompanied us to the frontiers. These soldiers were well mounted and armed, and marched in good order. On the last day of March we arrived at Miedzyrzyez[4], which is a small city, but strong and pleasant, and is the first place on the frontiers of Poland. From that place till we reached *Stragone*, or Poznan, which took us three days journey, we saw no place worth notice. Poznan is particularly remarkable on account of a great fair, which is resorted to by many merchants. Leaving Poznan on the 3d of April, we arrived on the 9th at Lenczycz[5], where Casimir, king of Poland, then resided. In this journey we found neither cities nor considerable castles, and had much reason to remember Germany with regret, both on account of bad lodgings and every other circumstance. When my arrival was announced to the king, he sent two of his gentlemen to wait upon me, who assigned me a tolerably commodious lodging. Next day being Easter, when no business of any kind is transacted, I rested after the fatigues of the journey. On the following morning the king sent me a robe of black damask, according to the custom of the country, that I might

4 This small city stands on a small river which runs into the Werta, at the western extremity of what was Poland, about sixty-seven miles from Poznan. It is called Messaricie in the original.—E.

5 Lausicie in the original.—E.

might go to court, which I did, accompanied by several persons of distinction, and had the honour to pay my respects to the king, according to the ceremonies of that court; after which I presented the letters of our illustrious republic to his majesty, and explained to him the nature of my commission. The king was pleased to invite me to dinner, which was served much in the same manner as with us, the dishes being in great abundance, and well dressed. As soon as dinner was over, I asked permission to retire, which was accordingly granted. Two days afterwards I was again sent for to court, when the king gave orderly answers to all the proposals which I had made in the name of our republic, and with so much benevolent attention towards me, that I learned by experience that he justly deserved the character of the best king who had reigned in Poland for a great many years. He was pleased to appoint me two guides, one of whom was to accompany me through Poland, and the other through lower Russia, to Kiow [6], or Magrano, which is the key of the kingdom. I humbly thanked his majesty in the name of the republic, and took my leave.

I left Lenczycz on the 14th of April, on my journey through Poland, which is a flat country, ornamented with many forests; but the great want of convenient lodgings is a sure proof that it is not very fertile, nor much abounding in the necessaries of life. On the 19th I arrived at Lublin, a tolerable city, defended by a citadel. The three sons of the king resided there at this time for their education. The eldest of these princes was about fourteen years of age, and the two others considerably younger. Learning that they wished to see me, providing that their father had not forbidden, I waited upon them, and was received with much politeness, the eldest conversing with me in the most obliging manner, and I observed that they behaved with much respect to their preceptor. I took my leave of them, returning thanks for their civilities, and they parted from me with as much courtesy as I had experienced in my reception. Leaving Lublin, and continuing our journey through Poland, we arrived on the 20th of April in lower Russia, which is subject to the king of Poland. In this part of our journey we travelled five whole days through thick woods, and, except meeting with a very few

6 Named Chio in the original. The second name, Magrano, is afterwards called Magraman by Çontarini, or his French translator.—E.

few castles, we lodged for the most part in country houses. On the 25th, we came to a town named *Jusch*, which is defended by a wooden castle. We rested here for some time, yet not without danger, as the inhabitants were quite mad with drunkenness, on account of celebrating certain marriages. This country produces no wine, but the natives prepare a liquor from honey, which is stronger and more intoxicating even than wine. Leaving this place, we came to another village named *Aitomir*, in which likewise there is a wooden castle. During the whole of our journey of the 29th, we travelled through forests, in constant danger of robbers who infested all the roads, and we knew not where to pass the night, or to procure any refreshments, insomuch that we had to sleep in the woods, keeping strict watch lest we might be surprised by the banditti. On the 30th of April we reached *Belligraoch*, which signifies the *white* fort, where we were lodged in the royal palace, and passed the night with much inconvenience.

On the first of May we reached the city of *Kiow*[7], or Magraman. The governor of this city, which stands beyond the frontiers of Polish Russia, was a Polander and Catholic, named *Pamartin*. Immediately on learning my arrival from the guides sent along with me by the king, he appointed me a lodging, which was sufficiently small, considering the size of the city. He here visited me, and sent me a sufficient supply of provisions. This city serves as a barrier or frontier garrison against the Tartars, and is celebrated for a great fair, to which the merchants bring rich furs, and other goods from Upper Russia. From hence the merchants travel in a large caravan to Caffa or Theodosia in the Crimea; but are often surprised and very ill treated by the Tartars during their journey. The country about Kiow abounds in grain and cattle. The inhabitants of this place occupy the whole day in their affairs till three o'clock, employing all the rest, till night, in drinking and quarrels, the natural consequence of drunkenness. On the day of my arrival, governor Pamartin

7 Named Chio in the original, but which must necessarily be Kiow, or Kieu, now belonging to Russia. The three formerly mentioned stages Jusch, Aitomir, and Belligraoch, must either be villages of too little importance to find a place in geographical maps, or their names are so corrupted as to be unintelligible. The direct road from Lublin to Kiow, passes through the palatinates of Russia, Wolhynia, and Kiow, provinces of ci-devant Poland, now annexed to the Russian empire.—E.

tin sent some of his gentlemen to invite me to dinner, which I accepted with as much politeness as I could express. He received me very honourably, offering me every service in his power, in the most obliging manner; saying, that he was ordered by the king of Poland to treat me in every thing as well as possible; on which I thanked him for his polite attentions, and endeavoured to recommend myself to his friendship. From him I was informed that he was in daily expectation of the arrival of an ambassador from Lithuania, going with presents to the prince of the Tartars, who was to have an escort of 200 Tartar horse; and, if I were inclined to take advantage of this opportunity, by which means I should travel in much greater safety, I had better wait the arrival of this ambassador. I accepted of this offer most willingly; and we then sat down to a magnificent entertainment; at which the bishop of Kiow, who was brother to the governor, and many other persons of consequence were present. We wanted nothing which could contribute to make the dinner pleasant. Good company, good cheer, and music during the repast. The only circumstance I did not like was, that it lasted too long; as I had more need for sleep and rest, after my fatiguing journey, than of all the good cheer that could be offered. In consequence, as soon as dinner was ended, I took my leave, and retired to my lodgings in the city; the governor living in the castle, which is only of wood. The city of Kiow stands on the river named anciently Boristhenes, and Danambre by the natives, which we Italians call Lerissa, and which falls into the Euxine.

On the 10th of May [8], the ambassador of Lithuania arrived; and, as he was to set out next day after mass, I went to pay him my compliments, accompanied by M. Pamartin; who directed him, on the part of the king of Poland, to take care of me, and to conduct me in perfect safety to Theodosia. To this the ambassador answered, that he had every respect for the orders of his majesty, the sovereign arbiter of his life and death, and would carefully obey his orders. I thanked M. Pamartin for all his kindnesses, as he had frequently visited me, and had supplied me with every thing I needed for subsistence during my stay; and, as some token of my gratitude, I made him a present of a tolerably good German

8 The original says April, but attention to the context distinctly points out this necessary correction.—E.

German horse, which had carried me hitherto. We here parted with the rest of our horses, which were quite unfit for our farther use, and procured horses of the country for the remainder of our journey; and, on parting with the guides who had accompanied us to Kiow by orders of the king, I rewarded them for their attention and good conduct.

I left Kiow on the 11th of May, along with the Lithuanian ambassador; and as I was unable to travel on horseback, on account of pains in my feet, I travelled in a carriage, which had served me for that purpose ever since I left the king of Poland at Lenczycz. The first place we came to was *Cerea*, belonging to the king of Poland, where we waited till the 15th, for the Tartar horse who came to escort us on our journey. After their arrival we set out on our journey through the great desert of Tartary, and came to the Boristhenes, which separates Tartary from Russia, and which is some miles broad [9]. As it was necessary to pass the river, our Tartars cut down some trees, the stems of which they fastened together into a raft, which was covered over by the branches, and upon which the whole of our baggage was placed. They fastened their horses by the tails to this raft, by which means it was dragged across the river, they themselves swimming along-side of their horses, and holding by their manes. We had likewise to swim our horses across, in which we succeeded, by the blessing of God, but in much fear and danger at this, to us, unusual mode of navigation. When we got over, we had to remain a whole day on the other side to collect and replace our baggage.

While among the Tartars, their officers eyed me with much attention and suspicion; and, during our new journey through the desert beyond the river, the Lithuanian ambassador informed me, by means of the interpreter, that the Tartar officers had come to a resolution to carry me to their prince, as they could not allow a person of my appearance to go on to Theodosia without his permission. I was much alarmed by this intelligence, believing that I should incur considerable risk of having the purposes of my journey frustrated by

9 From this circumstance it evidently appears that the journey from Kiow had hitherto been on the right or west of the Dnieper or Boristhenes, through the country of the Nogais Tartars, now forming the western portion of the Russian province of Catharinoslau; and we may suppose the wide part of that river they had now to cross to have been somewhere about Cherson.—E.

by this measure, and, therefore, earnestly recommended to the ambassador to keep in mind the orders he had received on the part of the king of Poland respecting me, and the promises he had made to Pamartin; and I promised to make a present of a sword to the interpreter if he succeeded to extricate me from my embarrassment. The interpreter reported my fears and wishes to the ambassador, who succeeded, after drinking with the Tartars, in persuading them that I was of Genoa; and, by means of a present of fifteen ducats, he obtained permission for me to go direct for Theodosia. Our journey through the desert continued till the 9th of June, during which we suffered many hardships, having, at one time, been a whole day and night without water. At length it became necessary for us to part company, the Lithuanian ambassador and his escort taking the direct road to Bachiserai [10], at which place the prince of the Tartars resided. On this occasion, a Tartar was appointed to be our guide to Theodosia, and we parted from the escort, not without considerable apprehensions of some sudden attack from the Tartars, yet much satisfied at getting rid of that crew, for they smelt so abominably, from feeding on horse flesh, that it was quite intolerable to come near them.

Our whole company passed the ensuing night in carts covered with skins, in which we were soon surrounded by a great number of persons, inquiring who we were. On being informed by our Tartar guide that I was of Genoa, they supplied us with milk, and left us. Resuming our journey next morning early, we arrived that day, which was the 16th of June, at the suburbs of Theodosia, otherwise called Kaffa. Filled with gratitude for our preservation through so many dangers, we went privately into a church to give thanks to God for our safe arrival; and from thence I sent my interpreter to inform the Venetian consul of my arrival. He immediately sent his brother to wait upon me, advising me to remain where I was till night, when he carried me privately to a house belonging to him in the same suburb, where I was exceedingly well received. I here found Paulus Omnibamus, who had left Venice three months before me, under the orders of our illustrious republic.

SECTION

10 Named Arcercherihet in the French translation of Contarini; but which must necessarily be some corruption of Baschiserai, the residence of the khan of the Crim Tartars.—E.

SECTION II.

Contarini, leaving Kaffa, crosses the Euxine to the city of Phasis, whence he pursues his journey through Mingrelia, Georgia, and part of Armenia, into Persia.

IT is impossible for me to give any exact description of the city of Kaffa, or Theodosia, or of its government, as the danger of incurring suspicion obliged me to remain continually at home; on which account I can only mention such particulars as I learned from others. It is situated on the Euxine, and is celebrated for a great fair, which is much frequented, on which account the city is very populous, and is said to be very rich and powerful. I hired a vessel belonging to Anthony Valdat, which lay in the Palus Meotis, to carry me to the city of *Phasis*. When I was ready to embark, I met with two Armenians, one of whom had been on an embassy to Rome, from Uzun Hassan, and was persuaded by them to prefer disembarking at *Tina*, about an hundred miles from Trebisond, instead of Phasis, alleging that from Tina it was only four hours journey to a castle named *Arrius*, which depended upon the king of Persia, and promising to conduct us to that place in safety. Although I was by no means satisfied with this advice, I allowed myself to be guided by the consul and his brother, who agreed in opinion with the Armenians. I accordingly left Kaffa on the 4th of June [1], accompanied by the consul, who went with me to the river, where our vessel was in waiting. I had formerly agreed with the master for our passage to Phasis at seventy ducats, but on occasion of the change in our destination, I was now obliged to pay an hundred. Being aware that I should not be able to meet with any person to serve us at the place we were going to, I used the precaution to hire nine men from Kaffa, to assist the mariners of our vessel, and to procure provisions for us in our journey through Georgia and Mingrelia.

We embarked on the 15th of June, and made sail across the Euxine, direct for Tina, but had hardly got twenty miles on

1 We have already seen that it was the 16th of that month when Contarini arrived at Kaffa. Much confusion has occurred in the dates of this journey, which we have no means of correcting, and must, therefore, be contented with them as they are.---E.

on our voyage, when a contrary wind sprung up from the east. Observing the mariners consulting together in an extraordinary manner, I became curious to know the purpose of their discourse. Accordingly, one Bernard, the brother-in-law of our captain, said to me that he understood we proposed going to Tina, but advised me by no means to do so; as a certain *Subassa* roamed about that neighbourhood with a band of cavalry, who would certainly make us slaves if we fell into his hands. On this advice I changed my purpose, and the wind becoming more favourable, we made sail for Liasi and Phasis, and arrived at *Varsi* on the 29th of June, where I disembarked my horses and baggage, and sent them from thence by land to Phasis, which is sixty miles from that place. *Varsi* is a castle, with a small village in Mingrelia, belonging to a lord named *Gorbola*, to whom likewise *Caltichea* [2], a place of small importance on the coast of the Euxine, is subject. The inhabitants of this country are very miserable, and the only productions are hemp, wax, and silk.

On the 1st of July we arrived near Phasis, followed by a vessel filled with Mingrelians, who seemed all to be fools or drunk. Quitting the vessel, we went up the river in a boat, passing an island in the mouth of the river, where Oetes, the father of Medea the enchantress, is said to have reigned. On this island we spent the night, and were sadly infested by midges. Next day we went up the river in the boat, passing the city of Asso, which stands on its banks in the midst of a forest. I here found one Nicholas Capella, of Modena, who commanded in these parts, and a Circassian woman named Martha, who had been the slave of a person of Genoa, but was now married. This Martha received me with much kindness, and with her I staid two days. Phasis is a city of Mingrelia, subject to prince Bendian, whose dominions extend only about three days journey in length. The country is very mountainous, and full of forests. The inhabitants are so fierce and savage, that they might be accounted wild beasts. Their principal drink is beer; they have some corn and wine, but in very small quantities; boiled millet being their ordinary food, which is a very poor kind of nourishment. They sometimes procure wine and salted fish from Trebisond, and import

2 The names of places in this journal are so corrupted as to be often quite unintelligible. Varsi may possibly be Vardon, in the district to the north-west of Mingrelia, named Abkhas; and Caltichea may perhaps be Sulhuali, a sea port about 30 miles to the east. Phasis probably refers to some town on the river of that name, perhaps Subastei.—E.

import salt from Kaffa, without which they could not exist. Their only productions consist in a small quantity of hemp and wax. If they were industrious, they might procure abundance of fish, which are very numerous in their river. They are Christians, according to the Greek ritual, to which they have added many gross superstitions.

I left Phasis on the 4th of July, accompanied by Nicholas Capella, and crossed the river *Mare* on a float. That day and the next, we travelled through a considerable portion of Mingrelia, always among woods and mountains. Towards the evening of the 5th, we came to the habitation of prince Bendian, whom we found, with all his court, reclining on a plain, under the shade of some trees. I sent Nicholas Capella to inform him of my quality, and to ask permission to pay him my respects, which was accordingly granted. I saluted him, therefore, with great respect, as he sat on the ground with his wife and children, and he made me sit down beside him. After explaining the purpose of my journey, I requested he would have the goodness to appoint me a guide. He expressed his satisfaction at my arrival in his dominions, and granted my request. He afterwards sent me some bread, a piece of beef, and the head of a sow, but so under done, that it required the extreme necessity in which we then were to induce us to eat of his provisions; but when we cannot get what we like, we must put up with what can be had. We had to wait a whole day for the promised guide. The plain in which we found prince Bendian, is surrounded by very fine trees, resembling box, but much more lofty. The prince seemed about fifty years of age, and had a tolerably handsome countenance, but his manners were perfectly ridiculous.

On the 7th of July we continued our journey, always among woods and mountains, and next day passed the river which divides Mingrelia from Georgia, having to pass the night in the open air, and, what was worse, we had nothing to eat. On the 9th, we arrived at a small city named *Cotachis*[5], which is defended by a stone fort, and where we saw a temple that seemed very ancient. We had here to pass a bridge over a large river, before reaching the plain in which the huts of Plangion, king of Georgia, are situated. The fort and city of Cotachis belong to Plangion. I waited upon the commander

5 Probably Cutais in Imeritia, on the river Riene.—E.

commander of this place who invited me to dinner. He was seated on the ground, on which I, and those of my suite who accompanied me, and some friends of the governor, all sat down. Before us was laid a greasy skin, on which they served us with bread, radishes, some flesh, and other execrable articles with which I was not acquainted. They continually offered me wine in large goblets, to fill me drunk, according to their abominable customs, as they are as foolish and beastly as the Mingrelians. Finding that I would not join them in deep drinking, they held me in great contempt, insomuch that I found it extremely difficult to get leave to retire and to continue my journey. But at length they brought me a guide to conduct me to the king of Georgia.

I left Cotachis on the 12th of July; and, after travelling the whole day through woods and mountains, we rested for the night in a meadow at the foot of a mountain, near a castle named *Scandes* [4], in which king *Pangrates* [5] resides. My guide here left me on purpose to inform the king of my arrival; promising to return immediately with another guide to serve me during the rest of the journey. We had accordingly to pass the whole night in the wood, starving of hunger, and full of anxiety. The guide came back early in the morning, accompanied by two of the kings secretaries, who informed me that the king was gone to Cotachis, and had ordered them to make an inventory of all our baggage, and of every thing we had about us; after which we should be provided with a passport, to travel free from payment of any duties through the whole country. They proceeded accordingly in their examination and inventory with the most rigorous exactness, even noting down the very shirts we then wore. After this they ordered me to mount my horse, and to go along with them to the king, leaving all my people behind. I used my best endeavours to be excused from this; but, instead of listening to me, they loaded me with insolence; and the only favour I could obtain, and that with the utmost difficulty, was permission to take my interpreter along with me. We accordingly resumed our journey, without meat or drink, and arrived much fatigued at Cotachis towards night; where my interpreter and me were left all night to our repose under a tree, where, indeed, they sent us some bread and fish.

4 Perhaps Sarassan, about forty miles S. E. from Cutais.—E.

5 Apparently the same prince named Plangion a little before.—E.

fish. The remainder of my people were taken to a miserable village, where they were left in charge of the priest; and our mutual anxiety may be easily guessed.

Next morning I was carried before the king, whom I found sitting on the ground in a hut, surrounded by several of his nobles. After paying my respects, he asked me a great number of questions, and among the rest, how many kings there were in the world? It came into my fancy to answer that there were twelve. On which he signified that I was right, and that he was one of the number; and that he was much surprised that I should come into his dominions without bringing him a letter from my sovereign. To this I answered, that when I left my own country, I did not expect to travel through his dominions, otherwise my sovereign would assuredly have given me letters in charge for his majesty; and with this answer he seemed satisfied. He asked many other extraordinary questions, from which I conjectured that my guide had maliciously represented me as carrying many valuable things; and it is probable, if this had been the case, that I had never been allowed to escape out of their hands. The royal secretaries endeavoured to persuade me that I ought to make the king a present of any article that might strike his fancy among my small baggage; but I got off without making any present, except compliments, and requesting him to appoint some one to conduct me through his dominions. This he was pleased to promise, as likewise to give me a free passport, without paying any duties, as I carried no merchandize. Accordingly, I took my leave of the king on the 14th of July, returning to the tree I formerly mentioned as my lodging, where the secretary brought me the promised passport and a guide. I then returned to my people at the village where they were kept in my absence, and was received with much joy, as the priest had represented the king as the cruellest tyrant in the world. My people could not contain themselves for excess of joy at my safe return, and even the miserable priest was so touched at the scene, that he provided us with something to eat, and we slept there that night as well as we could.

Next day, being the 15th of July, we provided ourselves with some bread and wine, to comfort ourselves on the way, and resumed our journey through thick forests and terrible mountains, which continued for two days. In the evening of the 16th, we stopt near a spring, where we remained during

ing the night in the open air, being obliged to light a fire on account of the coldness of the weather, though in the middle of summer. On the 17th of the same month we arrived at *Goride* [6], which belongs to the king of Georgia. This city is built on a plain, watered by a large river, and is defended by a citadel which is built upon a rock. Our guide notified our arrival to the commandant, who ordered us a house for our lodgings, apparently for the purpose of extorting a present; for shortly afterwards he informed me that he had letters from the king, by which he was ordered to receive twenty-six ducats from me for himself, and that I should pay six to my guide. I endeavoured to evade this demand, by saying that the king had received me favourably, to whom I had already given seventy ducats, and could not give any thing more, and urged my free passport. But he would listen to nothing I could urge, and I was forced to comply with his extortion. He even detained me till the 19th of the month, and even then I had extreme difficulty to get leave to depart. The inhabitants of the city, who deserve rather to be ranked among beasts, looked at us with as much astonishment as if they had never seen any other men than ourselves. They told us that, on the top of a high mountain in a neighbouring forest, there was a great church, in which was an image of the Virgin, which worked many miracles, and that the church was served by forty monks, whom they named *Calojeriens* [7]. But our anxiety to get out of this abominable country, prevented us from paying our devotions at that famous church. Georgia, indeed, is a somewhat better country than Mingrelia, but the manners of the people and their way of living is equally brutal; and such were the distresses and difficulties I encountered in travelling through both, that it would be tedious to relate them. On the 20th of July we left the abominable city of Goride, where we had suffered so many vexations, and continued our journey through forests and over mountains, occasionally falling in with villages where we purchased provisions. We had always to pass the nights on the ground near some spring or rivulet,

6 Gori in Georgia, on the river Kur. The journey hitherto must have been through Mingrelia, then apparently subject to the prince or king of Georgia.—E.

7 Probably Caloyers.—E.

rivulet, during most part of our journey through Mingrelia and Georgia.

SECTION III.

Arrival of Contarini at Tauris or Ecbatana, the royal city of Uzun-Hassan, and continuation of his journey through Persia to Ispahan, where the king then resided.

ON the 22d of July we began to ascend a mountain of prodigious height, insomuch, that when night came on we had scarcely reached the top, where we had to pass the night without water. Resuming our journey in the morning, we descended the other side of the mountain, and entered the province of Armenia, which is under the dominion of Uzun-Hassan [1]. In the evening we were conducted to a fort named Reo, which stands in the plain, between a deep river and a high mountain, and which is garrisoned by Turks in the service of Uzun-Hassan, but the neighbouring village is inhabited by Armenians. We rested in this place till the 25th of July, waiting the arrival of a guide to direct us in the remainder of the journey, and being well treated by the inhabitants, we rewarded them to their satisfaction. The Armenian who had joined us at Kaffa, under pretence of being an ambassador from Uzun-Hassan to the Pope, was recognized by the inhabitants of this village as an impostor and a notorious robber, and many were astonished how we had escaped from his machinations: I got rid of him therefore immediately, and made him restore me a horse which I had lent him for the journey; after which I procured a priest of an honest character to conduct me to Tauris. Leaving Reo with my new guide on the 26th of July, we ascended a mountain, and came on the other side to a plain surrounded by hills, where we found a village inhabited by Turks, near which

1 Uzun-Hassan in the Turkish language signifies Hassan the long, which prince was likewise named Hassan-beg, or Lord Hassan, and Ozun-Azem-beg, or the long lord Azem or Hassan. By different European writers his name has been corrupted into Unsun Cassan, Uxun-Cassan, and Usum-Chasan. He was a Turkman emir of the Ak-koyunla dynasty, or white sheep tribe, whose ancestor, the governor of a province under the descendants of Timor, had rendered himself independent in the north and west of Persia.—E.

which we had to pass the night in the open air, though the inhabitants treated us with decent civility. Next morning we departed before day, having to pass another mountain, on the side of which was a village inhabited by Turks, among whom we should have run extreme hazard of our lives if they had seen us; but by using much diligence we avoided this danger, and got down into an extensive plain, full of fine pastures, and travelled with great expedition that we might pass the night at a respectable distance from the lawless inhabitants of the hills. On the 29th we passed the mountain of Noah, or *Ararat*, which is so lofty that it is covered with snow the whole year. We were told that many who had attempted to reach the top of this mountain had never been more heard of, while others, on making the same attempt, said, on their return, that it was quite inaccessible.

From this place forwards we travelled through extensive plains intermixed with hills, and arrived on the 30th of July at a castle named *Chiagri*, inhabited by Armenians. Finding abundance of bread, wine, and poultry in this place, we rested here for a day, and then set out with a new guide for Ecbatana or Tauris. Leaving Chiagri towards evening of the 1st August, we came next day to an Armenian village at the foot of a mountain, where we had to cross a river in boats, and were informed that Uzun-Hassan had formerly gained a great victory near this place over the Tartars, having hemmed them into a corner, where their army wasted away with famine and disease. The ruler of these Tartars, named Sultan *Buzech*[2], was made prisoner, and was afterwards put to death. We here saw, on our left hand, eleven Armenian villages, near each other, who were Catholic Christians, their bishop being under submission to the Roman pontiff. The country is extremely agreeable, and is the most fertile of all the provinces of Persia. We arrived on the 3d of August at a large village called Marerich, near which we passed the night, and had to ride all the next day through a plain country exposed to great heat, which was greatly

2 This prince, whose real name was probably Abu Said, was the emir of the Kara-koyunla dynasty, or black sheep tribe of the Turkmans, who had risen to independence after the death of Timor, and who had long contended with the prince of the white sheep tribe for ascendancy. These two tribes derived their distinctive appellations of the black and white weathers, from some peculiarity in their ensigns or dress, equivalent to the distinguishing uniforms and banners of our European armies.—E.

greatly aggravated, as we could not procure a single drop of water for ourselves or our horses. On the way we met several Turkmans, whose custom it is to encamp here and there about the country, wherever they can find pasture for their cattle, and to change their residence as the pastures become exhausted. These people are abominable robbers, and look upon rapine as their highest glory; and as we had great reason to be afraid of them, I gave orders to all my people to tell whoever we met, that I was journeying to wait upon their sovereign, which was the only expedient for saving us from their violence.

We arrived on the 4th of August at the city of Ecbatana or *Tauris* [3], which stands in a plain, and is surrounded by an earthen rampart in bad repair. There are high mountains in its neighbourhood, which are said to be the Taurus of the ancients. I here lodged with a very good man, who gave us two sleeping chambers, a convenience we had been long unused to. He was quite astonished how we should have been able to escape the dangers of our journey, as all the roads were blocked up; and on asking him the reason, he told us that Ogurlu Mohammed [4], the eldest son of Uzun-Hassan, had rebelled against his father, and had taken possession of *Sylas* [5] or Persepolis, of which he had appointed his younger brother *Khalil* [6] as governor. Uzun-Hassan had assembled an army to reduce Persepolis and his sons to obedience; but a certain satrap named *Zagarli*, who commanded in the neighbouring mountains, favoured the cause of Ogurlu, and had ravaged the whole country, to the very gates of Tauris, with a body of 3000 horse, owing to which, all the roads were obstructed and unsafe. He farther informed us, that the governor of Tauris had one day issued forth to endeavour to put a stop to the marauders, but had been defeated by Zagarli, with the loss of most of his troops, and had even great difficulty in escaping back to the city. I inquired why the inhabitants

3 Called Tebriz in modern times.—E.

4 In the original this name is corrupted to Gurlumamech; but we learn from the Modern Universal History, that his real name was that expressed in the text of our translation.—E.

5 The ruins supposed to be those of Persepolis are situated near Istakar, about forty miles north from the modern city of Shiraz, in the province of Fars or Persia proper; but the names in the original are often so corrupted as to defy even conjecture. Sylas is probably meant for Shiras.—E.

6 Named Chali in the original; but it is to be noted that the *ch* of the Italian is pronounced as *k* in English.—E.

bitants of Tauris did not take arms in their own defence, in a time of so much danger; but he answered, although they were obedient to the governor, they were quite unused to war. On learning the state of affairs in this place, I resolved to leave it as soon as possible, that I might get to the king; but I could neither procure a guide, nor prevail on the governor to shew me any favour. By the advice of my landlord I kept myself very much concealed, and employed my interpreter and Augustin of Pavia, whom I had brought with me from Kaffa because he understood a little Persian, to purchase our provisions, in which employment they were exposed to much ill treatment, and were often in hazard of their lives.

Some days afterwards, one of the sons of Uzun-Hassan, named Masu-beg [7], came to Tauris with 1000 horse, to defend the city from the incursions of Zagarli. I waited on this prince, having great difficulty to obtain an audience, telling him that I was sent as ambassador to his father, and had need of guides, whom I prayed him to provide me; but it was quite ineffectual, as he hardly deigned to answer me, and took no kind of interest in me or my affairs, so that I was obliged to return disappointed to my lodgings. Masu-beg endeavoured to raise money from the inhabitants of Tauris for the purpose of levying soldiers, but they resisted his demands, and all the shops of the city were shut up. In this emergency, being unable to procure provisions, I was obliged to quit my lodgings, with all my people, taking refuge in an Armenian church, where they gave us a small place in which to keep our horses; and I ordered all my people to keep constantly within doors, to avoid meeting with injury. My apprehensions on this occasion may easily be conceived; but God, who had already protected us in so many dangers, was mercifully pleased to deliver us from that which now hung over us. On the 7th of September, *Bertonius Liompardus* [8], whom I had before seen at Kaffa, and who had been sent by our illustrious republic, arrived at Tauris. He was

7 It is difficult to determine whether Contarini here means Maksud-beg or Masih-beg, as Uzun-Hassan had two sons of these names; Maksud was the elder, and may have been the person named in the text Masu. Bec or Beg signifies Lord or Prince.—E.

8 The person mentioned before by Contarini as a messenger from Venice, and whom he met with at Kaffa, was named on that occasion Paulus Omnibamus, totally dissimilar from the name in this part of the text.—E.

was accompanied by his nephew, named *Brancalione*, and having come by way of Trebisond was a month later than me in reaching Tauris. I now dispatched Augustin de Pavia, of whom I have before made mention, with letters to the republic of Venice, in which I gave an account to the senate of all that had happened to us hitherto. I sent this man by way of Alapia, where he at length arrived in good health, after having escaped many dangers.

Although I remained in Tauris till the 22d of September, I was not able to acquire any exact knowledge of the city, having been forced to conceal myself the whole time. It is a large city, but its territory in some places is uncultivated, and I believe nowhere very populous; it abounds, however, in all the necessaries of life, but these are dear. Much silk is produced in this neighbourhood, which is exported by way of Alapia. A considerable quantity of cloth is manufactured in the place, which likewise abounds in various merchandize, but I did not hear of any pearls or precious stones. Fortunately for us a Cadilaskir, one of the counsellors of Uzun-Hassan, arrived about this time at Tauris, who returned from an embassy into Turkey, where he had unsuccessfully endeavoured to negociate a peace between his master and the Turkish government. Immediately on learning the arrival of this person, I used every effort to procure an interview, in which I succeeded, and by means of a present, I prevailed on him to admit me and my retinue into his suite. He received me with much civility, and granted all I asked, assuring me that, with the blessing of God, he would conduct me in safety to the king. Among his slaves there were two Illyrian renegadoes, who formed a strict intimacy with my people, to whom they promised to give every assistance in their power, and to give us due notice of the departure of their master, which they faithfully performed, and for which I rewarded them.

On the 22d of September we departed from Tauris with the Persian counsellor, accompanied likewise by a great many merchants and others, who took the advantage of travelling under his protection, from fear of being plundered by the rebels. This country in which we now travelled was quite level, with very few hills, so dry that we saw no trees except along the sides of rivers, and having only a few small villages, in which we purchased what was necessary for our journey, and always rested before mid-day in the open air,

being

being unable to travel during the height of the sun, on account of the great heat. Travelling in this manner, we arrived at *Sultanie* on the 27th of September. This city appeared to be very handsome, surrounded by walls, and defended by a good citadel. We saw here three most curious brazen gates, which had been made at Damascus, the finest things I ever beheld, which must have cost a great deal of money. The city of Sultanie stands in a plain at the foot of a range of mountains, some of which are exceedingly steep and precipitous, and the inhabitants of which are forced to remove into lower situations during winter, on account of the severity of the cold. We remained there for three days, and resumed our journey on the 30th of September, travelling sometimes in plains, and sometimes among hills, but always taking up our quarters for the night in the open air.

On the 6th of October we arrived at *Sena* [9], a city without walls, situated in a plain on the banks of a river, and surrounded by trees, in which city we passed the night in tolerably bad quarters. We departed from thence on the 8th, and stopping, according to our usual custom, in the fields, I was seized with a violent intermittent fever, insomuch that I could hardly get on horseback next day, and that with infinite distress. We arrived early next day at Kom, where I was forced to stop, all my attendants being seized in a similar manner with myself, except our priest Stephen Testa, who took care of us all. Our fever was so malignant that we were all delirious during the height of the access or hot fit. I was afterwards informed that the royal counsellor sent to visit me, begging my excuse that he could not wait for me, because it was necessary for him to repair without delay to the king; but that he had left one of his attendants with me as a guide, and that I need not now be under any apprehension, as there were none in that part of the country to do me harm. I remained here a long time sick. The city of Sena or Sava is not large, and has mud walls, being situated in a champaign country, which is well peopled, and abounds in every thing necessary to life.

On the 24th of October, being much recovered, we resumed our journey, though I was still so weak as to find much

9 Assuredly the Sava of modern maps, a city of Irac-agemi, which stands upon one of these extraordinary rivers, so numerous in Persia, which lose themselves in the sands, after a short but useful run.—E.

much difficulty in sitting on horseback. Next day we arrived at the city of Cashan [10], which very much resembles Kom, except that it is somewhat handsomer. On the following day, we came to *Nethas*, or Natban. This city stands likewise in a flat country, which produces much wine. I remained here one day, both to recruit my strength, and because I felt some return of my fever. On the 28th of October, I prepared as well as I was able to finish my journey, which was all on plain ground, and arrived at Ispahan, where Uzun-Hassan then resided, on the 3d of November, having employed twenty-four days in our journey from Tauris to this place. I immediately sought out the dwelling of Josaphat Barbaro [11], the ambassador of Venice, and went to him. He received me with much joy, and many embraces were mutually given and received, and we rejoiced together on my safe arrival: But as I had much need of rest, I very soon went to bed. When the king heard of my arrival, he sent some of his slaves to congratulate me, who presented me with some refreshments sent by his majesty.

Early in the morning of the 4th November, some of the kings slaves came to require that Josaphat Barbaro and I should come to court. On being introduced to an audience, we found the king attended by eight of his principal officers. Having made my obeisance after the manner of the country, I presented the letters of the republic, and explained the subject of my mission [12]. When I had finished speaking, he answered

10 About sixty miles S. S. E. from Kom. I am disposed to think that Contarini has slumpt his journey on the present occasion; as it is hardly to be believed a person in the weak state he describes himself could have travelled with so much rapidity: Besides, so far as we can learn from his journal, he travelled always with the same set of horses. Indeed the sequel immediately justifies this suspicion, as the subsequent dates are more distant than the travelling days of the text would warrant.—E.

11 See Travels of Josaphat Barbaro to Asof in 1436, in our Collection, Vol I. p. 501, in the introduction to which article, it will be seen that he had been sent on an embassy from Venice to Uzun-Hassan in 1572, two years before Contarini; and appears to have remained in the east for fourteen years in that capacity, after the departure of Contarini on his return to Venice.—E.

12 This nowhere distinctly appears; but we may easily understand incidentally, and from the history of the period, that the Venetian republic endeavoured to stir up enemies to the Turkish empire in the east, being unable to resist its power, now exerted against them in the Morea and the Greek islands; and we may even surmise that Uzun-Hassan was subsidized by the Venetians to make war upon the Turks.—E.

answered me in every point, and in few words; and, among other things, he excused his conduct in having been obliged to retire to this part of his kingdom. After this we were ordered to be seated, and his courtiers gave us an entertainment according to the Persian fashion, which consisted of many dishes tolerably well dressed. After the repast, we took leave of the king, and retired to our quarters. Two days afterwards, we were again sent for to court, when most of the royal apartments were shewn me. The king then resided in a very pleasant country palace, situated on the banks of a river. In one of the rooms, there was a painting of Ogurlu-Mohammed, the kings eldest son, leading the sultan *Busech*, or Abu Saïd, tied with a rope; and in another picture the decapitation of *Busech* was represented. We were again invited to an entertainment, at which many different kinds of confections were served up. We remained at Ispahan till the 25th of November, during which period we were frequently invited to court. The city of Ispahan, like the rest of the Persian cities, is surrounded by earthen ramparts. It stands in a plain, and is abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life. Having rebelled against the king, it was besieged and suffered much injury; for, being obstinately defended, it was subjected to the resentment of the conqueror and the fury of the soldiers.

Persia is a very flat and arid country, in many parts of which there are salt lakes. In such parts as can be supplied with water, grain and other fruits of the earth are produced in abundance, and there are plenty of beasts of all kinds, as it is everywhere intersected and surrounded by fertile mountains, but every thing is very dear. The Venetian quart of wine is sold for three or four ducats; but bread is not so dear in proportion. A camels load of wood costs a ducat. Flesh is dearer than with us, and seven hens cost a ducat; but other articles of provisions are cheaper. The Persians are a civil and humane people; and though Mahometans, they do not hate the Christians. The women are very modestly dressed, and ride on horseback with even more grace than the men; and, judging from the good appearance of the men, the women are probably handsome.

Section IV.

Contarini accompanies Uzun-Hassan from Ispahan to Tauris, where he finds Ambassadors from the Duke of Burgundy and the Prince of Muscovy, and gets leave to return to Venice.

The king left Ispahan with all his court on the 25th of November for Tauris, and we travelled along with him, passing through most of the places which we had seen in going to Ispahan. In this journey we always slept in tents in the fields, and the camp was well supplied with provisions, as many merchants had received orders to provide grain, victuals of all kinds, and all sorts of necessaries. On the 14th of November we arrived at Kom, where we remained two days under tents, exposed to extremely cold weather, and experienced much difficulty to procure a small house in which to shelter ourselves. We continued at this place till the 21st of March 1474, during which interval we went frequently to court, to pay our respects to the king, on which occasions we were generally invited to dinner. The Persian court is very magnificent, being attended by many high officers of state, and every day 400 persons dine along with the king. These are all seated on the ground, and are served in copper basons with boiled rice, or some other mess made of flesh and grain boiled together; but the king is served in great magnificence at a separate table, with a great variety of dishes of different kinds of meat. During his meals, the king is often served with wine, and then the musicians sing and play upon flutes such songs and tunes as the king pleases to order. The king is of a good size, with a thin visage and agreeable countenance, having somewhat of the Tartar appearance, and seemed to be about seventy years old. His manners were very affable, and he conversed familiarly with every one around him; but I noticed that his hands trembled when he raised the cup to his lips. It is not needful that I should enumerate all the audiences which I had on the subject of my mission, of which I shall make occasional mention hereafter.

On the 21st of March the king and all the court left Kom, on their journey towards Tauris, the baggage being carried by

by camels and mules. Each day we hardly exceeded ten or twelve, or at the most twenty Italian miles, and always stopt at each encampment till the forage in the neighbourhood was consumed. The Persian mode of travelling is thus: The women always arrive first at the new camp, where they set up the tents and cook provisions for their husbands. They are well clothed and ride upon good horses, which they manage with much dexterity. The Persian nation is very magnificent, and exceedingly fond of pomp and shew, and it is very agreeable to see their march at some distance. They are very careful of their camels, of which they have great numbers, even the poorest seldom travelling with less than seven of these animals; by this means, the prodigious train which attends the court appears to consist of many more persons than it actually contains. When the king entered Ecbatana, his suite consisted of about 2000 persons, but many left the camp on the march, as it suited their fancy or convenience, and the king never had above 500 horse along with him. The royal tents were exceedingly beautiful and magnificent, and his bed was ornamented with scarlet hangings. The merchants who attended the camp sold every thing at a high price. All of our party were accommodated with tents, as we belonged to the suite of the king, who often honoured us with an invitation to supper, and at other times frequently sent us refreshments. We were always treated with much civility, and never received any injuries or affronts.

On the 31st of May the king encamped about fifteen miles from Tauris, when a certain monk of the Boulonnois named Louis, who called himself patriarch of Antioch, and envoy from the Duke of Burgundy, arrived at the camp, attended by five horsemen. The king asked if we knew him, and we accordingly told what we knew without dissimulation. Next day the king gave him an audience, at which we were present by command. This patriarch presented to the king three robes of gold tissue, three others of scarlet silk, and some of fine cloth, and opened his commission, making many great offers of service from his prince, and many fine promises in very magnificent terms, which do not appear proper for me to repeat, and which the king did not seem to care much about. We were all invited to dinner, during which the king started many questions, to which he gave very pertinent answers himself. After dinner we returned to our tents.

On

On the 2d of June we arrived at Tauris, in which place lodgings were appointed for us. Six days afterwards, Uzun-Hassan sent for the patriarch and us to court; and although he had three or four times informed me already that I must prepare to return into Italy, leaving my colleague Barbaro at his court, I could not reconcile myself to the journey, and had done every thing in my power to put off my departure. When we went to court, the king addressed himself first to the patriarch, whom he ordered to return to his prince, and to say from him, that he, the king, would very shortly declare war against the Turks, having already taken the field with that view, and that he never failed in performing his promises. He then turned to me, saying, "Return to your country, and tell your masters that I shall very soon make war upon the Ottomans, and desire them to do their duty as I shall do mine. I know no one better fitted to carry this message than you, who have accompanied me from Ispahan, and have seen my preparations; so that you are able to inform the Christian princes of all that you have seen, and of my good intentions." I offered several reasons for excusing myself from obeying these commands, which gave me much vexation; but the king looked at me with a severe expression of countenance, saying, "It is my pleasure for you to go, and I command you. I shall give you letters for your masters, which will inform them of my sentiments and the reasons of your return." In this state of embarrassment, I was advised by the patriarch and M. Josaphat to comply with a good grace; on which I replied to the king as follows: "My departure, Sir, gives me much distress; but since you judge it proper, I make no more objections, and am ready to obey your orders. Wherever I may go, I shall speak of your great power and goodness, and the honours I have received from your majesty, and shall exhort all the princes of Christendom to join their forces with you against the common enemy." My speech pleased the king, and he answered me kindly according to his wonted manner. After retiring from this audience, the king sent some Persian robes to the patriarch and me, made of fine stuff and very beautifully ornamented, and presented each of us with a horse and some money to assist us during our journey.

We remained two days at Tauris after the kings departure, and set out on the 10th of June to rejoin the court, which was then encamped in a pleasant spot among excellent

pastures and plenty of fine wells, about twenty-five miles from Tauris. We remained there till the pastures were eaten bare, and then marched about fifteen miles farther. On the 27th of June the king gave us our final audience, at which he gave us presents for our respective sovereigns; that is to say, to the patriarch for the Duke of Burgundy; to myself for the republic; and to one Marcus Ruffus, who had come with an embassy from the prince of Muscovy. The presents consisted in certain pieces of workmanship made in the European fashion, two swords, and certain ornaments for the head, which are usually fastened to bonnets. There were two Persian ambassadors in the audience-chamber, one of whom was destined on a mission into Russia. At length the king turning towards the patriarch and me, addressed us nearly as follows: "You will return with all speed to your masters, and will tell them and all the other Christian princes from me, that I have used all diligence in taking the field to make war on the Turks, as it had been concerted between them and me. The emperor of the Turks is at present in Constantinople, and will make no enterprize of importance this year. As for myself, I propose sending one part of my army to reduce my rebellious son, and another against the Turkish generals, while I shall remain here at hand, to act against the enemy as occasion may require." He gave orders, both to us and to his own ambassadors, to report this to all the princes of Christendom. I did not receive these orders with more satisfaction than I had done the former; but I had no means of escape, and must necessarily obey. Wherefore, having taken our leaves, we prepared for our departure, and were unexpectedly commanded to remain till next day. In the mean time, he conveyed a great part of his infantry during the night to the other side of a mountain. Next morning early, the *Ruiscasson*, or conductor of ambassadors, carried us to the top of the hill, as meaning to confer with us on some important subject, and on the appearance of the Persian infantry under march, he pointed them out to us as if he had been surprised at seeing so many additional troops coming to the royal camp. The better to favour this deception, some of his slaves exclaimed as astonished, that there were a great many soldiers, and that at least 10,000 were coming to reinforce the army. But we easily saw through the contrivance, and were certain that these pretended new troops were merely the ordinary royal escort, which had only changed their position

position to impose upon us. After this little comedy, the *Ruiscasson* gave us the royal letters for our masters, and we returned to our tents. From the information of M. Josaphat and others, the military force of this king cannot exceed 20,000 cavalry, some of whom have wooden bucklers about eighteen inches long. Others have a kind of cuirasses made of very thin plates of steel, which they wear over their ordinary habits. Their usual arms are bows and arrows, and cimeters, while some have small leathern targets covered with silk, and others carry helmets and cuirasses. Their horses are beautiful and vigorous, and very numerous. In regard to the manners of the Persians, and the state of the kingdom, I shall mention what I know of these subjects as occasion may offer during the recital of my travels; but I do not think it proper to weary my readers with any lengthened detail.

Section V.

Journey of Contarini from Persia, through Georgia and Mingrelia, to the city of Phasis.

Being entirely ready to depart on the 1st of July, we took leave of M. Josaphat Barbaro in his tent, when we mutually shed tears in sincere grief at our separation. Having recommended myself to the protection of God, I mounted on horseback, and began my journey, accompanied by the patriarch of Antioch, Marcus Ruffus the Muscovite, and the two Persian ambassadors, intending to return by way of Phasis, which is under the dominion of Uzun-Hassan. To this route we were advised by certain birds of bad augury, who were omens of the terrible dangers we had to encounter in the sequel. Coming to the villages of the catholic Armenians, formerly mentioned, we were well received by their bishops, and attended the mass regularly during three days that we had to remain here, laying in a stock of provisions for the journey. From thence we came to the frontiers of Georgia, travelling through plains interspersed with hills, and arrived on the 12th of July at *Typsi*[1], which is subject to the king

1 This in all probability is a corruption of Tiflis, or Teffliz, the capital of Georgia,

king of the Georgians. This city stands upon a hill, at the foot of which runs the river *Tigre*, and it is defended by a good castle on the summit of an eminence. It was formerly a celebrated place, but is at present almost utterly ruined, though beginning to revive, and contains many good catholics. In this place we took up our lodgings with a person named Arminius, of the catholic faith. In travelling through Georgia, we found a few villages composed of huts, and some castles among the mountains, but these were rare and distant.

On the 19th of July, being near the frontiers of Mingrelia, we chanced to meet with Pangratius, king of Georgia, in the midst of a forest surrounded by mountains, and went to pay our respects to him, when he invited us to dinner. We had to sit on the ground, having a skin spread before us instead of a table-cloth, and were served with roasted meat and fowls, very ill dressed; but, by way of making amends, they frequently presented us with large goblets of wine, as they seem to place all dignity and merit in deep drinking. For this reason it is their custom, at the conclusion of their meals, to challenge one another to drink, and he who empties the greatest number of goblets, is held in highest esteem. As the Turks drink no wine, their presence was some restraint that day on their usual bacchanalian contests, and as we neither could nor would compete with them, we were held in great contempt. The king was about forty years old, and of large make, with a strong resemblance to the Tartar countenance. We parted from the king of Georgia next day, and on the 22d of July, on the confines of Mingrelia, we fell in with a Georgian commander at the head of some troops, both cavalry and infantry, who was posted in this place to prevent injury from the disorders that had broke out in Mingrelia, in consequence of the death of Bendian, prince of that country. These people stopped and frightened us with many cruel menaces; but at length, after being robbed of two quivers full of arrows, and having to gratify them with some money, we escaped from them, and made the best of our way to a distance. Leaving the public road, we struck off into a

Georgia, which is situated on the river Kur or Cyrus, erroneously named *Tigre* in the text. The proper name of this country is Gurgi-stan, or the country of the Gurgi; which has been corrupted by the Europeans into Georgia.—E.

thick wood, where we passed the night in prodigious apprehension.

On the following day, while approaching the city of *Cotati* [2], we met some peasants in a narrow pass, who prevented us for some time from going forwards, and even threatened to put us to death. After much altercation, and many threats, they seized three horses belonging to the Turks [3], which were with great difficulty redeemed for twenty ducats. On the evening we reached Cutais, which is a royal fortress. While passing a bridge over a river, early in the morning of the 24th of July, we were again attacked by robbers, who came upon us suddenly, and, after many threats, forced us to pay the full value of our horses, before they would allow us to continue our journey. After passing this bridge, we entered Mingrelia, where we followed our wonted custom of sleeping under the canopy of heaven, though we had many worse inconveniencies and dangers to encounter: for, on the 25th of July, having passed over a river by means of rafts, we were conducted to the dwelling of a certain lady, named *Maresca*, sister of the deceased prince Badian, who received us at first with much civility, and treated us with bread and wine, after which we were conducted into a field belonging to her, which was close shut on all sides. On the morrow, when we were about to depart, we offered her a present of twenty ducats, as a return for her hospitality, which at first she pretended to refuse; but we soon discovered her treachery, as she insisted on our paying two ducats as a ransom for each of our horses. We expressed our astonishment at this rapacity, and endeavoured to represent our inability to comply with such exorbitant demands, but all to no purpose, and we were forced to comply, being afraid that she might even have plundered us of every thing.

Leaving this rapacious dame, we arrived at *Phasis* on the 27th of July, some on horseback and others in boats, where we again lodged with *Martha*, the Circassian lady, whom I formerly mentioned. After having run many risks in our journey, we here learnt a piece of most afflictive news, that the Turks had taken possession of Kaffa or Theodosia in the

2 Cutais in Imeritia, named Cotachis on a former occasion in the text. —E.

3 These Turks must have been the Persian ambassadors of Uzun-Hassan.—E.

the Crimea, by which we were deprived of our last resource, and shut out apparently from every hope of continuing our voyage homewards. Our distress on receiving this intelligence may easily be conceived, and, in fact, we were so much cast down, as not to know what measures to pursue, or to which hand to turn us. Louis, the patriarch of Antioch, resolved upon going through Tartary and Russia, with which route he was acquainted. It was to no purpose that I urged the promises we had mutually come under at the beginning of our journey, never to separate on any account. To this he answered, that the unforeseen circumstances which had occurred, were a sufficient warrant to every one to consult his own individual safety. I insisted and beseeched him not to treat me with such unfeeling cruelty, but all in vain, for he prepared to set off along with the Turkish ambassador, who had been sent by Uzun-Hassan as his particular companion. In this extremity I went to Marcus Ruffus, and the Turkish ambassador who was joined with him by the king of Persia, to whom I mentioned my intention of returning back to Uzun-Hassan. They pretended to approve my plan, and even to join me, and we embraced as entering into promise of keeping together; but they secretly came to a determination of taking their journey through the province of *Gorgore*, which is subject to *Calcicanus*, and to the city of *Vati* [4], which is on the frontiers of the Turks, and pays tribute to the Grand Signior.

The patriarch set out on the 6th of August, and the next day Marcus Ruffus followed him, accompanied by several Russians, partly on horseback, and partly by means of boats. Their intentions were to travel from Vati, by Shamaki, anciently Cyropolis, and thence into Tartary. Thus left alone in a strange land, I leave any reasonable person to think what were the embarrassments with which I was surrounded. I was unacquainted with a single individual, having no company but that of my domestics, and had very little money remaining. In short, I was reduced almost to despair of ever being able to get out of the country. In this state of distress

4 This proposed route seems to have been through the province of *Guria* to *Batum*; and, from the sequel, to have returned to Georgia and Shirvan, passing through Derbent and the Caspian gates, or Daghisten, into western Tartary. But the names in the text are too corrupt for any certainty. Calcicanus, in the text, is probably a corruption of Kalo Johannes, who was then prince, or emperor, of Trebisond.—E.

tress I fell into a violent fever, and could get no other nourishment but bread and water, and a pullet occasionally with much difficulty; and my fever increased to such a degree that I became delirious. All my domestics were attacked soon after with the same fever, the priest Stephen only excepted, who had to take care of us all. My only bed was a wretched mattress, which had been lent me by a person named John Volcan; and my life was despaired of by every one, till the 9th of September, when, by the cares of Stephen and of Martha, my good hostess, or rather through the mercy of God, the fever abated, and I soon recovered my former health, to the astonishment of every one. My domestics likewise recovered, and we began again to consult on the best means of escaping out of our present situation. Some proposed to take the road of Syria, but I deemed this too dangerous; and we at length came to the determination of going by Shamaki, into Tartary, and thence by Russia, Poland, and Germany. I got accordingly on horseback on the 10th of September, but had hardly rode two miles when I was forced to dismount and rest myself on the ground. I was, therefore, obliged to return to my lodging in Phasis, where we remained till the 17th, when, being all of us restored to health and strength, we again resumed our journey, after having implored the protection and assistance of God. I now took a certain Greek into my service, who could speak the Mingrelian language, who occasioned me a thousand troubles, which it were tedious to recount.

Section VI.

Leaving Phasis, Contarini travels through Mingrelia and Georgia, into Media, and, passing the Caspian, arrives in Tartary.

Leaving Phasis, as before mentioned, on the 17th of September, and taking the road of Mingrelia, we came to *Cotati*, or Cutais, on the 21st of that month, extremely worn out through the consequences of our late illness, and the fatigues of the journey; and as the Greek whom I had hired never ceased to give me vexation, I here parted with him as handsomely as I could. We remained two days at Cutais, among people who knew us not, and whose language we were quite

 ignorant

ignorant of. Leaving that place, and tracing back our former steps, we passed over several mountains in much fear, and arrived at Tiflis on the 30th of September, where we took shelter in the chapel of a certain Armenian catholic, who had more the appearance of a dead person than of a living man, but who rendered us every possible service. This man had a son who lived with him, and who, unfortunately for us, was seized with the plague, which had raged in that part of the country this year. From him one of my servants, named Maffeo of Bergamo, caught the distemper, who still kept about me during two days, though ill, as he was my own particular domestic. At length, growing worse, he had to take to his bed, when the distemper shewed itself; and as he lay in the same room with me, and the house could not afford me another, I was forced to take refuge in a hovel where some cows were kept at night; and as the Armenian refused to allow Maffeo to remain in his house, I was constrained to take him into the same place with myself, where Stephen took care of him, till God pleased to take him out of the world. After the death of Maffeo, I experienced great difficulty to procure another stable for myself, that I might get away from the morbid air of that in which my poor servant died. In this extremity we were utterly abandoned, except by one old man, who understood a little of our language, and who served us with much affection.

We remained at this place till the 21st October, and on the evening before our intended departure, the Persian ambassador, who had accompanied the patriarch, came to Tiflis. He complained grievously of having been plundered, through the fault of the patriarch, with whom he had travelled to *Lavogasia*, where he had left him, and was now on his road to complain to Uzun-Hassan. We agreed to travel in company from Tiflis, a city belonging to Pancratis[1]. From thence in two days we entered the territories of Uzun-Hassan, as we took the road towards Shamaki, or Cyropolis, which is situated in a fertile and pleasant country. On the 26th of October we separated, as the Persian went to Uzun-Hassan at Tauris, and I took the road for the dominions of *Sivanse*, in which Shamaki stands; but by means of the Persian

1 This name is probably corrupted for Bagration, or Bagrathion, which was once the family name of the sovereigns of Georgia, and, if I mistake not, there is, or was lately, a prince of that family and name in the service of Russia.—E.

Persian ambassador I procurred a *molah*, or Mahometan priest, to guide me on the road to Shamaki. This country is greatly more beautiful and more fertile than the dominions of Uzun-Hassan, and is ruled over by *Sivanse*, king of Media[2]. Of this country Shamaki is the capital, at which place I arrived on the 1st November 1474. This city is not so large as Tauris, but, as far as I could judge, surpasses that place in the goodness and abundance of every thing, especially in excellent cattle. It produces great quantities of excellent silk, of which they manufacture various kinds of very slight stuffs. While here, I had the good fortune to be rejoined by Marcus Ruffus, the Muscovite ambassador, who had parted from me at Phasis, as formerly related. Immediately on learning that I was in the city, he came to visit me, and we embraced with cordiality. I now earnestly entreated him to receive me and my domestics into his society for the remainder of the journey, to which he very readily agreed.

We left Shamaki on the 6th of November, for the city of Derbent, which is called, in the language of the country, the Caucassian Gates, or the Iron Gates. This city is under the dominion of *Sivanse*, and stands on the frontiers of Tartary. On our journey we travelled sometimes over plains and sometimes on mountains, and were tolerably well treated by the Turkish inhabitants, with whom we lodged by the way. About mid-way between these two cities we came to a large village, where we found great abundance of excellent fruits, particularly admirable apples. We arrived on the 12th of November at Derbent, and were advised to pass the winter in that place; as it was necessary, in our way to Russia, to cross the desert of Tartary, which is much easier in the spring of the year, and likewise because it was proper for us to cross over the Caspian to the Tartar city of Citracan. The city of Derbent is situated on the shore of the Caspian, which the Mardians call the sea of Bachaan or Bacou. This city is said to have been built by Alexander the Great, and is called the *Iron Gate*, because it entirely closes up the only passage from Tartary into Media and Persia, by means of a deep valley reaching from Circassia. Derbent is fortified with a thick well built wall, reaching from the castle at the foot

2 The kingdom of Media in the text, is obviously meant to indicate the province of Shirvan, on the west of the Caspian.—E.

foot of the mountain all the way to the sea; but not above a sixth part of the space within the walls is inhabited, all that end nearest the sea being in ruins, among which are several tombs. The country about this city produces abundance of all kinds of fruits, among which are plenty of grapes, from which the inhabitants make wine.

The Caspian, or Sea of Hircania, which has no communication whatever with the ocean, is about the same size with the Euxine or Black Sea, and is very deep. They catch in this sea great quantities of sturgeons, and sea-wolves as they are called; and there are prodigious quantities of sea-dogs, or seals, having the head, feet, and tail like ordinary dogs. The only other remarkable fish is of a round form, about a yard and a half in diameter, with no perceptible head or other member, from which the natives extract a great quantity of oil, which they use in their lamps, and with which they anoint their camels. The inhabitants of this country, who are all Mahometans, are neither cruel nor barbarous, and used us exceedingly well; having once asked us who we were, and being answered that we were Christians, they troubled us with no farther inquiries. My dress at this time consisted of coarse and much worn cloth, lined with lambs skin, above which I wore a leathern robe, and my hat was of skin; in which dress I frequently went to the market to purchase flesh and other provisions, which I carried home myself. On one of these occasions a person eyed me attentively, and, turning to some of his comrades, said, this man was not born to the employment of carrying meat. Marcus Ruffus, who happened to be along with me, explained what the man had said; and I was astonished at being recognized in so shabby a dress, which I thought must have proved a sufficient concealment: but, in truth, as I have said before, they are a very good kind of people.

During my residence in Derbent, I was anxious to learn some certain intelligence respecting the state of affairs at the court of Uzun-Hassan, for which purpose I sent Demetrius de Seze, my interpreter, with letters to Josaphat Barbaro at Tauris, which is twenty days journey from Derbent. He returned at the end of fifty days, bringing answers from Barbaro, informing me that the king still remained at Tauris, but that he was utterly ignorant of his affairs.

Spring being arrived, we began to think of pursuing our journey, and Marcus procured a boat for transporting us

to

to *Curere* [3]. The boats which are used in this country are drawn up on the shore all winter, as the sea is then too rough for their use. They are sharp at both ends, and wide in the middle, their planks being fastened with tree-nails, and their bottoms payed over with pitch; and as the natives use no compasses, or other maritime instruments, they always creep along the coast. These boats, which are very crazy and dangerous, are moved forwards by means of oars; and the people are very ignorant of navigation, though they believe themselves the best mariners in the world.

On the 5th of April 1475, we embarked, and departed from Derbent, being thirty-five persons in all, including the master of the boat and the crew. The rest of the passengers were merchants, carrying rice, silk, and silken goods to *Citrarchan* [4], where they proposed to sell their commodities to the Russians and Tartars, or to barter them for other articles. Having coasted along during three days, with a favourable wind, always keeping about fifteen miles from the shore, the wind became contrary on the third evening, and increased during the night to so violent a tempest that we expected to have been lost. Although we had all reason to believe our bark would be dashed to pieces on the shore, we made every effort to gain the land, and fortunately our vessel ran into a kind of ditch or dock between sand banks, very near the beach, where she stuck fast, impelled by the united force of the winds and waves, and of our oars. Between us and the shore there was a pool, through which we had to wade, carrying our baggage on our shoulders; and we were almost perished with cold, owing to the wind, and our being drenched with water; yet we unanimously agreed to refrain from making a fire, lest that circumstance might attract the notice of the Tartars, whom we feared to meet with. At day light we noticed traces of horses having been on the spot, and the recent fragments of a ruined skiff, from which we were led to conclude, that some persons must have been here; but some other circumstances gave us reason to believe that the Tartars were not near the shore.

We remained undisturbed at this place till the 14th of April, when the wind and weather becoming favourable, we got

3 Perhaps Saray, on the eastern branch of the Wolga.—E.

4 Probably Astracan is here meant.—E.

got our bark from the creek, and again resumed our voyage, and advanced near thirty miles the same day. Towards evening the wind became again contrary, but we avoided the dangers of an impending storm, by taking refuge amidst some reeds, among which our mariners hauled the boat, so as to be out of danger from the waves, and we made our way to the land through the reeds, in doing which we were much fatigued and thoroughly drenched in water. We rested here all that night and the day following, which was Easter day, having nothing on which to commemorate that festival, except some butter, and a few eggs which we fortunately gathered on the sandy beach. The mariners and passengers were often inquisitive to know who I was; and, pursuant to the advice of Marcus Ruffus, I passed myself among them as the physician and servant of *Despima*, the consort of the grand duke of Moscovy, to whom I was going. A short time after this, one of our mariners happened to be afflicted by a large boil, and came to consult me in my assumed character; and as I had the good fortune to discover some oil in our bark, I made a poultice for him with bread and flour, by which he was soon cured. From this circumstance they actually believed me to be a physician, and were very anxious that I should remain among them; but Marcus drew me out of this difficulty, by saying that I had no medicinal preparations with me, but would soon return from Russia with a proper assortment.

SECTION VII.

Arrival of Contarini at Citracan, and journey from thence, through several dangers among the Tartars, to Muscovy along with some merchants.

ON the 15th of April we put again to sea with a favourable wind, and coasting along a series of reedy islands, we arrived on the 26th of that month at the mouth of the Wolga, a large river which flows from Russia into the Caspian. From the mouth of this river it is computed to be seventy-six miles to the city of *Citracan* [1], which we reached on the 30th.

1 Called Citrarchan in the former section, but certainly what we now call Astracan, then the capital of a Tartar principality, which now forms one of the provinces of the vast Russian empire.—E.

30th. Near this city there are excellent *salines* [2], from which all the neighbouring provinces are supplied with salt. The Tartars who commanded in the city would not permit us to enter that evening, so that we had to pass the night in a hut without the walls. In the morning three broad-faced Tartars came and ordered us to go along with them to their prince. They treated Marcus with respect, saying that he was a friend of their sovereign; but alleged that I was his slave, as they consider all the Franks or Christians as their enemies. These news were most cruelly mortifying for me, and afflicted me severely; but I was obliged to submit in spite of me, and Marcus advised me to allow him to speak for me. Forced in this manner to return disconsolate to my hut, I was long exposed to every indignity and danger, to my great mortification and distress. The Tartars insisted that I was possessed of pearls, and even plundered me of some merchandize I had purchased in Derbent, intending to have bartered it in this place for a good horse to carry me during the rest of my journey. They informed me afterwards, by means of Marcus, that they intended to sell us all to certain people whom they waited for, and who were to go into Muscovy with other merchants. After many mortifications and distresses, it was resolved to hold a grand consultation concerning us at a large village named *Alermi*, about two miles from the city, where their lord resided. At this time I was not possessed of a single farthing, and was obliged to borrow money from the Russian and Tartar merchants, at a high interest, to supply our urgent necessities, for which Marcus became my bondsman.

One day, while Marcus was absent, the khan or prince of the Tartars [3], broke open the door of our hut, and endeavoured to compel me by threats to deliver up the pearls which he believed I was possessed of, and I had infinite difficulty to escape out of his hands, and to persuade him not to put me to death. The Tartars used often to come to our hut in the night, when drunk with mead, demanding with loud outcries to deliver up the Franks to them, and the bravest

2 These are large shallow ponds, in which sea water is exposed to evaporation, to procure salt.—E.

3 In the original this person is called the cham of the *Camercheriens*. The Tartar government of Astracan belonged to one of the Mongal tribes of Kipschak; but the word used in the original may have been a local term, not now explicable.—E.

bravest among us were terrified at the dangerous situation in which we were among these savages. In this horrible situation we remained from the 1st of May to the 10th of August. The city of Citracan belongs to three brothers, who are sons to the brother of the Tartar emperor, and the inhabitants often make plundering inroads into the plains of *Cinassia* [4], and along the borders of the Don. During the height of summer they travel with their flocks in search of pasturage, to the northern parts of Russia, and hardly spend above a month every year in Citracan. That city, which stands on the banks of the Wolga, is by no means large, its houses being built of earth: It is surrounded by a slight wall, and does not appear to have had any better buildings for a long time past. It is said to have had a very considerable fair formerly, and that the perfumes and spiceries which used to be brought to Venice, came first to this place from the east, whence they were carried to the Tanais or Don, which is only eight days journey from the Wolga. The prince of Citracan, whose name is *Casinach*, sends every year an ambassador to the grand duke of Muscovy, on purpose to extort a present; and on this occasion, several Tartar merchants accompany the ambassador, carrying silk, silken vestments, and other articles of trade, which they barter for saddles, furs, and other things which are in request among their countrymen.

The only way of travelling into Russia from this place, is through extensive deserts, on which account travellers have to go in large bands or caravans for mutual security, and to carry provisions for the journey. The Tartars care little for the latter precaution, as they have always plenty of spare horses, and kill one when needed, as they live entirely on flesh and milk, without caring for any other food. They use no bread, and only a few of their merchants who have been in Russia know any thing of this article. Previous to the commencement of our journey [5], we provided provisions for the journey as well as we could. In this view we procured some rice with much difficulty, which, boiled in milk, and then dried in the sun, makes, when afterwards boiled

4 Perhaps the kingdom or province of Cazan, higher up the Wolga.—E.

5 Contarini has forgot to give us any account in what manner he procured leave to quit Astracan. Perhaps, by means of Marcus, he was permitted to pass for one of his attendants.—E.

boiled in water, an excellent and nourishing food. We had likewise some onions, a small quantity of biscuit, and some other trifles, and I bought, during the journey, the salted tail of a sheep [6]. The usual road from Citracan to Russia lay between two branches of the Wolga, but the roads were then exceedingly dangerous, as the Tartar emperor was then at war with his nephew, who pretended a right to the throne, as his father had once been emperor. On this account it was proposed to pass over to the other side of the river, and to travel towards the straits between the Don and the Wolga, which are about five days journey from Citracan, after which it was presumed we should be out of danger. Our baggage was accordingly carried across the river on rafts, and Marcus desired me to keep always along with him and the Tartar ambassador, named *Auchioli.* I and my interpreter accordingly set out about mid-day along with the ambassador, to go to the place where the boats waited for us, which was about twelve miles from the city, our other companions having already gone there. On our arrival about sun-set, while I prepared to go into one of the boats on purpose to cross the river, Marcus seemed suddenly struck with an extraordinary panic, and commanded the interpreter and me to take to flight instantly to avoid inevitable danger. We mounted therefore immediately, having likewise a Russian woman along with us and a Tartar guide of a most horrible aspect, and set out at full speed. In this manner we followed our guide the whole of that night and part of the next day, without being ever allowed to stop. I frequently asked our guide, by means of my interpreter, what was the reason of all this, and where he proposed to carry me? At length he explained the cause of Marcus having made us set off with such precipitation; as the khan had sent an order to examine all the boats, and he was apprehensive they would have detained me as a slave if I had been found.

About mid-day of the 13th of August 1475, we arrived at the banks of the river, and our Tartar guide endeavoured to find a boat in which to carry us into an island in which

6 It may be necessary to remark, that the tails of a peculiar species of sheep, O. Platyurus, or the broad-tailed sheep, common among the Tartars, and other parts of the world, are said sometimes to weigh twenty-five pounds.—E.

which the flocks of Auchioli were kept; but not finding one, he cut down some branches, which he tied together so as to form a raft. On this he placed the saddles of our horses, and tying this raft to his horses tail, he mounted the horse, on which he swam across the river to the island, which lay a bow-shot from the shore. He then came back with the raft, on which he carried over the Russian woman; after which he came back for me, and I stripped myself naked before trusting myself to the crazy raft, that I might be in readiness to save myself by swimming, in case of any misfortune. He afterwards returned for our horses; and my interpreter swam across. The passage of the river being thus happily effected, the Tartar carried us to a wretched hovel, covered by a miserable woollen cloth, where he gave us some sour milk, which we found very refreshing, as we had been long without food, and were much fatigued. Immediately on our arrival in the island being known, several Tartars left their flocks to come and see us, seeming infinitely surprized and much gratified by the sight, as we were probably the first Christians who had ever been on the island. Being exceedingly fatigued and distressed in mind, I did not care to speak with them, yet our Tartar guide treated me with much kindness, and made me as good cheer as he was able. Next day, being the eve of the festival of the Virgin, he killed a fat lamb to entertain me, part of which he roasted, and part was boiled; and though contrary to the rules of our religion to eat meat on that day, I made a hearty meal, notwithstanding that every thing was disgustingly dirty. We had likewise sour milk to drink, and the Tartars drank mares milk, of which they are very fond; but I would not drink this, though I could easily perceive my dislike did not please the Tartars.

I remained here two days; and at last, on the 26th of August, Marcus and the rest made their appearance on the other side of the river, and sent a boat for me in which were two of his servants, a Russian and a Tartar. Stephen Testa and John Ungaret, my two attendants, were very much rejoiced at seeing me again, as they believed me entirely lost; and we rested two days at this place before entering upon the desert. Marcus had been so attentive as to provide a horse for me, of which I stood in great need. In this caravan, which was under the command of the Tartar ambassador, there were about three hundred persons, Russians and Tartars,

tars, who carried with them above two hundred[7] horses, partly intended to serve as food by the way, and partly for sale in Russia. We arrived in good order at night on the banks of the river, and we rested every day at noon during the fifteen days of our journey, as we were now considered to be out of danger from any attack by the Tartars. I do not recollect the name of the emperor of the Tartars who inhabit this part of the country between the Wolga and the Tanais. This nation has no fixed place of abode, but shift their encampments from place to place, wherever they can find pasture and water for their cattle, on which they have their whole dependence, as they subsist entirely on flesh and milk. They have cows, heifers, and sheep of admirable beauty, the flesh of which is excellent, as they feed on fine pastures; but these people prefer mares milk to every other delicacy. Though I have not been in the country of these Tartars, I have been informed that it is flat and agreeable, having neither hill nor mountain; but the inhabitants addict themselves excessively to robbery and plunder, as their sole occupation, and continually infest the borders of Russia and Circassia by predatory incursions. Their horses are very wild and unmanageable, and are never shod. We were told that there is another tribe of Tartars beyond the Wolga, named wild Tartars, who allow their hair to grow extremely long. In the middle of winter they often make inroads to the very skirts of the city of Citracan, whence they carry off cattle, but do no other damage. These people, like all the Tartars, shift their encampments in search of pasturage and water.

After travelling for fifteen days along the eastern bank of the Wolga, we came to a small forest, where the Tartars and Russians of the caravan cut down trees to construct rafts for crossing the river. While they were at this work, we discovered a small bark which was by no means in good repair, by means of which our company proposed to convey our baggage across. Marcus crossed over with a part of our baggage, leaving me in charge of the rest, and sent back the boat when he was landed. In my trip with the remainder of our baggage, the boat began to leak when we were about half way over, the breadth of the river at this place being about two miles. Stephen and two Russians accompanied me in the boat, leaving Demetrius, my interpreter, and John Ungar in charge of the horses. We had much ado to bale out

7 Probably an error for 2000.—E.

out the water, but by the blessing of God, we got over in safety. After our baggage was landed, the Russians put off, to go back for the rest of our people and the horses; but the boat fell to pieces. This necessarily delayed our other servants and the horses from getting over till next day, during which interval they were badly off, as all our provisions were on our side. It was fortunate that I now examined the state of our provisions, which I found diminished much beyond expectation, so that we were under the necessity of abridging our allowance for the remainder of the journey, that we might not run short altogether. Our principal food consisted of millet, with garlic and onions, and some sour milk; and we found some wild apples at this place, which we roasted. In the course of two days, the whole baggage of the caravan was transported to the western side of the river by means of seven rafts, drawn by horses, and directed by the Tartars, the horses swimming and having the rafts tied to their tails. The sight of this was very amusing, but seemed very dangerous to those who were employed. After resting some time, we quitted the banks of the river, and resumed our journey. This river Wolga is certainly the largest and deepest river in the world, being, as well as I could judge, two miles broad, and has very high banks.

Section VIII.

Contarini, after crossing European Sarmatia, arrives at Moscow, the capital of White Russia, and is presented to the Grand Duke.

After recommending ourselves to the protection of God, we continued our journey, through immense and terrible deserts, sometimes towards the north, and sometimes westerly[1], always resting at noon, and taking up our quarters for the night on the bare ground, without any protection against the weather. To prevent us from being surprized in the night by the wandering Tartars, outguards were placed every night in three directions around our resting-place. During

1 This journey appears to have been through the country on the west of the Wolga, which they probably passed about Czariein, through the provinces of Saratov, Woronez, and Penza, avoiding the Ilafla, to Rezan or Riazan.—E.

ring the greater part of this long and dreary journey, we were very ill off for water both for ourselves and our cattle, and we never saw any wild animals. One day we saw about forty horses, which we were told had escaped from a caravan of merchants the year before. We fell in one day with a small horde of Tartars, having twenty waggons, but I was not able to learn where they were going. As our provisions decreased rapidly, we were forced to use the remainder very sparingly, and were consequently reduced to a very short allowance.

On the 22d of September 1475, we entered Russia, and discovered a few huts in the middle of a wood. On the inhabitants learning that Marcus, their countryman, was in our caravan, they came to see him that he might protect them from the Tartars, and brought him a present of honey and wax, a part of which he gave to us. This was a most providential supply, as we were so much reduced by fatigue and spare diet, that we were hardly able to sit on horseback. The first city we came to in this country was *Rezan*,[2] the prince of which place had married a sister of the Grand Duke of Russia. The castle and all the houses of this city are built of wood. We here procured bread and meat and mead in abundance, to our great comfort and satisfaction. The next city we came to was *Kolomna*, passing a very large bridge over the *Monstrus*[3], which flows into the Wolga. At this place, Marcus quitted the caravan, which travelled too slowly in his opinion, and pushed on for Moscow, where we arrived on the 26th of September, after a journey of forty-seven days through the desert, from the 10th of August, on which

2 Rezan or Riazan, in the province of that name, on the Oka. In a considerable part of the track of this journey, there are now towns and villages; but the whole of this south-eastern frontier of European Russia, appears to have been then entirely waste, and pervaded by the wandering Tartars. We are quite in the dark respecting the particulars of the route from Astracan to Rezan. It was certainly on the east of the Wolga at the first, to avoid the Tartars which occupied the country between the Caspian and Euxine. The passage of that vast river may have been at Czariein, at its great elbow, in lat. 48° 30′ N. or about Saratov in 51° 20′ N. neither of which towns seem to have then existed. From thence they would probably proceed, to avoid the larger rivers, between where Penza and Tchenbar now stand, and by the scite of Morhansk, towards Riazan.—E.

3 In the original this large bridge is said to have been at Kolomna, which is on the river Mosqua, of very inferior magnitude, and flows into the Oka, which most probably is the *Monstrus* of the text.—E.

which day we left Citracan. In a great part of this journey we found no wood, and were forced to cook our victuals with fires made of dried cow dung. We returned thanks to God on our arrival, for our preservation through so many and great dangers. On our arrival, Marcus procured a dwelling for us, consisting of a small stove-room and some chambers, with stabling for our horses. Though small and mean, I felt as if lodged in a palace, when I compared my present state of tranquil security with the dangers and inconveniences I had been so long subjected to.

Marcus made me a visit two days afterwards, and supplied me with some necessaries, exhorting me, as on the part of his sovereign, to keep a good heart. I returned his visit next day; and being very desirous to return home to Venice, I requested him to introduce me to the grand duke, which he promised to do as soon as possible, and I soon afterwards was desired to go to court. Immediately on my getting there, I was conducted to an audience; on which I made my obeisance in due form to the grand duke, to whom I returned thanks for all the attentions I had received from his ambassador, Marcus, in the course of my journey, by whose assistance and advice I had escaped a thousand dangers; assuring his highness that I attributed these marks of kindness as done to the republic of Venice, whose ambassador I was, and that the republic would unquestionably evince a due sense of the obligations, to which I owed my life and safety. The grand duke interrupted my harangue, by complaining with much emotion of the conduct of *John Baptista* of Treviso, and said a great deal on this subject, which is not proper for me to report. After a conversation of some length, in which I spoke to his highness about my departure, he closed my audience, postponing his answers to my requests to a future opportunity. The grand duke was very shortly to quit Moscow, on purpose to visit several parts of his dominions, and particularly the Tartar frontier, where one of his officers was stationed, with the command of 500 horse[4], to repress the incursions of robbers on that side: I therefore endeavoured to procure an answer about my departure, and solicited a second audience for that purpose. On this occasion I was very politely received by the grand duke, accompanied by

 three

4 In the original, the commander of this body of cavalry is said to have been a Tartarian general.—E.

three of his principal barons. At first they expatiated at some length on the subject of John Baptista, formerly mentioned; but at length I received liberty to remain or to depart as I thought proper. They dismissed me with this vague answer, and the grand duke set out from Moscow soon afterwards. I owed a great deal of money to Marcus, which he had expended for me and my people, as he had defrayed the whole expences of our journey, and had supplied me with many things of which I stood in need. I requested permission from him to go away, giving him the most solemn assurance that I would transmit full payment to him immediately after my arrival at Venice. But he declared this was not in his power, as he was under the necessity of repaying the Tartarian and Russian merchants, who had advanced all these things for us, and to whom he had become security for payment. Finding every application to the duke and Marcus on this subject ineffectual, as I could not procure the necessary funds for my journey from either, I was under the necessity of sending Stephen Testa to Venice, to solicit a remittance from our illustrious senate, by which I might be enabled to pay my debts. Stephen left Moscow on the 7th of October, accompanied by one *Nicolas Leopolitain*[5], who knew the country.

I became acquainted at Moscow with one Triphon, a goldsmish, a native of Ascravia or Cathara, who was employed in making several articles of silver plate for the grand duke. I likewise formed acquaintance with a very ingenious architect of Bologna, named Aristotle, who was building a new church in the market-place. As the house in which I lodged was small and disagreeable, I went to live with this person by the advice of Marcus: But I was soon after obliged to change my quarters by order from court, to a house near the castle, in which I remained for the rest of my stay at Moscow. This city, which is the capital of the Russian dominions, and the residence of the grand duke, or sovereign, is built on a small elevation, on the banks of the Mosqua, over which there are several bridges; the castle and all the houses of the city being built of wood, which is procured from several thick forests near the place. The soil of this country

5 The word Leopolitain, may possibly be a corruption for Neopolitain, or a native of Naples. Perhaps it may refer to Leopol, in that part of Poland now belonging to Austria, and called Galicia.—E.

country is fertile, and produces abundance of corn of all kinds, which sell here much cheaper than with us. The country abounds in cattle and swine, and with incredible numbers of poultry, ducks, geese, and hares; but they have no venison, either because there are no deer, or because the natives are ignorant of the art of taking them. But they have no vines, and their only fruits are cucumbers, wild apples, and nuts. The country is extremely cold, and the inhabitants are under the necessity of living for nine months of the year in stoves. They provide during winter for their living in summer[6]. When the whole country is enveloped in frost and snow, they use sledges drawn by horses, which are very convenient and useful for travelling; and are even used in summer on account of the miry bad roads, which are exceedingly difficult and unpleasant. The river ordinarily freezes over about the end of October, when the merchants erect booths on the ice, in which they expose their wares of all kinds for sale, as in a fair or market; and they here sell great numbers of cattle and swine, and great quantities of corn, timber, and all other necessaries of life; every thing being procurable in great abundance all the winter. About the end of November, they kill all the cattle, sheep, and other animals that are required for winter provision, and expose them for sale on the river in a frozen state; and the rigour of the season preserves these provisions for two or three months, without any risk of spoiling. Fish, poultry, and all other articles of food, are kept in the same manner. The horses run with great ease and swiftness on the ice; yet they sometimes fall and break their necks. Both men and women of this country have very good faces, but their manners are exceedingly bad.

The Russian church is ruled over by a patriarch, whose election or appointment is dependent on the grand duke, and who does not acknowledge subjection to the Roman pontiff; and they hold all sectaries in abhorrence, as people doomed to perdition. The natives are much addicted to drunkenness, and he who excels in drinking is much esteemed among them. They have no wine, as I have said before, instead of which

6 Such is the expression in the original, which ought perhaps to be reversed. Yet Contarini possibly meant to say, that the inhabitants of Moscow laid up a sufficient stock of money from the profits of their long winter labours, for their subsistence during summer; when, by the absence of the court, they had little employment.—E.

which they drink mead, made of honey and water, which is very pleasant when sufficiently kept. It is not allowed to every one to make this liquor, for which purpose a license or permission must be had from the grand duke; for if every person had liberty to make mead, they would drink perpetually like so many beasts, and would kill one another. From morning till noon, they are employed in the market-place, occupied in their various businesses and employments, after which they adjourn to the taverns, in which they spend all the rest of the day. Every winter, great numbers of merchants come to Moscow from Germany and Poland, who purchase furs of all kinds, which are indeed exceedingly beautiful. Among these furs, are the skins of foxes, wolves, martins, sables, ermines, and many others, from Scythia and the alpine regions, many days journey to the north of Moscow. Many of these are likewise carried for sale to Novogorod [7], a city towards the frontiers of Germany, eight days journey west from Moscow. The government of that city is democratic, and only pays a stipulated yearly tribute to the grand duke.

The country subject to the grand duke of Russia is of vast extent, and an infinite number of people are subject to his dominions, but they are by no means warlike. This empire extends from the north towards the west, to that part of Germany which is under the dominion of the king of Poland [8]; and some reckon among his subjects a wandering nation of idolaters, who acknowledge no sovereign, not even submitting to the authority of the grand duke, but when it suits their own convenience. These wandering tribes are said to worship during the day whatever first presents itself to their view, on going out in the morning; many other ridiculous things are reported of them, which I do not repeat, as I have not seen them, and can hardly give credit to the reports. The grand

7 There are two cities named Novogrod or Novgorod in Russia, nearly at equal distances from Moscow, one to the northwest, and the other to the southwest; the latter of which, named Novgorod Sieverskov, is probably meant in the text, and which ought rather to have been described as towards the frontiers of Poland. The other Novgorod did not then belong to the Russian sovereignty.—E.

8 The geographical ideas of Contarini are very vague and superficial. This is perhaps the only instance wherein Poland, a portion of European Sarmatia, is considered as belonging geographically to Germany.—E.

grand duke [9] appeared to be about thirty-five years of age, was handsomely made, and had very dignified manners, and an air quite royal. His mother was still alive, and he had two brothers. By a former wife he had two sons, who did not agree with *Despina*, the reigning grand duchess, and were not therefore on very friendly terms with their father. Despina, his second wife, had brought him two daughters, and was said to be again with child.

The grand duke returned to Moscow from his journey to the frontiers about the end of December; and, as I could not reconcile myself to the manners and mode of life of the Russians, I became exceedingly impatient to leave the country, and could not persuade myself to stay for the return of Stephen from Venice with money. For this reason, I made interest with one of the lords of the court, to prevail on the grand duke to supply me with money, and to give me leave to depart. A few days afterwards, the grand duke sent for me to court and invited me to dinner, when he agreed, from respect to the republic, to lend me as much money as was necessary to clear all my debts to the Tartarian and Russian merchants, and to enable me to return to Venice. The dinner was quite magnificent, consisting of every delicacy, and of abundance of exquisitely dressed dishes. When the repast was finished, I retired according to custom. Some days afterwards, I was again invited to court, and the grand duke gave orders to his treasurer to give me all the money necessary for paying my debts, besides which, he presented me with 1000 ducats, and a magnificent dress of Scythian squirrels skins, to wear in his presence when I came to court. Before returning to my quarters, he ordered me to be presented to the grand duchess, who received me very graciously, and desired me to offer her respectful salutations to our illustrious republic, which I promised to do.

SECTION

6 The reigning sovereign of Russia at this period was John III. who began to reign in 1463, and was succeeded in 1505 by Basil IV.—E.

SECTION IX.

Contarini leaves Moscow, and having passed through Lithuania, Poland, and Germany, arrives at Venice.

ON the day before that which I had fixed for my departure, I was invited to dine at court. Before dinner, I was taken into one of the halls of the palace, where I found the grand duke, accompanied by Marcus and a secretary. His highness addressed me very graciously, and desired me to report all the marks of esteem and friendship he had shewn me, from respect to our illustrious republic, and offered me every thing I could desire, and which lay in his power to grant. While speaking, I drew back from respect; but as I retired he always advanced. I answered every thing to his satisfaction, and humbly offered my most grateful thanks for all his benevolence to me. He treated me with the utmost politeness and familiarity, and even condescended to shew me some robes of gold tissue, magnificently lined with Scythian sables; after which we went to dinner. The repast was extraordinarily magnificent, at which several of the barons and great officers of state assisted. When we rose from table, the grand duke called me to him, and gave me my audience of leave in the most gracious terms, speaking so loud as to be heard by all the company, and expressing his high esteem for the illustrious republic of Venice. After this, by his order, a silver cup was brought to me filled with mead, of which he made me a present, as a mark of high regard with which he honours ambassadors, and other persons to whom he shews favour. This present was to me a matter of very serious consideration, as the etiquette required me to empty its contents, and the cup was very large. When I had drank about a quarter of the liquor, knowing the sobriety of the Italians, and perceiving that I was much difficulted, the grand duke had the goodness to order the remainder to be emptied, and the goblet given to me. Having thanked the grand duke in as respectful terms as I was able, I took my leave and retired, accompanied by several barons and other persons of rank.

Every thing was now in readiness for my departure, but Marcus would by no means hear of my leaving Moscow, without taking a dinner with him, and accordingly gave me

a magnificent entertainment. Louis, the patriarch of Antioch, of whom I have before made mention, came about this time to Moscow, and was detained there by order of the grand duke; but I made interest through Marcus for his release, which I obtained, and he was to have travelled along with me. But as he delayed too long, I set off without him. At length, on the 21st January 1476, we set out from Moscow in sledges, made like small huts, each drawn by a horse, and guided by a driver. In these sledges we carried our baggage and provisions along with us, and in them, journeys of great length may be made in a wonderfully short time. By order of the grand duke, I had a guide appointed to conduct me on the right road, and this was continued from place to place all through his dominions. We slept the first night in a small village, where we found our lodgings exceedingly cold, but that was the smallest of our inconveniencies, and on this account I hastened our journey as much as possible. On the 27th of January, we arrived at *Vieseme*, and a few days afterwards at Smolensk on the frontiers of Lithuania, in the dominions of Casimir king of Poland. From Smolensk, till we arrived at *Trach*[1], a city of Lithuania, we travelled continually in a plain interspersed with some hills, the whole country being covered with wood, and our only lodgings were in miserable hovels; dining always about noon wherever we could meet with a fire, which had been left burning by travellers who had passed before us. We had generally to break the ice to procure water for our horses; we lighted fires to warm ourselves; and our sledges served us instead of beds, as without them we must have slept on the ground. We went with such expedition, over the frozen snow, that we were assured we had travelled 300 miles in three days and two nights.

Casimir king of Poland, who then resided at *Troki*, immediately on learning my arrival, sent two of his gentlemen to compliment me in his name, and to congratulate me on my safe return. They likewise invited me to dine with his majesty on the following day, which was the 15th of February, and presented me on the part of the king with a robe of purple damask, lined with Scythian furs, in which I dressed myself to go to court. On this occasion, I went in a coach and six, accompanied by four noblemen and several other

1 This is almost certainly a corruption of Troki.—E.

other persons. The king himself did me the honour to receive me, and conducted me into a magnificent apartment, where he introduced me to two of his sons in presence of many nobles, knights, and gentlemen of the court. A chair was placed for me in the middle of the room; and when I offered to kneel on one knee while addressing the king, his majesty had the goodness to insist that I should sit down in his presence, which I did after some hesitation. I then gave a recital of all that had occurred in my travels, with some account of the dominions of Uzun-Hassan, and of the number of his forces, and of the empire and manners of the Tartars. The king and his courtiers listened to me with much attention during my whole speech, which lasted more than half an hour. I then thanked his majesty for the present he had made me, and for all his kindnesses to me, attributing his attentions to the esteem he entertained for our illustrious republic. His majesty was pleased, by means of an interpreter, to express great satisfaction at my safe arrival, as he hardly expected I should ever have been able to return; and that he was much pleased with the information I had given him respecting Uzun-Hassan and the Tartars, which he believed to be more authentic than any he had received before. After some other discourse, I was conducted to the hall where the dinner was served; soon after which his majesty came into the hall with his two sons, preceded by several trumpets. The king sat down at the head of the table, having his two sons on his right hand; the primate of the kingdom sat next on his majestys left, and I was placed next the bishop. The remainder of the table was occupied by about forty of the nobles. Each service was ushered in with the sound of trumpets, and all the meats were served on large silver dishes.

After dinner, which lasted two hours, I rose to depart, and asked the king if he had any farther orders to honour me with; when he was pleased to say very graciously, that he charged me to assure the senate that his most anxious desire was to cultivate perpetual friendship and good-will with our illustrious republic, and he was pleased to make his sons express the same friendly wishes. Having respectfully taken leave of the king, I was conducted back to my lodgings by several of the courtiers.

Being supplied with a guide, I departed from Troki on the 16th of February, and in nine days, passing through the

 city

city of *Ionici*, I arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of March. The country of Poland appeared very pleasant, and abundant in every thing except fruit. During our journey we saw many villages and castles, and were well received everywhere, but we found no considerable city. After remaining four days in Warsaw, where I purchased horses for the rest of our journey, we set out from that place on the 5th of March, and came that day to a town call *Messarig*, where we began to travel with less assurance of safety, as this place is on the frontiers towards Germany. On the 9th I arrived at Frankfort on the Oder, from which place we found more commodious lodgings in traversing Germany, than we had been accustomed to for a long time. While passing the city of *Gia* [2], on the 15th of March, I had the good fortune to meet with Stephen Testa, whom I had sent from Moscow to Venice for money. I was quite delighted at this meeting, as from him I received good accounts from home. We now entered the city of *Gia*, where we rested two days. On the 22d we reached Nurenburgh, where we remained four days; from whence we went by Augsburgh, and several other fine cities of Germany, and arrived at Trent on the 4th of April, where we celebrated the festival of Easter. Being extremely anxious to revisit my beloved country, I set out from thence after three days stay, and reached *Scala*, in the dominions of our republic. In discharge of a vow that I had entered into, I went to visit the church of the blessed Virgin on Mount Arthon, and presented the offerings which I had promised at her holy shrine. I had already sent notice to my brother Augustine, that he might expect me in Venice towards evening of the 10th of April; but my extreme desire of getting back to my country, made me get home considerably earlier. Embarking at break of day, I arrived at three in the afternoon at *Lucafusina*; and, before going to my own house, I went, in the discharge of another vow, to the church of our *Lady of Grace*, and met my brother on my way in the Jews street. We embraced with great affection, and went together to the church. After finishing my devotions, I went to the palace, as the *Pregadi* were then assembled, it being on a Thursday. I was admitted into the council, to which I gave an account of the success of my embassy; after which, as our serene Doge was indisposed,

2 Though this place must assuredly be a town in Germany, between Frankfort on the Oder and Nurenburgh, its name is so disguised as to be quite unintelligible.—E.

indisposed, I paid my respects to him in his apartment, and gave him a short history of my travels, and particularly concerning those things on which I had been commissioned. From thence I went to my own house, where I gave thanks to God for his infinite mercy, in having permitted me to return in health and safety, after so many dangers. To conclude: Although I might have composed this narrative of my travels in a more eloquent style, I have preferred truth in few words, to falsehood dressed up in ornamented language. I have been very brief in relation to Germany, as that country is in our neighbourhood, and is therefore well known to many, on which account it would have been both superfluous and tiresome to have given a minute description of what every one knows.

Section X.

Recapitulation of some circumstances respecting Persia.

The empire of Uzun-Hassan is very extensive, and is bounded by Turkey and Caramania, belonging to the Sultan, and which latter country extends to Aleppo. Uzun-Hassan took the kingdom of Persia from *Causa* [1], whom he put to death. The city of Ecbatana, or Tauris, is the usual residence of Uzun-Hassan; Persepolis, or *Shiras* [2], which is twenty-four days journey from thence, being the last city of his empire, bordering on the Zagathais, who are the sons of Buzech, sultan of the Tartars, and with whom he is continually at war. On the other side is the country of Media, which is under subjection to *Sivansa*, who pays a kind of yearly tribute to Uzun-Hassan. It is said that he has likewise some provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Turks [3]. The whole country, all the way to

1 Uzun-Hassan, as formerly mentioned, was prince of the Turkmans of the white sheep tribe, and acquired the dominion of western Persia, by the defeat of Hassan-ali, prince of the black sheep Turkmans, who is probably the person named Causa in the text.—E.

2 This is a mistake, Persepolis is supposed to have been at, or near Istakar, above twenty miles N. N. E. from Shiras.—E.

3 Diarbekir, with the cities of Arzunjan, Mardin, Roha, or Orfa, and Siwas, are said to have been committed by Timour to the government of Kara Ilug Ozman, the great grandfather of Uzun-Hassan, who may have retained the original possessions of his tribe after the acquisition of western Persia.—Mod. Univ. Hist. VI. 111.

to Ispahan, six days journey from Persepolis, is exceedingly arid, having very few trees and little water, yet it is fertile in grain and other provisions. The king seemed to me about seventy years of age, of large stature, with a pleasant countenance, and very lean. His eldest son, named Ogurlu Mohamed, was much spoken of when I was in Persia, as he had rebelled against his father. He had other three sons; Khalil Mirza, the elder of these was about thirty-five years old, and had the government of Shiras. Jacub beg, another son of Uzun-Hassan, was about fifteen, and I have forgotten the name of a third son [4]. By one of his wives he had a son named *Masubech*, or Maksud beg, whom he kept in prison, because he was detected in corresponding with his rebellious brother *Ogurlu*, and whom he afterwards put to death. According to the best accounts which I received from different persons, the forces of Uzun-Hassan may amount to about 50,000 cavalry, a considerable part of whom are not of much value. It has been reported by some who were present, that at one time he led an army of 40,000 Persians to battle against the Turks, for the purpose of restoring *Pirameth* to the sovereignty of Karamania, whence he had been expelled by the infidels [5].

CHAP.

4 According to the authors of the Modern Universal History. B. VIII. ch. i. sect. 3. Uzun-Hassan had seven sons: Ogurlu Mohammed, Khahil Mirza, Maksud beg, Jakub beg, Masih beg, Yusuf beg, and Zegnel. Contarini strangely corrupts almost every name that occurs. Uzun-Hassan, he makes Unsuncassan; Ogurlu Mohammed, Gurlu mamech; Kalil mirza, Sultan chali; Yakub beg, Lacubei; Maksud beg, or Masih beg, Masubech; and omits three of the seven.—E.

5 Uzun-Hassan is said to have been defeated in battle by the Turks, in 1471, near Arzenjan.—Mod. Univ. Hist. VI. 113.

CHAPTER III.

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY BY THE PORTUGUESE ALONG THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA, DURING THE LIFE, AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF DON HENRY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE knowledge possessed by the ancients respecting India, will be the subject of discussion in a future portion of this work. We have now to contemplate the tedious, yet finally successful efforts of the Portuguese nation, in its age of energetic heroism, to discover a maritime passage to that long famed commercial region, some general knowledge of which had been preserved ever since the days of the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires. Of all the great events which have occurred in the modern ages, previous to our own times, the voyages and discoveries which were made by the Europeans, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era, are justly entitled to preference, whether we appreciate the vast improvements which they made in navigation, and, consequently, in commerce,—the astonishing abundance of wealth which they brought into Europe,—the surprising feats of bravery which were performed in their various expeditions and conquests,—the extensive, populous, and valuable territories which were subdued or colonized,—or the extended knowledge which was suddenly acquired of the greater part of the earth, till then either altogether unknown, or very partially and erroneously described. By these discoveries, we allude to those of the southern and western hemispheres, a new heaven and a new earth were opened up to the astonishment of mankind, who may be said to have been then furnished with wings to fly from one end of the earth to the other, so as to bring the most distant, and hitherto utterly unknown nations, acquainted with each other. In the ordinary course of human affairs, it has been observed that similar events frequently occur; but the transactions of these times which

1 Astley, I. 9. Clarke, I. 140. Purchas, I. 6. Harris, I. 662.

which we now propose to narrate, were as singular in their kind as they were great, surprising, and unexpected; neither can any such ever happen again, unless Providence were to create new and accessible worlds for discovery and conquest, or to replunge the whole of mankind for a long period into the grossest ignorance.

The merit and glory of these wonderful achievements are unquestionably due to the Portuguese nation, and the first and principal share to the sublime genius of their illustrious prince, the infant DON HENRY, *Duke of Viseo and Grand Master of the order of Christ*, whose enlarged mind first planned the fitting out of maritime expeditions for discovery, and by the imitation of whose example all subsequent discoveries have been accomplished. Every thing of the kind before his time was isolated or accidental, and every subsequent attempt has been pursued on scientific or known principles, which he invented and established. Although America was discovered by Columbus, in the service of Spain, some years before the Portuguese were able to accomplish their long sought route to India; and although the discovery of America was performed infinitely quicker than that of southern Africa and the route to India, Columbus having accomplished his design at the very first attempt, and even without any previous knowledge of the countries he went in search of; while the endeavours of the Portuguese occupied a great number of years in almost fruitless attempts, and extremely tedious progression; yet Don Henry first set on foot the navigation of the ocean through unknown seas, and inspired other nations with the idea of making discoveries of distant and unexplored regions; and ultimately great as were the discoveries of Columbus, they may be said to have been accidentally made in the erroneous attempt to go by a nearer route to the regions of which Don Henry and his successors had long been in search.

These attempts of the Portuguese had been continued for nearly fourscore years before any of their neighbours seem to have entertained the most distant idea of engaging in foreign discoveries, even viewing their endeavours as downright knight-errantry, proceeding from a distempered imagination, as well in the first promoter as in those who continued to prosecute his scheme. In a word, the relation of these discoveries forms one of the most curious portions of modern history, as comprizing a great number of the most extraordi-

nary transactions that ever happened in any period of the world. For this reason they are well worthy of being particularly narrated, that the curious may be made acquainted with every successive step in such important enterprizes, and by what almost insensible degrees such vast undertakings were ultimately accomplished. And as the intercourse of Europeans has operated a great change in the countries to which they penetrated, and upon their original inhabitants, so that both now appear in a very different light from what they did before these expeditions and discoveries; therefore, every circumstance belonging to these transactions deserves the most serious notice.

John I. of Portugal, married Philippa, the eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son to Edward III. of England, by whom he had several sons, of whom Don Henry was the *fifth*. After serving with great bravery under his father at the capture of Ceuta, he was raised to the dukedom of Viseo, and was sent back with a large reinforcement to preserve the conquest to which his courage had largely contributed. During his continuance in command at Ceuta, he acquired much information, by occasional converse with some Moors, relative to the seas and coasts of Western Africa, which raised and encouraged the project of maritime discoveries; and these became afterwards the favourite and almost exclusive pursuit of his active and enlarged mind. From the Moors he obtained intelligence respecting the Nomadic tribes who border upon and pervade the great desert, and of the nations of the Jaloofs, whose territories are conterminous with the desert on the north, and Guinea to the south. By one ingenious author [2], he has been supposed instigated to his first attempts at maritime discovery, by the desire of finding a way by sea to those countries from whence the Moors brought ivory and gold dust across the desert. It unfortunately happens that we have no record of the particular voyages themselves, and are therefore reduced to the necessity of giving the relation of this great discovery historically from the best remaining sources of information. The writings of Cada Morto, which will be found in the sequel, form a pleasing exception to this desideratum in the history and progress of early navigation and discovery.

SECTION

2 Wealth of Nations, II. 347.

SECTION I.

Commencement of Portuguese Discoveries, from Cape Non to Cape Bojador.

THREE years before the reduction of Ceuta, the Duke of Viseo had sent a vessel in 1412 to explore the western coast of Africa, being the first voyage of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese, or by any other nation in modern times. The commander was instructed to endeavour to follow the western coast of Africa, to the southward of Cape Chaunar, called by the Portuguese mariners Cape Nao, Non, or Nam, which, extending itself from the foot of Mount Atlas, had hitherto been the *non plus ultra* or impassable limit of European navigation, and had accordingly received its ordinary name from a negative term in the Portuguese language, as implying that there was no navigation beyond; and respecting which a proverbial saying was then current, of the following import:

> Whoe'er would pass the Cape of Non
> Shall turn again, or else be gone.

The success of this earliest voyage, fitted out for the purpose of discovery, is not recorded; but Don Henry continued to send some vessels every year to the same coast, with the same instructions of endeavouring to explore the coast beyond Cape Non. Not daring to trust themselves beyond sight of land, the mariners crept timorously along the coast, and at length reached Cape Bojador, only sixty leagues, or 180 miles beyond Cape Non. This cape, which stretches boldly out into the ocean, from which circumstance it derives its name[1], filled the Portuguese mariners with terror and amazement; owing to the shoals by which it is environed for the space of six leagues, being perpetually beaten by a lofty and tremendous surge, which precluded them from all possibility of proceeding beyond it in their ordinary manner of creeping along the coast; and they dared not to stretch out into the open sea in quest of smoother water, lest, losing sight

1 Explained by the celebrated Dr Johnson, as "so named from its progression into the ocean, and the circuit by which it must be doubled." Introduct. to the World Displayed.—Clarke.

sight of land altogether, they might wander in the trackless ocean, and be unable to find their way home. It is not impossible that they might contemplate the imaginary terrors of the torrid zone, as handed down from some of the ancients, with all its burning soil and scorching vapours; and they might consider the difficulties of Cape Bojador as a providential bar or omen, to warn and oppose tnem against proceeding to their inevitable destruction. They accordingly measured back their wary steps along the African coast, and returned to Portugal, where they gave an account of their proceedings to Don Henry, in which, of course, the dangers of the newly discovered cape would not be diminished in their narrative[2].

Returning from Ceuta, where his presence was no longer necessary, and where he had matured his judgment by intercourse with various learned men whom his bounty had attracted into Africa, and having enlarged his views by the perusal of every work which tended to illustrate the discoveries which he projected, Don Henry fixed his residence at the romantic town of Sagres, in the neighbourhood of Cape St Vincent, where he devoted his leisure to the study of mathematics, astronomy, cosmography, and the theory of navigation, and even established a school or academy for instructing his countrymen in these sciences, the parents of commerce, and the sure foundations of national prosperity. To assist him in the prosecution of these his favourite studies, he invited, from Majorca, a person named *Diego*, or James, who was singularly skilful in the management of the instruments then employed for making astronomical observations at sea, and in the construction of nautical charts. Some traces of nautical discoveries along the western coast of Africa still remained in ancient authors; particularly of the reported voyages of Menelaus, Hanno, Eudoxus, and others. From an attentive consideration of these, Don Henry and his scientific coadjutor were encouraged to hope for the accomplishment of important discoveries in that direction; and they were certainly incited in these views by the rooted enmity which had so long rankled among the Christian inhabitants of Spain and Portugal against the Moors, who had formerly expelled their ancestors from the greatest part of the peninsula,

2 Cape Bojador is imagined to have been the *Canarea* of Ptolemy.—Clarke I. 151.

sula, and with whom they had waged an incessant war of several centuries in recovering the country from their grasp.

SECTION II.

Discovery of the Madeira Islands.

AFTER some time usefully employed in acquiring and diffusing a competent knowledge of cosmopographical, nautical, and astronomical science, Don Henry resolved to devote a considerable portion of the revenue which he enjoyed as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, in continuing and extending those projects of nautical discovery which had long occupied his attention. Accordingly, about the year 1418, a new expedition of discovery was fitted out for the express purpose of attempting to surmount the perils of Cape Bojador. In this expedition Juan Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texeira, two naval officers of the household of Don Henry, volunteered their services; and, embarking in a vessel called a *barcha*[3], steered for the tremendous cape. The Portuguese were hitherto ignorant of the prevailing winds upon the coast of Africa, and the causes by which their influence is varied or increased. Near the land, and between the latitudes of 28° and 10° north, a fresh gale almost always blows from the N. E. Long sand-banks, which extend a great way out to sea, and which are extremely difficult to be distinguished in the mornings and evenings, and the prevailing currents, were powerful obstacles to the enterprize of these navigators. About six leagues off Cape Bojador, a most violent current continually dashes upon the breakers, which presented a most formidable obstacle to the brave but inexperienced mariners. Though their voyage was short, they encountered many dangers; and, before they could reach the cape, they were encountered by a heavy gale from the east, by which the billows of the Atlantic became too heavy to be resisted by their small vessel, and they were driven out to sea. On losing sight of their accustomed head-lands, and being forced into the boundless ocean for the first time, the ships company gave themselves

3 The *barcha* is a sort of brig with topsails, having all its yards on one long pole without sliding masts, as still used by tartans and settees. The *barcha longa* is a kind of small galley, with one mast and oars.—Clarke, I. p. 153.

selves up to despair; but, on the abatement of the tempest, they found themselves unexpectedly within view of an island, situated about 100 leagues west from the coast of Africa. With extreme joy they beheld the coast of this island extending about twenty miles in length, to which they gave the name of Puerto Santo, because first discovered upon the feast of All Saints. This is the smaller of the Madeiras, being only about two miles broad; and, as the only roadstead is upon the south-west side, the Portuguese probably anchored upon that side to be under the lee shelter of the island from the remnants of the tempest from which they had happily escaped.

The island of *Puerto Santo*, or of the Holy Haven, is almost directly west from Cape Cantin; whence it would appear that these Portuguese navigators could hardly have passed much beyond Cape de Geer, when driven off the coast by this fortunate easterly tempest. Had they even advanced as far as Cape Non, they would almost certainly have been driven among the Canaries. It is perfectly obvious that they never even approached Cape Bojador in this voyage; unless we could suppose, after having been driven directly west from that cape, that they shaped a northern course, after the subsidence of the tempest, and fell in with Puerto Santo while on their return to Portugal.

Greatly pleased with the soil and climate of this island, and with the gentle manners of the natives, whom they described as in an intermediate state of civilization, and entirely destitute of any appearance of savage ferocity, Zarco and Vaz immediately returned to Portugal, where they made a report of the incidents of their voyage; and to confirm their opinion of the value of their discovery, they requested permission from Don Henry to return for the purpose of establishing a settlement in Puerto Santo. By this discovery an advanced and favourable station was secured towards the south, whence any discoveries along the coast of Africa might be prosecuted with greater ease and safety, and from whence the dangers of the hitherto formidable cape Bojador might be avoided, by keeping a southerly or S. W. course from Puerto Santo. From these considerations Don Henry granted their request; and, yielding to the adventurous spirit which this accidental discovery had excited, he permitted several persons to join in a new projected voyage, among whom was Bartholomew Perestrello, a nobleman of his household.

Three vessels were soon fitted out[4], which were placed under the respective commands of Zarco, Vaz, and Perestrello. These commanders had orders to colonize and cultivate the newly discovered island, and were furnished with a considerable assortment of useful seeds and plants for that purpose. They happened likewise to take with them a female rabbit great with young, which littered during the voyage; and which being let loose with her progeny, multiplied so rapidly, that, in two years, they became so numerous as to occasion serious injury to the early attempts at cultivation, and to baffle every hope of rendering Puerto Santo a place of refreshment for the Portuguese navigators; insomuch that a resolution was formed to abandon the newly established settlement. After having landed the different animals and seeds which had been sent out by Don Henry, and seeing them properly distributed, Perestrello returned into Portugal to make a report to the prince, and Zarco and Vaz remained to superintend the infant colony.

Soon after the departure of Perestrello, the attention of Zarco and Vaz was strongly excited by observing certain clouds or vapours at a great distance in the ocean, which continually presented the same aspect, and preserved exactly the same bearing from Puerto Santo, and at length occasioned a conjecture, that the appearance might proceed from land in that quarter. Gonsalvo and Vaz accordingly put to sea and sailed towards the suspected land, and soon discovered that the appearances which had attracted their notice actually proceeded from a considerable island entirely overgrown with wood, to which, on that account, they gave the name of Madeira[5]. After bestowing considerable attention upon the soil and other circumstances of this island, which was utterly destitute of inhabitants, Gonzalvo and Vaz returned to Portugal with the welcome intelligence, and gave so favourable a report of the extent, fertility, and salubrity

4 Clarke says in the same year 1418. But this could not well be, as the Discovery of Puerto Santo was made so late as the 1st of November of that year. The truth is, that only very general accounts of these early voyages remain in the Portuguese historians.—E.

5 Such is the simple and probable account of the discovery of Madeira in Purchas. Clarke has chosen to embellish it with a variety of very extraordinary circumstances, which being utterly unworthy of credit, we do not think necessary to be inserted in this place. See Progress of Maritime Discovery, I. 157.—E.

brity of Madeira, that Don Henry determined to colonize and cultivate it. Accordingly, with the consent of the king of Portugal, the island of Madeira was bestowed in hereditary property upon Zarco and Vaz; one division named *Funchal* being given to Zarco, and the other moiety, named *Machico*, to Vaz.

In the year 1420 Zarco began the plantation of Madeira, and being much impeded in his progress by the immense quantity of thick and tall trees, with which it was then everywhere encumbered, he set the wood on fire to facilitate the clearing of the surface for cultivation. The wood is reported to have continued burning for seven years [6], and so great was the devastation as to occasion great inconvenience to the colony for many years afterwards, from the want of timber. Don Henry appears to have been a prince of most uncommonly enlarged and liberal views; not only capable of devising the means of making maritime discoveries, which had never been thought of before his time, but of estimating their value when made, and of applying them to purposes the most useful and important for his country. Reflecting upon the reported fertility of the soil, and the excellence of the climate of Madeira, and comparing both with the judicious foresight of a philosopher, politician, and naturalist, in reference to the most valuable productions of similar climates and soils, he wisely conceived, and successfully executed the idea of introducing the cultivation of sugar and wines into this new colony. For these purposes, Portugal would readily supply him with vines, and with people conversant in their management: But he had to procure sugar canes, and persons experienced in their cultivation, and in the process of manufacturing sugar from their juice, from the island of Sicily, into which that article of culture had been introduced by the Arabs.

So great was the success of this new subject of industry in Madeira, that the fifth part of the produce of one district only, little more than nine miles in circumference, which proportion the prince reserved as the patrimony of his military order, amounted

6 In the Introduction to the World Displayed, Dr Johnson remarks on this story, that "green wood is not very apt to burn; and the heavy rains which fall in these countries must surely have extinguished the conflagration were it ever so violent." Yet in 1800 Radnor forest presented a conflagration of nearly twenty miles circumference, which continued to spread for a considerable time, in spite of every effort to arrest its progress.—E.

mounted, in some years, to 60,000 arobas of twenty-five pounds each; giving the entire acknowledged produce of one district only of the island at 7,500,000 pounds, or 2350 tons. This, at the modern price of eightpence a-pound, amounts to the enormous sum of L. 250,000 value of merchantable produce, from a district which could not contain above 5760 English acres; or above the value of L. 43 of average yearly value from every acre of that district. This astonishingly valuable produce was in the infancy of the sugar trade, when that bland and wholesome condiment was still an article of luxury, and not as now almost an indispensable necessary, even in the lowest cottages of modern Europe. The sugars of Madeira were long famous; but after the establishment of the sugar plantations in Brazil, and the destructive ravages of a worm which infested the sugar canes of Madeira, that article of cultivation had to be abandoned, and the principal attention of the islanders was transferred to the grape, which still continues to supply Europe, America, and the East Indies with the justly celebrated Madeira wine.

At the same time with the grant of Madeira to Zarco and Vaz, Perestrello received a donation of the island of Puerto Santo, on condition of colonizing it and bringing it into culture. But so great was the multitude of rabbits, all said to have been produced from one doe transmitted in a pregnant state from Portugal, that cultivation was attended with peculiar difficulties occasioned by their ravages; insomuch, that in one islet only, 3000 are reported to have been killed at one time.

Section III.

Prosecution of Discovery in Africa to Cape Branco.

Partly diverted from the original object of prosecuting discoveries along the African coast, by the attentions requisite for forming this first establishment of modern colonization, but chiefly owing to the extreme difficulties of the navigation in the infancy of that art, fifteen years were passed from the first discovery of Cape Bojador before that formidable obstacle could be surmounted. In all ages of the world, ignorant and indolent men have represented new and unusual enterprises in scientific pursuits as rash or improper deviations

tions from the established experience and vaunted wisdom of antiquity; and those who promoted them have been held out as dangerous, or even impious innovators. It so fared with Don Henry, who far outstripped the science, or ignorance rather, of his day. At home, the discontented spirits, ignorant of his enlarged views, perhaps envious of the reputation his very limited discoveries had already attained, represented that the tempestuous seas, strong currents, and whirlpools, which they fancied must prevail on the other side of Cape Bajadore, would necessarily destroy every vessel which should attempt to penetrate beyond that absolute limit of human navigation; they alleged that all the country to to the south of that cape was utterly unfit for the habitation of mankind, sterile, burnt up, and destitute of soil and water, like the sandy deserts of Lybia; and they pretended to object on principles of patriotism, that the natives of Portugal were improvidently wasted on idle discoveries, which, if at all advisable, would have been undertaken by their former wise sovereigns; who, contented with the known world, did not vainly seek for conquests in the torrid zone, which was altogether unfit for the habitation of mankind. They insinuated, that the expences which had been lavished upon those fruitless and dangerous maritime expeditions, might have been much more profitably employed for the improvement of some of the more barren parts of Portugal. Even the probable profits and advantages derivable from the new colonies of Madeira and Puerto Santo, as they were only eventual and contingent, did not satisfy the minds of those discontented detractors from the merits and enlightened views of the prince. But Don Henry despised those vain endeavours to misrepresent and counteract the important enterprise in which he was engaged, and undismayed by the natural difficulties which had hitherto retarded the progress of his mariners, continued his laudable endeavours to extend his discoveries along the coast of Africa. The people, likewise, whom he employed in his service, frequently made predatory invasions on the coast, taking every Moorish vessel which they were able to master, and made many slaves, by the sale of which, the charges attending those maritime expeditions were partly defrayed.

About the year 1433, one Gilianez, a native of Lagos, whom the prince had entrusted with the command of a vessel, returned from an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the invincible

cible obstacles which obstructed the passage round Cape Bojador. He had been driven by stress of weather into one of the Canary islands, and had imprudently seized some of the inoffending natives, whom he brought captives to Sagres. Don Henry was much offended by this conduct of Gilianez, whom he received with much coldness and reserve; insomuch that Gilianez, on purpose to retrieve the princes favour, and to make ample amends for the fault he had committed, made a vow, that if entrusted with a new expedition, he would perish rather than return unsuccessful in the enterprize which the prince had so much at heart. The date of the second expedition of Gilianez, in which he surmounted the terrors and difficulties of Cape Bajador, is variously referred by different authors to the years 1433 and 1434 [7]. However this may have been, he succeeded in this herculean labour, as it was then esteemed, and returned with great exultation to Sagres, where he was again received into the favour and confidence of Don Henry. Contrary to the assertions, or suppositions rather, of the discontented opposers of the patriotic and enlightened efforts of Don Henry, Gilianez reported that the sea beyond Cape Bojador was perfectly susceptible of navigation, and that the soil and climate were both excellent.

In the following year Gilianez again sailed for the coast of Africa, accompanied by Alphonzo Gonzales Baldaya[8], cupbearer to the prince. The weather continued favourable during the voyage, and they were able to penetrate ninety miles to the south of Cape Bojador. On landing to take a view of the country, and in search of inhabitants, they found the former to consist for the most part of an extended desert plain, and they were much disappointed in not being able to meet with any of the inhabitants, though they saw evident traces of them in the sand. To the bay in which they landed they gave the name of Angra dos Ruyvos, or Bay of Gurnets, from the great abundance of fish resembling gurnets which were taken by the seamen.

Gilianez and Baldaya were again ordered in the year 1435 to prosecute their discoveries, with instructions to prolong their voyage, if possible, till they should meet with inhabitants.

7 De Barros; Lafitau; Vincent, in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea; Meikle, in his translation of the Lusiad. Harris, in his Collection, Vol. I. p. 663, postpones this discovery to the year 1439.—Clarke.

8 In Purchas this person is named Antonio Gonsalvo; but the authority of Clarke, I. 188, is here preferred.—E.

tants. Having proceeded about forty miles to the southward of the Angra dos Ruyvos, without being able to see a single inhabitant, they adopted an expedient which had been suggested by Don Henry, and for which they were provided with the means. Two horses were landed, and two youths named Hector Homen and Diego Lopez d'Almaida, who had been educated in the household of Don Henry, and were scarcely sixteen years of age, were directed to penetrate into the interior of the country, that they might endeavour to ascertain whether it were inhabited. They were directed to keep close together, and on no account to leave their horses, and if possible to bring back some of the Moors; and lest they should rashly expose themselves to unnecessary danger, they were only allowed each a sword and spear, without any defensive armour. After wandering almost a whole day in the barren sandy desert, they at length descried nineteen Africans, armed with assagays or javelins, whom they ventured to attack, though contrary to their orders. The natives retreated into a cave where they were safe from the farther assaults of the rash Portuguese youths; and as one of them had received a wound in the foot, they thought it prudent to return to the shore, which they were unable to reach before the next morning. Gilianez and Baldaya then dispatched a stronger force to the cave in which the Africans had taken shelter, where nothing was found but some weapons which had been left by the fugitives. Owing to this event, the place where the two cavaliers were landed was named Angra dos Cavallos, or the Bay of Horses; which is in latitude 24° N.

The navigators proceeded along a rugged coast to the south of the Bay of Horses, upon which the sea breaks with a terrible noise, and which, on account of being entirely composed of a hilly shore, faced with rocks and small rocky islands, is called *Otegado*, or the Rocky Place. At about twelve leagues distance from the bay of Cavallos they entered the mouth of a river, where they killed a number of sea wolves or seals, the skins of which they took on board in defect of any other productions of the country; these seals were found on an island at the mouth of this river, on which the mariners are said to have seen at least 5000 asleep on the shore. The voyage was continued to Punta de Gale, forming the western head-land of the Rio de Ouro, immediately under the tropic, where a fishing net was found constructed of twine, made from the inner bark of some tree of the palm tribe, but no natives

natives were met with; and as provisions began to grow scarce, the adventurous mariners were constrained to return into Portugal, after ranging for some time up and down the rocky coast of Otegado, without making any important discovery.

About this period, or perhaps considerably earlier, Don Henry obtained a bull from Pope Martin V. by which the sovereign pontiff made a perpetual donation to the crown of Portugal, of all lands and islands which had been or might be discovered between Cape Bojador and the East Indies, inclusively, and granted a plenary indulgence for the souls of all who might perish in the prosecution of the enterprize, and in achieving the conquest of these extensive regions from the infidel and pagan enemies of Christ and the church. In this measure, the philosophical genius and enlarged political views of Don Henry are plainly evinced; and, undismayed by the obstacles which had so long opposed his grand project of discoveries, and the length of time which had been employed in making so very small progress, he shewed himself to have looked steadily forwards to the full accomplishment of his hopes of discovering the route by sea from Europe to India, around the still unknown shores of Southern Africa. The date of this papal grant does not certainly appear. De Barros and Lafitau are of opinion that it must have been posterior to 1440; Purchas places it in 1441; and de Guyon in 1444. But Martin V. died in 1431; and these writers seem to have confounded the original grant from that pontiff, with subsequent confirmations by his successors Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and Sextus IV [9].

The gradual progress of these discoveries were interrupted for a time by an unsuccessful attempt of Edward I. or *Duarte*, king of Portugal, to gain possession of Tangier in the kingdom of Fez. But the history of this war, in which the Portuguese arms suffered much misfortune and dishonour, are quite irrelevant to the present subject. The plague likewise, which raged at Lisbon in 1438, contributed to the suspension of the patriotic enterprizes of Don Henry. At length, in 1440, Don Henry resumed his project of maritime discovery, and dispatched two caravels from Sagres, which were forced back by unfavourable weather, apparently without even reaching the coast of Africa.

In

9 Progr. of Nav. Disc. I. 184.

In 1441, a young officer named Antonio Gonzales made a voyage in a small vessel, with a crew of twenty-one men, to the island where so great a number of sea wolves had been seen in the former voyage of Alphonzo Gonzales Baldaya in 1435. In this voyage Alphonzo Gotterez, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Don Henry, acted as secretary, and the two adventurers were instructed to endeavour to obtain an account of the country and its inhabitants, and to procure a cargo of the skins of the seals or sea wolves, that the voyage might not be entirely destitute of some commercial advantages. After accomplishing this part of his instructions, Gonzales determined to use his utmost efforts for procuring some of the inhabitants of the country to carry back with him to Sagres. For this purpose, he landed at the beginning of the night with nine associates, and having advanced about ten miles into the interior, discovered a native following a camel. The sudden appearance of the Portuguese rendered the astonished Moor perfectly motionless, and before he could recover from his surprize he was seized by Gotterez. On their return to the shore with their prisoner, they traced some recent footsteps on the sand, which led them in view of about forty natives, who withdrew to an adjoining hill, but the Portuguese secured a female Moor who had strayed from the party. With these two prisoners they returned to their vessel, not choosing to run any unnecessary risk, or to make any needless attack upon the natives, which was contrary to the express orders of Don Henry.

When preparing next morning to set sail on their return to Portugal, another Portuguese ship arrived, which was commanded by Nuno Tristan, a gentleman of the princes household. Encouraged by this reinforcement, a second expedition into the interior was immediately resolved upon, in which Nuno Tristan, Diego de Vigliadores, and Gonzales de Cintra, joined with Alphonzo Gonzales and Alphonzo Gotterez. Advancing again under night, they soon perceived a party of the natives whom they immediately attacked, shouting out Portugal! Portugal! San Jago! San Jago! The Moors were at first stupified with fear and surprise; but recovering from their panic, a struggle ensued, in which three of the Moors were slain, and ten made prisoners, the Portuguese being indebted for their safety to their defensive armour. After endeavouring, in vain, to establish an intercourse with the Moors for the redemption of the prisoners, Alphonzo

Alphonzo Gonzales returned to Sagres with a cargo of skins and the Moorish prisoners, and was honourably rewarded by his discerning master. The place of this exploit was named Puerto del Cavallero, or the Knights Harbour, on occasion of Gonzales being there knighted by Nuno Tristan.

After careening his vessel, Nuno Tristan proceeded along the coast according to his orders, and reached a cape in lat. 20° 50′ N. to which he gave the name of Cabo Branco, or the White Cape, on account of the whiteness of its cliffs. He there landed and found some fishing nets on the shore; but after repeated incursions into the country, being unable to meet with any of the natives, he made a survey of the coast, and returned to Portugal with an account of his proceedings.

Three of the prisoners carried to Portugal by Gonzales were Moors of some rank and considerable opulence; who each promised to pay ransoms for their safe return to their native country, and to give, besides, six or seven slaves each to the captors. Don Henry, as grand master of the order of Christ, was eager for the acquisition of so many converts from the religion of Mahomet, and was in hopes that the favourable report which the Moors might make on their return to Africa, would induce the natives to enter into trade with his navigators; and that, among the slaves which were to be given in exchange, some certain knowledge might be acquired of the burning regions of Africa, about which such strange reports were then prevalent. Antonio Gonzales was therefore dispatched on another voyage in 1442, accompanied by a German gentleman named Balthazar, who had distinguished himself in the late unfortunate attempt on Tangier, and who was anxious to carry home some account of the newly discovered countries. After being forced to return to port, to repair the damages they had sustained in a dreadful tempest, they again sailed, and reached the coast where the Moors had been made prisoners. The principal Moor was landed, and was received with great deference and respect by his countrymen; but he forgot all his promises on regaining his liberty, and never returned to pay the ransom he had bargained for. It would appear, however, that he had informed the natives of the return of the other two chiefs; as at the end of nine days, above an hundred natives appeared on the coast, and entered into treaty for the ransom of their two countrymen who remained captives, and for whom ten negroes,

groes, natives of different parts of Africa, were given in exchange. During these transactions, the sight of a considerable quantity of gold dust in the possession of the Moors, excited the most lively emotions in the Portuguese, as being the first intimation of that valuable commodity being procurable on the coast of their new discoveries. From this circumstance, Gonzales gave the name of *Rio del Ouro*, or Gold River, to the deep arm of the sea in which he now lay, which penetrates about six leagues N. N. E. from the tropic of Cancer.

SECTION IV.

Continuation of Discovery to Cape de Verd.

ON the return from this voyage, the sight of gold placed the fame and advantage of the enterprizes and discoveries of Don Henry beyond the reach of prejudice and detraction, and the former murmurings and discontents against his proceedings were changed into admiration and applause. In 1443 Nuno Tristan was again sent out, with orders to prosecute the discovery of a coast which now seemed so likely to prove advantageous to the commerce of Portugal. He now doubled Cape Blanco, or Branco, which he had discovered in his former voyage, and, about ten leagues farther to the south-east, fell in with an island, or rather cluster of seven islands, called *Adeget* by the natives, but which have since, with the bay in which they lie, received the name of Arguim, or Arguin. The small canoes which were used by the natives of this coast were at first mistaken for some strange kind of birds, as the people sit upon them astride, using their feet instead of paddles, to urge them along. To one of the islands in this bay Tristan gave the name of *De las* Garças, on account of the seasonable supply which he there received. From this place Nuno Tristan returned into Portugal, with some of the natives of the country.

Don Henry, in 1444, made an exchange with Massiot de Betancour, lord of the Canary Islands, for the islands of Lancerota, Fuertaventura, and Ferro, giving him some possessions in the island of Madeira in their stead ; and immediately fitted out a powerful squadron, commanded by the grand master of his household, Fernand de Castro, to take possession

sion of this new acquisition, and to subdue the remaining islands, Canaria, Palma, Gratioso, Inferno, Alegrazze, Santa-Chiara, Rocca, and Lobos. But, as the king of Castile afterwards laid claim to the Canaries, Don Henry resigned his conquests, finding the value of these islands by no means answerable to his expectation.

So greatly had the fame of the new discoveries extended in consequence of the small quantity of gold which had been procured by Gonzales at the Rio del Ouro, that several of the inhabitants of Lagos petitioned Don Henry, in 1444, to be erected into a trading company, engaging to carry on the discoveries along the coast of Africa at their own expence. The prince granted their request, and a company was accordingly formed, the prototype of those celebrated East India companies which have since carried on trade to such vast amount. Among the partners were, Juan Diaz, the ancestor of him who afterwards discovered and passed the Cape of Good Hope, Gilianez, who had so boldly overcome the obstacles of Cape Bajador, Lançerot, a gentleman of the household of Don Henry, Estevan Alfonso, and Rodrigo Alvarez. A squadron of six caravels was fitted out under the command of Lançerot, which sailed from Lagos in the year 1444, and reached the isle of Garças, in the bay of Arguin, where they captivated an hundred and fifty Africans, and returned to Lagos, after very slightly extending their knowledge of the coast of Africa to the desart island of Tider, in 19° 30′ N.

In 1445, the subsequent voyage of Gonzales da Cintra, likewise a gentleman in the household of Don Henry, in some measure expiated the wanton outrage which had been committed in that of Lançerot. The merit of Gonzales had raised him to the rank of a gentleman in the household of Don Henry, and his character was held in much estimation; but his confidence was obtained and betrayed by a moor of the Assanhaji tribe [10], whom he had taken on board to serve as an interpreter with the natives on the coast of Africa. Misled by this crafty African, who held out great hopes of acquiring plunder, Gonzales steered for the island of Arguin, and

10 This tribe of Assenhaji, or Azanaghi, are the Zenhaga of our maps, and the Sanhagæ of Edrisi and Abulfeda. They are at present represented as inhabiting at no great distance from the coast of Africa, between the rivers Nun and Senegal.—Cl.

and put into a creek or bay on the coast, in lat. 22° 48′ N. about fourteen leagues to the south of Rio del Ouro, and forty-five to the north of Cape Branco. The Moor got leave to go on shore, under pretence of visiting some relations, but escaped in the night with another of his countrymen. Gonzales was much mortified at allowing himself to be circumvented by the cunning of his interpreter, and rashly embarked in a boat with only twelve men, with the intention of pursuing the fugitive. Pressing onwards with too much eagerness, he neglected to attend to the tide, which happened then to be on the ebb. His boat stuck fast, and when the morning broke, he was surrounded by two hundred Moors. Unable to extricate himself, or to contend against such mighty odds, Gonzales and seven of his men were slain; the other five made their escape by swimming to the ship, which immediately set sail for Lagos. The clumsy denomination of *Angra de Gonzales da Cintra*, to this bay, still commemorates the death of this commander.

In the subsequent year, 1446, Don Henry sent out a small squadron of three caravels, under the command of Antonio Gonzales, assisted by Diego Alfonso, and by Gomez Perez, the kings pilot. They were directed to proceed for the Rio del Ouro, and were strictly enjoined to cultivate the friendship of the natives by every possible means, to establish peace with them, and to use their utmost endeavours to convert them to the Christian religion; among other instructions, they were urged to pass unnoticed the insults or neglect of honour which they might experience from the negroes. The Portuguese endeavoured, but ineffectually, to conciliate the natives, and to remove the angry prejudices which they entertained. They returned to Lagos with no other fruit from their voyage except one negro whom they had received in ransom, and an aged Moor who requested permission to accompany them to Portugal. One of their own companions, Juan Fernandez, from an ardent desire to procure information for the prince, got leave to remain among the Assanhaji Arabs.

Next year, 1447, Antonio Mendez was ordered to return in search of Juan Fernandez, from whose inquisitive disposition much information was expected. In this expedition he was accompanied by two other caravels, commanded by Garcia Mendez and Diego Alfonso, but they were separated by a storm in the early part of the voyage. Alfonso was the

 first

first who reached the coast at Cape Branco, where he landed, and set up a wooden cross as a signal to his consorts, and then proceeded to the islands of Arguin, which afforded shelter from the tremenduous surf which breaks continually on the coast of Africa. While waiting at Arguin for the other ships, Alfonso paid many visits to the continent, where he made prisoners of twenty-five of the natives. When the other two ships of the squadron had joined, they went to the Rio del Ouro in search of their countryman, Juan Fernandez, who had been several days anxiously looking out for a vessel to carry him off.

After experiencing many hardships, Fernandez had succeeded in gaining the friendship of a considerable person among the Moors, and was accompanied to the shore by that mans slaves in a body. The natives exerted themselves to procure the release of some of their countrymen who were prisoners with the Portuguese, to whom they gave nine negroes and a quantity of gold dust by way of ransom. To the place where this transaction took place, the navigators gave the name of *Cabo do Resgati*, or Cape Ransom; where likewise Fernam Tavares, an aged nobleman, received the honour of knighthood, a distinction he had long been entitled to, but which he would only receive upon the newly discovered coast. During the homeward voyage, Gonzales touched at a village near Cape Branco, where he increased his captives to ninety.

Juan Fernandez described the natives of the coast as wandering shepherds, of the same race with the Moor who had been brought over to Portugal by Antonio Gonzales in the former voyage. After he had been conveyed to a considerable distance inland, he was stripped of all his clothes, and even deprived of all the provisions he had taken on shore. A tattered coarse rug, called an *alhaik*, was given him instead of the clothes he had been deprived of. His food was principally a small farinaceous seed, varied sometimes by the roots which he could find in the desert, or the tender sprouts of wild plants. The inhabitants, among whom he lived as a slave, unless when better supplied by means of the chase, fed on dried lizards, and on a species of locust or grasshopper. Water was bad, or scarce, and their chief drink was milk. They only killed some of their cattle on certain great festivals; and, like the Tartars, they roamed from place to place in quest of a precarious sustenance for their flocks and herds.

The

The whole country presented only extensive wastes of barren sand, or an uncultivated heath, where a few Indian figs here and there variegated the dreary and extensive inhospitable plain. A short time before he rejoined his countrymen, Fernandez acquired the protection and kindness of Huade Meimon, a Moor of distinction, who permitted him to watch for the arrival of the ships, and even assigned him a guard for his protection.

In the interval between these two voyages of Gonzales, Denis Fernandez, a gentleman of Lisbon, who had belonged to the household of the late king, fitted out a vessel for discovery under the patronage of Don Henry, with a determination to endeavour to penetrate farther to the southwards than any preceding navigator. He accordingly passed to the southwards of the Senegal river, which divides the Azanhaji moors from the Jaloffs, or most northern negroes, and fell in with some almadias or canoes, one of which he captured, with four natives. Proceeding still farther on, without stopping to satisfy his curiosity in visiting the coast, he at length reached the most westerly promontory of Africa, to which he gave the name of Cabo Verde, or the Green Cape, from the number of palm trees with which it was covered. Alarmed by the breakers with which the shore was everywhere guarded, Denis did not venture to proceed any farther, especially as the season was already far advanced, but returned with his captives to Portugal, where he met with a flattering reception from Don Henry, both on account of his discovery of the Cape de Verd, and for the natives he had procured from the newly discovered coast, without having been traded for with the Moors.

SECTION V.

Progress of Discovery from Cape de Ve‌rd to the Gambia.

SOON after the return of Denis from the Cape de Verd, Gonzales Pachecos, a wealthy officer belonging to the household of Don Henry, fitted out a ship at his own expence, of which he gave the command to Dinisianez da Gram, one of the princes equerries, who was accompanied by Alvaro Gil, an essayer of the mint, and Mafaldo de Setubal. After touching at Cape Branco, they steered along the coast for the

the isle of Arguin, making descents in several places, where they made a considerable number of captives from the Moors. At the isle *De las Garças* they found another caravel, commanded by Lourenço Dias, which formed part of a considerable squadron that had been lately fitted out from Lagos. Two days afterwards, the admiral of that squadron, Lançarot, and nine other caravels arrived. Gram informed Lançarot of his success in making fifty prisoners, whom he had dearly purchased by the loss of seven of his men, who had been murdered by the Moors. Lançarot immediately sailed for Arguin, bent on revenge, and sacrificed the lives of eight, and the liberty of four of the natives, to the memory of Gonzales da Cintra and the mariners of Gram. On this occasion two of the Portuguese officers were knighted on the newly discovered coast, which seems then to have been a fashionable ambition among them, no doubt arising from the prevailing zeal for maritime discovery. From Arguin Lançarot passed over to the isle of Tider, whence the inhabitants made their escape to the adjacent continent; but the Portuguese soon followed, and the astonished Moors fled on all sides, after a sharp skirmish, in which a good many of them were slain, and sixty taken prisoners.

The fleet now separated, a part returning home by way of the Canaries, while Lançarot, with several other caravels, advanced along the coast of Africa southwards, till he got beyond what the Moors called the Çahara, or Sahara, of the Assenaji. This Moorish nation is mentioned by Abulfeda as the ruling tribe in Audagost, or Agadez, and as inhabiting the southern part of Morocco. They are therefore to be considered as the peculiar people of the great desert and its environs, at its western extremity on the Atlantic. The latter part of their name, *aji*, or rather aspirated *haji*, signifies a pilgrim, and is now the appropriate title of one who has made the great pilgrimage of Mecca. In the present case, the name of Assenaji probably signifies the *Wanderers of the Desert*. The Sanhaga, or Assenaji tribe, is now placed at no great distance from the African coast, between the rivers Nun and Senegal; and this latter river has probably received its Portuguese name of Sanaga from that tribe. Ptolemy likewise probably named Cape Verd *Arsinarium*, from the same people, from which it may be inferred that they anciently occupied both sides of the Senegal river, which is named *Dardalus* by that ancient geographer.

 Twenty

Twenty leagues beyond the southern boundary of the great desert, Lançarot came to the mouth of a large river, which had been formerly seen by Denis Fernandez, and named by him *Rio Portugues*, or the Portuguese river; which was called *Ouedech* by the natives, and afterwards got the name of Canaga, Zanaga, Sanhaga, Sanaga, or Senega, now the Senegal. Lançarot passed in safety over the bar of this river, and endeavoured to explore its course upwards, but the weather became unfavourable, and forced him again to sea, when he proceeded with part of his squadron to Cape Verd, near which place he took in a supply of water and goats flesh. The fleet was again dispersed by a second storm, and only three vessels remained under the command of Lançarot. With these he made a descent on the island of Tider, where he captured fifty-nine Moors; and with these, and some natives he had made prisoners on the banks of the Senegal, he returned into Portugal.

In the year 1447, Nuna Tristan made another voyage to the coast of Africa; and, advancing beyond *Cabo dos Mastos*, or the Cape of Masts, so named from some dead palms resembling masts, seen there by Lançarot, who made this discovery in the former voyage, Nuna Tristan proceeded southwards along the coast of Africa, 180 miles beyond Cape Verd, where he reached the mouth of a river which he called Rio Grande, or the Large River, since called Gamber, Gambra, or Gambia. Tristan came to anchor at the mouth of this river, and went in his boat with twenty-two armed men on purpose to explore its course. Having reached to a considerable distance from his ship, he was environed by thirteen almadias or canoes, manned by eighty negroes, who advanced with dreadful yells, and poured in continual vollies of poisoned arrows, by which he, and almost every man in his boat were wounded before they could regain the ship. Nuno Tristan and all the wounded men died speedily of the effects of these poisoned weapons, himself only living long enough to recount the nature of the terrible disaster to the small remainder of the crew who had been left in charge of the caravel; which was brought home by only four survivors, after wandering for two months in the Atlantic, scarcely knowing which way to steer their course.

There appears some difficulty and contradiction in regard to the river discovered by Nuna Tristan, from the vague name of Rio Grande. Instead of the Gambia, in lat. 13° 30' N.

N. some of the Portuguese historians are inclined to believe that this fatal event took place at another river, in lat. 10° 15′ N. at least 500 nautical miles beyond the Gambia, to the S. S. E. which was afterwards called Rio de Nuno. This is scarcely probable, as no notice whatever is taken of the great archipelago of shoals and islands which extend from Cabo Rosso to beyond the mouth of that river which is still called Rio Grande. Yet it must be acknowledged that our remaining information respecting these early Portuguese voyages of discovery, is unfortunately vague and unsatisfactory.

In the same year, 1447, Alvaro Fernando proceeded to the coast of Africa, and is said to have advanced forty leagues beyond Tristan, having arrived at the mouth of a river called Tabite[11], 100 miles to the south of Rio Nuno. Notwithstanding the appearance of a determined opposition on the part of the natives, who had manned five almadias, Alvaro resolved to explore its course in his boat, and proceeded up the river for that purpose, with the utmost circumspection. One of the almadias stood out from the rest, and attacked his boat with great bravery, discharging a number of poisoned arrows, by which Alvaro and several of his men were wounded, which forced him to desist and return to his ship. Being, however, provided with *theriac* and other antidotes against the poison, Alvaro and all his men recovered from their wounds. He resolved, after leaving the river Tabite, to proceed along the coast, which he did to a sandy point; and, apprehending no danger in so open a situation, was preparing to land, when he was suddenly assailed by a flight of poisoned arrows, from 120 negroes who started up from a concealment. Alvaro, therefore, desisted from any farther attempt to explore the coast, and returned to Lagos to give an account of his proceedings.

In the same year, ten caravels sailed from Lagos for Madeira, the Canaries, and the coast of Africa, but returned without making any progress in discovering the coast. Under this year likewise, 1447, the Antilles, or Caribbee islands, are pretended to have been discovered by a Portuguese ship driven thither by a storm. But the fact rests only on the authority

11. No such name occurs in the best modern charts, neither is there a river of any consequence on the coast which answers to the distance. The first large river to the south of the Nuno is the Mitomba, or river of Sierra Liona, distant about 130 maritime miles.—E.

authority of Galvano, a Portuguese historian, and is not at all credible. Indeed the story is an absolute fable; as the inhabitants are said to have spoken the Portuguese language, and to have had *seven cities* in their island. In the same year, Gomez Perez went with two caravels to Rio del Ouro, whence he carried eighty Moors to Lagos as prisoners.

About this period the progress of discovery was arrested by political disputes in Portugal, which ended in a civil war between Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, and King Alphonso V. his nephew and son-in-law, in the course of which Don Pedro was slain. Don Henry appears to have taken no share in these disputes, except by endeavouring to mediate between his nephew and brother; and, after the unhappy catastrophe of Don Pedro, Don Henry returned to Sagres, where he resumed the superintendence of his maritime discoveries.

Section VI.

Discovery and Settlement of the Açores[1].

These nine islands, called the Açores, Terceras, or Western islands, are situated in the Atlantic, 900 miles west from Portugal, at an almost equal distance from Europe, Africa, and America. The Flemings pretend that they were discovered by a navigator of their nation, John Vanderberg, who sailed from Lisbon in 1445 or 1449. Santa Maria, one of these islands, 250 leagues west from Cape St Vincent, was first seen on the 15th August 1432, by Cabral, who sailed under the orders of Don Henry. San Miguel was taken possession of by the same navigator on the 8th May 1444; and Ponta Delgada its capital, received its charter from Emanuel in 1449. Tercera was given to Jacome de Brujes in 1450, by Don Henry, in which year St George was discovered. Pico and Gracioso were discovered about the same time. Perhaps Fayal may actually have been first explored, as many of the inhabitants are of Flemish descent, under the command and protection of the Portuguese. Flores and Corvo, which lie seventy

1 So called from the number of hawks which were seen on these islands when first discovered, *Açor* signifying a hawk in the Portuguese language; hence Açores or Açoras, pronounced Azores, signifies the Islands of Hawks. —Clarke.

seventy leagues west from Tercera, are not reckoned among the Açores by some writers. In this latter island, the Portuguese pretend that there was discovered an equestrian statue made from one block of stone. The head of the man was bare, his left hand rested on the mane of his horse, and his right pointed towards the *west*, as if indicating the situation of another continent. In addition to all this, an inscription appeared to have been traced on a rock beneath the statue, but in a language which the Portuguese did not understand.

In the slow progress of discovery, the perils endured by the officers and men employed by Don Henry, from the Moors and Negroes, frequently occasioned murmurs against his plans of discovery; but the several clusters of islands, the Madeiras, Cape Verd, and Açores, formed a succession of maritime and commercial colonies and nurseries for seamen, which took off from the general obloquy attending the tedious and hitherto unsuccessful attempts to penetrate farther into the southern hemisphere, and afforded a perpetual supply of navigators, and a stimulus to enterprize. The original prejudices against the possibility of navigating or existing in the torrid zone still subsisted, and although the navigators of Don Henry had gradually penetrated to within ten degrees of the equator, yet the last successive discovery was always held forth by the supporters of ignorant prejudice, as that which had been placed by nature as an insurmountable barrier to farther progress in the Atlantic. In this situation, the settlement of the Açores was of considerable importance. In 1457, Don Henry procured the grant of many valuable privileges to this favourite colony, the principal of which was the exemption of the inhabitants from any duties on their commerce to the ports of Portugal and even of Spain.

In 1461, a fort was erected in the isle of Arguin on the African coast of the Moors, to protect the trade carried on there for gold and negro slaves. Next year, 1462, Antonio de Noli, a Genoese, sent by the republic to Portugal, entered into the service of Don Henry, and in a voyage to the coast of Africa, discovered the islands which are known by the name of the Cape de Verd Islands, though they lie 100 leagues to the westward of that Cape. In the same year Pedro de Cintra, and Suera de Costa, penetrated a little farther along the coast of Africa, and discovered the river or Bay of Sierra Liona or Mitomba, in lat 8° 30' N. This constituted

constituted the last of the Portuguese discoveries, carried on under the direct influence and authority of Don Henry, the founder and father of modern maritime discovery, as he died next year, 1463, at Sagres, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and, for a time, the maritime enterprize of the Portuguese nation was palsied by his death.

Thus, during a long period of fifty-two years, this patriotic prince devoted almost his whole attention, and the ample revenues which he enjoyed as Duke of Viseo and grand master of the military order of Christ, in extending the maritime knowledge, and consequently the commercial prosperity of his country. The incidents of the last seven years of the life of this distinguished prince, are involved in uncertainty, and we know very little with regard to the progress of his maritime discoveries from 1456, the date of the second of the voyages of Cada Mosto, of which we propose to give a separate account, till the year of his death, 1463. From the year 1412, when he began his operations, at which time he could scarcely exceed fifteen years of age, the navigators who had been formed under his auspices and direction, and often instructed by himself in the theory of navigation and cosmography, gradually explored the western coast of Africa, from Cape Nam or Non, in lat. 28° 15', certainly to Rio Grande, in lat. 11° N. or rather to Rio de Nuno, not quite a degree farther south; but it is highly probable that the southern limit of discovery in his time extended to Cabo Verga, in lat. 10° N. the northern boundary of the country usually called the Sierra Liona, or the Ridge of Lions, perhaps to the gulf of Mitomba, or bay of Sierra Liona, in lat. 8° 30' N. an extent of 29° 15' of latitude, or 1185 nautical miles; a mere nothing certainly when compared with modern navigation, but a wonderful effort in the infancy of the science, when even coasting voyages of any extent along well known shores, and in frequented seas, were looked upon as considerable efforts. No brilliant discovery, indeed, rewarded the perseverance of Don Henry, and the courage of his servants; but an indestructible foundation of useful knowledge was laid, for overthrowing the ignorant prejudices of the age, and by which, not long afterwards, his plans were perfected by completing the circumnavigation of Africa, and by the discovery of the *New* World. Dr Vincent, the learned editor and commentator of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, is disposed

ed to limit the discoveries of Don Henry to Cape Verd [2]; but Ramusio believed that the Island of St Thomas was settled in his time; and the ingenious translator of the Lusiad of Camoens is of opinion that some of his commanders passed beyond the equator [3]. According to Mickle, it was the custom of his navigators to leave his motto, *Talent de bien faire*, wherever they came; and in 1525 Loaya, a Spanish captain, found that device carved on the bark of a tree in the island of St Matthew, or Anabon, in the *second* degree of southern latitude. But this proof is quite inconclusive, as the navigators long reared in the school of this great prince might naturally enough continue his impress upon the countries they visited, even after his lamented death.

About seven years before the decease of Don Henry, two voyages were made to the African coast by Alvise da Cada Mosto, a Venetian navigator, under the auspices of the Duke of Viseo; but which we have chosen to separate from the historical deduction of the Portuguese discoveries, principally because they contain the oldest nautical journal extant, except those already given in our First Part from the pen of the great Alfred, and are therefore peculiarly valuable in a work of this nature. Their considerable length, likewise, and because they were not particularly conducive to the grand object of extending the maritime discoveries, have induced us to detach them from the foregoing narrative, that we might carry it down unbroken to the death of the great Don Henry. These voyages, likewise, give us an early picture of the state of population, civilization, and manners of the Africans, not to be met with elsewhere.

To this we subjoin an abstract of the narrative of a voyage made by Pedro de Cintra, a Portuguese captain, to the coast of Africa, drawn up for Cada Mosto, at Lagos, by a young Portuguese who had been his secretary, and who had accompanied Cintra in his voyage. The exact date of this voyage is nowhere given; but as the death of Don Henry is mentioned in the narrative, it probably took place in that year, 1463.

CHAPTER

2 Peripl. of the Erythr. Sea, 193.

3 Hist. of the Disc. of India, prefixed to the translation of the Lusiad, I, 158.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF THE VOYAGES OF CADA MOSTO, AND PIEDRO DE CINTRA TO THE COAST OF AFRICA; THE FORMER IN THE YEARS 1455 AND 1456, AND THE LATTER SOON AFTERWARDS[1].

INTRODUCTION.

ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO, a Venetian, in the service of Don Henry of Portugal, informs us in his preface, that he was the first navigator from the *noble city of Venice*, who had sailed on the ocean beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, to the southern parts of Negroland, and Lower Ethiopia. These voyages of Cada Mosto are the oldest extant in the form of a regular journal, and were originally composed in Italian, and first printed at Venice in 1507. This first edition is now exceedingly scarce, but there is a copy in the kings library, and another in the valuable collection made by Mr. Dalrymple. These voyages were afterward published by Ramusio in 1613, and by Grynæus in Latin. The latter was misled in regard to the date; which he has inadvertently placed in 1504, after the death of Prince Henry, and even subsequent to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bernal Diaz. Even Ramusio, in his introduction to the voyages of Cada Mosto, has made a mistake in saying that they were undertaken by the orders of John king of Portugal, who died in 1433.

Ramusio imagined that the discoveries of Cada Mosto might tend to great importance, as he considered the rivers Senegal and Rio Grande to be branches of the Niger, by which means the Europeans might open a trade with the rich kingdoms of Tombuto and Melli on that river, and thus bring gold from the countries of the Negroes, by an easier, safer, and more expeditious manner, than as conveyed by the Moors of Barbary by land, over the vast and dangerous deserts

1 Astley, Col. of Voy. and Trav. I, 572. Clarke, Prog. of Marit. Disc, I, 235.

deserts that intervene between the country on the Niger and Senegal rivers, and Barbary. As, by the account of Leo, salt is the most valuable commodity throughout the countries of the Negroes, Ramusio proposed that the ships should take in cargoes of salt at the island of *Sal*, one of the Cape de Verds, and thence supply the countries on the Niger, which was reported to be navigable for 500 miles into the interior; and that they should bring back gold and slaves in return; the latter to be brought to market at St Jago, another of the Cape de Verd islands, where they would be immediately bought up for the West Indies. All this fine speculation, however, rested on mistaken foundations; as the Niger is altogether an inland river, running to the east, and has no communication with the Senegal and Gambia, which run west into the Atlantic. Yet time, and the civilization of the natives on the Senegal and Gambia, may hereafter realize this scheme of a valuable traffic into the interior of Africa; but it is fervently to be hoped, that the trade in slaves may never be revived.

In his preface, after an apology for his performance, and making a declaration of his strict adherence to truth in all the particulars he relates, Cada Mosto gives some account of the infant Don Henriquez, or Henry, of Portugal, the great author and promoter of maritime discoveries. He praises him, as a prince of a great soul and sublime genius, and of great skill in astronomy; and adds, that he applied himself entirely to the service of Christ, by making war against the Moors. While on death-bed, in 1432, Don John, king of Portugal, exhorted his son Don Henry to pursue his laudable and holy purpose, of *persecuting* the enemies of the Christian faith, which he promised to perform; and, accordingly, with the assistance of his brother Don Duarte, or Edward, who succeeded to the throne of Portugal, he made war in Fez with success for many years. Afterwards, the more effectually to harass the Moors, he used to send his caravels, or ships of war, annually, to scour the coasts of Azafi, or Al Saffi, and Messa, on the coast of Africa, without the Mediteranean, by which he did them much damage. But, having in view to make discoveries along that western coast, he ordered them every year to advance farther towards the south. They accordingly proceeded till they came to a great cape, which put a stop to their progress southwards for several years, being afraid to go beyond it; whence it took the name it still

still retains of Cape Non[2]; meaning, that such as went beyond should never return. Don Henry, however, was of a different opinion, and adding three other caravels to those which had been at the cape, sent them again next year to make the attempt. They accordingly penetrated about 100 miles beyond that cape, where they found only a sandy coast with no habitations, and returned back to Portugal.

Encouraged by this commencement of successful progress, Don Henry sent the same fleet back next year, with orders to extend their discoveries 150 miles farther to the south, and even more if they found it proper; and promised to enrich all who should embark in this navigation. They went again; and, although they obeyed the instructions of the prince, they could not improve the discoveries. Yet, firmly persuaded by the strength of his own judgment, that people and habitations would certainly be found at length, Don Henry continued to send out his caravels from time to time; and they came at length to certain coasts frequented by the Arabs of the desert, and to the habitations of the Azanaghi, a tawny race. Thus the countries of the negroes were discovered; and different nations afterwards, which will be mentioned in the following relation.

Thus far the preface of Cada Mosto, as given in the collection of Astley, from the edition of Ramusio, with which we must be satisfied in this work, as that in the royal library is inaccessible for our use. The present version has been carefully formed, by a comparison of Astley, with the original in Ramusio, and with the summary by the Reverend James Stanier Clarke, in his curious work on the progress of maritime discoveries, which only gives a selection of what he considered to be its most material parts. In this edition, the narrative style of Cada Mosto, in his own person, is restored as much as possible. It may be noticed, that Alvise is the Portuguese form of the name Louis, or Lewis.

In addition to the two voyages of Cada Mosto himself, there is a third voyage included in the present chapter, performed by Piedro de Cintra to the same coast, the narrative of which was communicated to Cada Mosto by one who had accompanied

2 According to De Faria, as already mentioned in Chap. II. Sect. I. Cape Non was doubled, and Cape Bojador discovered in 1415, many years before the death of King John. The present recapitulation by Cada Mosto has been left in his own words, without insisting on the exactness of his chronology. —Astley.

accompanied Cintra, and had been clerk to Cada Mosto in the two former voyages.

SECTION I.

Voyage of Cada Mosto from Venice to Cape St Vincent: He enters into the service of Don Henry, and sets out for the New Discoveries: Relation of the Voyage to Madeira and the Canaries; with some Account of these islands, and their Inhabitants.

I, ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO, after visiting many parts of our Mediterranean Sea, being in our city of Venice in the year 1454, at which time I was about twenty-two years of age, determined to return into Flanders, a country which I had formerly visited as a merchant; for my constant attention was, in the first place to acquire wealth, and secondly to procure fame. On the 8th of August in that year 1454, I embarked in one of the gallies belonging to the republic, commanded by Marco Zen, a Venetian cavalier. Contrary winds detained us for some days off Cape St Vincent; during which, I learnt that Don Henry, the infant of Portugal, resided in the adjoining village of Reposera, or Sagres, to which he had retired in order to pursue his studies without interruption from the tumult of the world. Hearing of our arrival, the prince sent on board of our galley Antonio Gonzales his secretary, accompanied by Patricio de Conti [1], a Venetian, who was consul for the republic in Portugal, as appeared by his commission, and who also received a salary or pension from Don Henry. These gentlemen brought on board, and exhibited to us samples of Madeira sugar, dragons blood, and other commodities of the countries and islands belonging to the prince, which had been discovered under his patronage. They asked us many questions, and informed us that the prince had caused some lately discovered and uninhabited islands to be settled and cultivated, as a proof of which, they had shewn us the before-mentioned valuable productions; adding, that all this was next to nothing, in comparison of the great things which Don Henry had performed; as he had discovered

1 In Grynæus, this person is called a patrician or nobleman of Venice, and his surname is omitted.—Astley.

discovered seas which had never been navigated before, and the countries of divers strange, and hitherto unknown nations, where many wonderful things were found. They told us farther, that the Portuguese who had been in these remote parts, had reaped great advantages by trading with the inhabitants; having gained as high as 700 or even 1600 per cent. on the capitals employed. We were all much astonished at these things; and I Cada Mosto in particular, being inflamed with the desire of visiting these newly discovered regions, inquired if the prince permitted any person who might be so inclined to embark for these places? To this they answered in the affirmative; and they likewise stated to me the conditions on which any one would be allowed to make the adventure. These were, either to be at the whole expence of fitting out and freighting a vessel; or at the expence of the freight only, the prince providing a vessel. In the former case, the adventurer had to allow on his return one quarter of his cargo, as duty to the prince, the rest remaining his own entire propriety; in the latter case, the homeward cargo was to be equally divided between the prince and the adventurer. In case of no returns, the prince was at the entire expence of the voyage; but that it was hardly possible to make the voyage without great profit. They added, that the prince would be much pleased to have any Venetian in his service, and would shew him great favour, being of opinion that spices and other rich merchandise might be found in these parts, and knowing that the Venetians understood these commodities better than any other nation.

Influenced by all this, I accompanied the secretary and consul on shore, and waited on the prince, who confirmed all those things which they had said, and encouraged me to embark in the voyage to his new countries, by promises of honour and profit. Being young, and of a constitution to endure fatigue, and desirous to visit those parts of the world which had never been even known to any Venetian, and likewise in hopes to advance my fortune, I accepted of the invitation. Having, therefore, procured information respecting the commodities which it was proper to carry with me on such a voyage, I returned to the gallies, where I disposed of all the goods I had shipped for the low countries, and carried to land such things as were necessary for my intended expedition; and leaving the gallies to pursue their voyage to Flanders, I landed in Portugal. The prince evinced much satisfaction

satisfaction at my resolution, and entertained me handsomely at Sagres for a considerable time. At length he ordered me to fit out a new caravel, of about ninety tons burden, of which Vincent Diaz, a native of Lagos, about sixteen miles from Sagres, was commander. The caravel being in readiness, and furnished with every thing necessary for the voyage, we set sail on the 22d of March 1455, having a favourable wind at north-east, and by north [2], and steered our course for the island of Madeira. On the 25th of that month we came to the island of *Puerto Santo*, which is about 600 miles southward from Cape St Vincent, whence we took our departure.

Puerto Santo was discovered by the Portuguese on All Saints day, about the year 1418 [3], and Don Henry first sent inhabitants to settle there under Bartholomew Perestrello, whom he appointed governor. It is about fifteen miles in circuit [4]. It bears good bread corn, and a sufficiency of oats for its own use; and abounds with cattle and wild hogs, and innumerable rabbits [5]. Among other trees, it produces the drago or dragon tree, the sap or juice of which is drawn out only at certain seasons of the year, when it issues from cuts or clefts, made with an axe near the bottom of the tree in the preceding year. These clefts are found full of a kind of gum; which, decocted and depurated, is the dragons-blood of the apothecaries [6]. The tree bears a yellow fruit, round like

2 *Con Veuto da greco et tramontana in poppe;* literally, having a Greek, and *beyond the mountain* wind in the poop. The points of the compass, in Italian maps, are thus named, N. *Tramontana.* N. E. *Greco.* E. *Levante.* S. E. *Sirocco.* S. *Mezzoni.* S. W. *Libeccio.* W. *Ponente.* N. W. *Maestro.*—Clarke.

3 This date ought to have been 1413.—Astl.

4 Barbot says eight leagues; other authors say more, and some less. It is about twelve leagues to the north-east of Madeira.—Astl.

5 When Sir Amias Preston took this island in 1595, it abounded in corn, wine, and oil, and had good store of sheep, asses, goats, and kine. There was also plenty of fowl, fish, and fruits.—Astl.

6 From this account it seems to be an inspissated juice.—Astley.

This tree has probably received its name from the bark being like the scales of a serpent. About the full of the moon it exudes a vermilion coloured gum. That which grows on the islands and coasts of Africa is more astringent than what comes from Goa. It is found on high rocky land. Bartholomew Stibbs met with it on the banks of the Gambia river, and describes it under the name of *Par de Sangoe*, or blood-wood tree. The gum is a red, inodorous, and insipid resin, soluble in alcohol and oils; and when dissolved by the former, is used for staining marble.—Clarke.

like a cherry, and well tasted. This island produces the best honey and wax in the world, but not in any quantity. It has no harbour, but a good road in which vessels may moor in safety, being well sheltered on all sides, except the quarters between the south and east, all of which winds make it unsafe to ride here at anchor. There is plenty of excellent fish on its shores; such as dentili, gilded fish, and others.

From Puerto Santo, which was discovered twenty-seven years before, we sailed on the 28th of March, and came the same day to *Monchrico* or Machico, one of the ports of the island of Madeira, forty miles distant from Puerto Santo. In fair weather these islands may be seen from each other. This latter island was only inhabited within the last twenty-four years, when the prince appointed two of his gentlemen to be its governors. Tristan Vaz having the government of that half of the island in which the port of Monchrico is situated; and the other district of the island, in which Fonzal, Fonchial, or Funchal stands, is under the government of John Gonzales Zarcho. The island of Madeira is inhabited in four several places: Monchrico, Santa Cruz, Fonzal, and Camera-di-Lupi, which are its principal places, though there are other minor establishments; and is able to muster about 800 men able to bear arms, of whom an hundred are horse. There are about eight rivers, which pervade the island in different places; by means of which they have many saw-mills, from which Portugal and other places are supplied with boards of many different sorts. Of these boards, two sorts are in particular estimation, and turn most to account. The one is cedar, which has a strong odoriferous smell, and resembles the cypress tree; of this they make fine, large, and long boards or deals, which they employ for building houses, and for various other purposes. The other, called nasso [7], is of a red-rose colour, and extremely beautiful; of which they make excellent and very beautiful bows and cross-bows, which are sent into the west. In order to clear the land, the first settlers set fire to the woods, and the fire spread with such fury, that several persons, with their families, and Gonzales Zarcho among the rest, were forced to take shelter in the sea to save themselves from the flames, where

7 The woods of Madeira are cedar, vigniatico, laurus Indicus, which has a considerable resemblance to mahogany, barbuzano, chesnut, and the beautiful mirmulano, and paobranco.—Clarke.

where they stood up to their necks for two days and two nights, without sustenance. Though this island is mountainous, its soil is rich and fertile, and it produces yearly 30,000 Venetian *staras* [8] of bread corn. At first, the newly cultivated land yielded seventy for one, but has since been reduced to thirty or forty, for want of good husbandry. Owing to the excellence of its soil and climate, and the abundance of springs and rivers, Prince Henry procured sugar canes from Sicily, which he sent to this island, where they have yielded abundant produce; insomuch, that 400 cantaros of sugar, each containing 112 pounds large weight of Venice, have been made at one boiling, and the quantity was likely to increase [9]. They have likewise good wines, considering how shortly this culture has been introduced; and in such abundance, that large quantities are exported. Among other kinds of vines, Don Henry sent thither *Malvasia* plants, procured from the island of Candia, which have succeeded well. The soil has turned out so favourable for the vine, that in general there are more grapes than leaves, and the bunches are very large, even from two to four spans long. They have likewise the black *Pergola* grape, without stones, in great perfection; and so well is the climate adapted to this culture, that they begin their vintage about Easter, or at least by the octave after.

We sailed from Madeira, following a southerly course, and arrived at the Canary islands, which are at the distance of about 320 miles from Madeira. There are seven of these islands in all, four of which have been settled by the Christians, Lançerotta, Fuerteventura, Gomera, and Ferro; over which Herrera [10], a Spanish gentleman, is lord. Large quantities of an herb called *Oricello* or Orchel [11], are annually sent from these islands to Cadiz and Seville, which is used in dying, and is sent from these places to all parts of Europe. Great quantities of excellent goat skins are exported from

8 This measure is said to weigh about thirty-three English pounds, so that the quantity mentioned in the text amounts to 1850 quarters English measure.—Astl.

9 I suppose he means at one crop. The quantity in the text, reduced to avoirdupois weight, amounts to twenty-eight hogsheads, at sixteen hundred weight each.—Astl.

10 In Clarke, this person is named Ferrero; perhaps the right name of this person was Fernando Pereira, who subdued Gomera and Ferro.—E.

11 A species of moss, or lichen rather, that grows on the rocks, and is used by dyers.—Clarke.

from these islands, which likewise produce abundance of tallow, and good cheese. The original inhabitants of the four islands that are subject to the Christians, are *Canarians*[12], who speak various languages or dialects, not well understood between the different tribes. These people have only open villages, without any fortifications; except on the mountains, which are exceedingly high, and there they have a kind of rude walls or redoubts, to flee to in case of need. The passes of these mountains are so difficult of access, that a few resolute men might defend them against an army. The other three islands of this group, Grand Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, which are larger and better peopled than the other four, are still unsubdued and possessed by the aboriginal idolaters. Grand Canaria has between eight and nine thousand souls, and Teneriffe, which is the largest of all these islands, is said to contain fourteen or fifteen thousand, and is divided into nine separate lordships. Palma, however, has very few inhabitants, yet it appears to be a very beautiful island. Every lordship seems to have its own mode of religious worship; as in Teneriffe, there were no less than nine different kinds of idolatry; some worshipping the sun, others the moon, and so forth. They practise polygamy, and the lords have the jus primæ noctis, which is considered as conferring great honour. On the accession of any new lord, it is customary for some persons to offer themselves to die as a sacrifice to his honour. On this occasion, the lord holds a great festival on his accession day; when all who are willing to give this cruel proof of their attachment, are attended to the summit of a high cliff in a certain valley, where, after some peculiar ceremonies, and certain words muttered over them, the victims precipitate themselves from the cliff, and are dashed to pieces. In reward of this sanguinary homage, the lords consider themselves bound to heap extraordinary honours and rewards on the parents of the victims.

Teneriffe, which is the largest of these islands, and the best inhabited, is one of highest islands in the world, and is seen in clear weather from a great distance; insomuch, that I was informed by some mariners, that it had been descried at the distance of between sixty and seventy Spanish leagues, which make about 250 Italian miles. In the middle of the island, there is a prodigiously high peaked mountain, shaped like a diamond,

12 Other authors call the natives of the Canaries *Guanchos*.—E.

diamond, which is always burning. I received this account from some Christians, who had been prisoners in the island, who affirmed that it was fifteen Portuguese leagues, or sixty Italian miles, from the bottom of the mountain to the top of the peak.

They have nine lords on this island, who are called dukes, and who do not succeed by inheritance or descent, but by force; on which account they have perpetual civil wars among themselves, in which they commit great slaughter. Their only weapons are stones, maces or clubs, and darts or lances, some of which are pointed with horn, and others have their points hardened in the fire. They all go naked, except a few who wear goat skins before and behind. They anoint their skins with goats tallow, mixed up with the juice of certain herbs, which thickens the skin, and defends them against the cold, of which they complain much, although their country is so far to the south. They have neither walled nor thatched houses, but dwell in grottos and caverns of the mountains. They feed on barley, flesh, and goats milk, of which they have abundance, and some fruits, particularly figs. As the country is very hot, they reap their corn in April and May.

We learnt all these things from the Christians of the four settled islands, who sometimes go over by night to the three other islands, and make prisoners of the natives, whom they send into Spain to be sold as slaves. Sometimes the Spaniards are themselves made prisoners on these expeditions, on which occasions the natives do not put them to death, but employ them to kill and flea their goats, and to cure the flesh, which they look upon as a vile employment, and therefore condemn their Christian prisoners to that labour in contempt. The native Canarians are very active and nimble, and are exceedingly agile in running and leaping, being accustomed to traverse the cliffs of their rugged mountains. They skip barefooted from rock to rock like goats, and sometimes take leaps of most surprising extent and danger, which are scarcely to be believed. They throw stones with great strength and wonderful exactness, so as to hit whatever they aim at with almost perfect certainty, and almost with the force of a bullet from a musket; insomuch that a few stones thrown by them will break a buckler to pieces. I once saw a native Canarian, who had become a Christian, who offered to give three persons twelve oranges a-piece, and taking twelve to

 himself,

himself, engaged, at eight or ten paces distance, to strike his antagonists with every one of his oranges, and at the same time to parry all theirs, so that they should hit no part of him but his hands. But no one would take up the wager, as they all knew he could perform even better than he mentioned. I was on land in Gomera and Ferro, and touched also at the island of Palma, but did not land there.

SECTION II.

Continuation of the Voyage by Cape Branco, the Coast of Barbary, and the Forna of Arguin; with some account of the Arabs, the Azanaghi, and the Country of Tegazza.

LEAVING the Canaries, we pursued our course towards Ethiopia, and arrived in a few days at Cape *Branco*, which is about 870 miles from these islands. In this passage, steering south, we kept at a great distance from the African shore on our left, as the Canaries are far advanced into the sea towards the west. We stood almost directly south for two-thirds of the way between the islands and the Cape, after which we changed our course somewhat more towards the east, or left hand, that we might fall in with the land, lest we should have overpassed the Cape without seeing it; because no land appears afterwards so far to the west for a considerable space. The coast of Africa, to the southwards of Cape Branco, falls in considerably to the eastwards, forming a great bay or gulf, called the *Forna of Arguin*, from a small island of that name. This gulf extends about fifty miles into the land, and has three other islands, one of which is named *Branco* by the Portuguese, or the White Island, on account of its white sands; the second is called *Garze*, or the Isle of Herons, where they found so many eggs of certain sea-birds as to load two boats; the third is called *Curoi*, or Cori. These islands are all small, sandy, and uninhabited. In that of Arguin there is plenty of fresh water, but there is none in any of the others. It is proper to observe, that on keeping to the southwards, from the Straits of Gibraltar, the coast of exterior Barbary is inhabited no farther than Cape Cantin[1], from

[1] This is erroneous, as there are several towns on the coast of Morocco beyond

from whence to Cape Branco is the sandy country or desert, called *Saara* or *Saharra* by the natives, which is divided from Barbary or Morocco on the north by the mountains of Atlas, and borders on the south with the country of the Negroes, and would require a journey of fifty days to cross,—in some places more, in others less. This desert reaches to the ocean, and is all a white dry sand, quite low and level, so that no part of it seems higher than any other. Cape *B anco*, or the White Cape, so named by the Portuguese from its white colour, without trees or verdure, is a noble promontory of a triangular shape, having three separate points about a mile from each other.

Innumerable quantities of large and excellent fish of various kinds are caught on this coast, similar in taste to those we have at Venice, but quite different in shape and appearance. The gulf of Arguin is shallow all over, and is full of shoals both of rocks and sand; and, as the currents are here very strong, there is no sailing except by day, and even then with the lead constantly heaving. Two ships have been already lost on these shoals. Cape *Branco* lies S. W. of Cape Cantin, or rather S. and by W. Behind Cape Branco there is a place called Hoden, six days journey inland on camels, which is not walled, but is much frequented by the Arabs and caravans, which trade between Tombucto[2], and other places belonging to the Negroes, and the western parts of Barbary. The provisions at Hoden are dates and barley, which they have in plenty, and the inhabitants drink the milk of camels and other animals, as they have no wine. They have some cows and goats, the former being greatly smaller than those of Italy; but the number of these is not great, as the country is very dry. The inhabitants are all Mahometans, and great enemies to the Christians, and have no settled habitations, but wander continually over the deserts.

beyond this Cape, as Saffia, Mogadore, Santa Cruz, and others. Cape Cantin is in lat. 32° 30′ N. and the river *Sus* in 30° 25′, which is 140 miles to the south. There are no towns on the coast beyond that river; but the northern limit of the *Sahara*, or great desert, is in lat. 27° 40′, 186 miles to the south of the river *Sus*, and is surely inhabited by wandering Arabs. Even the great desert, which extends 750 miles from north to south, almost to the river Senegal, is thinly interspersed by several wandering tribes of the *Azanhaji*.—E.

2 Called Tombuto in the original, and Ataubat in Grynæus.—Astl. Hoden stands in an *ouasis*, or watered island, in the sea of sand, or great desert, about lat. 19° 20′ N. and W. long. 11° 40′.—E.

serts. They frequent the country of the Negroes, and visit that side of Barbary which is next the Mediterranean. On these expeditions they travel in numerous caravans, with great trains of camels, carrying brass, silver, and other articles, to Tombucto and the country of the Negroes, whence they bring back gold and *melhegette*, or cardamom seeds[3]. These people are all of a tawny colour, and both sexes wear a single white garment with a red border, without any linen next their skins. The men wear turbans, in the Moorish fashion, and go always barefooted. In the desert there are many lions, leopards, and ostriches, the eggs of which I have often eaten, and found them very good.

Don Henry has farmed out the trade of the island of Arguin, under the following regulations. No person must enter this gulf to trade with the Arabs, except those who are licensed according to the ordinance, and have habitations and factors on the island, and have been accustomed to transact business with the Arabs on that coast. The articles of merchandize chiefly provided for this trade are, woollen cloth and linen, silver trinkets, *alchizeli* or frocks, and cloaks, and other things, and above all, wheat; and the Arabs give in return negro slaves and gold. A castle has been built on the isle of Arguin, by order of the prince, to protect this trade, on account of which caravels or ships arrive there every year from Portugal.

The Arabs of this coast have many Barbary horses, which they carry to the country of the Negroes, which they barter with the great men for slaves, receiving from ten to eighteen men for each horse, according to their goodness. They also carry thither silken stuffs of Granada and Tunis, with silver, and many other things, in return for which they receive great numbers of slaves and some gold. These slaves are brought first to Hoden in the desert, and thence by the mountains of Barka into Barbary, whence they are transported across the Mediterranean into Sicily. Part of them are sold in Tunis, and in other places along the coast of Barbary; and the rest are brought to Arguin, where they are sold to the licensed Portuguese

3 Under the general name of *Azanhaji*, which probably signifies the pilgrims or wanderers of the desert, the Nomadic Arabs or Moors are distinguished into various tribes; as Beni-amir, Beni-sabi, Hilil Arabs, Ludajas, and Hagi; sometimes called Monselmines, Mongearts, Wadelims, Labdessebas, and Trasarts; all named in their order from north to south, as occupying the desert towards the Atlantic.—E.

Portuguese traders, who purchase between seven and eight hundred every year, and send them for sale into Portugal. Before the establishment of this trade at Arguin, the Portuguese used to send every year four or more caravels to the bay of Arguin, the crews of which, landing well armed in the night, were in use to surprise some of the fishing villages, and carry off the inhabitants into slavery. They even penetrated sometimes a considerable way into the interior, and carried off the Arabs of both sexes, whom they sold as slaves in Portugal.

Leaving Arguin we sailed along the coast to the river Senegal[4], which is very large, and divides the people called Azanaghi, or Azanhaji, from the first kingdom of the Negroes. The Azanhaji are of a tawny colour, or rather of a deep brown complexion, and inhabit some parts of the coast beyond Cape Branco, ranging through the deserts, and their district reaches to the confines of the Arabs of Hoden. They live on dates, barley, and the milk of camels; but as they border likewise on the country of the Negroes, they carry on trade with these people, from whom they procure millet and pulse, particularly beans. Owing to the scarcity of provisions in the desert, the Azanhaji are but spare eaters, and are able to endure hunger with wonderful patience, as a porringer of barley-meal made into hasty-pudding will serve them a whole day. The Portuguese used to carry away many of these people for slaves, as they were preferred to the negroes; but for some time past this has been prohibited by Don Henry, and peace and trade has been established with them, as he is in hopes they may be easily brought over to the catholic faith by intercourse with the Christians, more especially as they are not hitherto thoroughly established in the superstitions of Mahomet, of which they know nothing but by hearsay. These Azenhaji have an odd custom of wearing a handkerchief round their heads, a part of which is brought down so as to cover their eyes, and even their nose and mouth; for they reckon the mouth an unclean part, because it is constantly belching and has a bad smell, and ought therefore to be kept out of sight; even comparing it to the posteriors, and thinking that both ought alike to be concealed. On this account they never let their mouths be seen except

4 In the text this river is named Senega, and its name probably signifies the river of the Azanhaji. It is called in Ramusio *Oro Tiber*.—E.

cept when eating, as I have often had occasion to observe. They have no lords among them, but the rich men are respected somewhat more than the rest. They are of ordinary stature, and very lean, wearing their black hair frizzled over their shoulders like the Germans, and grease it daily with fish oil, which gives them a nasty smell; yet they consider this as modish. They are extremely poor, egregious liars, the greatest thieves in the world, and very treacherous. They have never heard of any Christians except the Portuguese, with whom they had war for thirteen or fourteen years, in which many of them were carried off as slaves, as has been already mentioned. Many of these people informed me, that, when they first saw ships under sail, which had never been beheld by any of their ancestors, they took them for large birds with white wings, that had come from foreign parts; and when the sails were furled, they conjectured, from their length, and swimming on the water, that they must be great fish. Others again believed that they were spirits, who wandered about by night; because they were seen at anchor in the evening at one place, and would be seen next morning 100 miles off, either proceeding along the coast to the southwards, or put back, according as the wind changed, or the caravels might happen to steer. They could not conceive how human beings could travel more in one night than they were able to perform themselves in three days; by which they were confirmed in the notion of the ships being spirits. All this was certified to me by many of the Azanhaji who were slaves in Portugal, as well as by the Portuguese mariners who had frequented the coast in their caravels.

About six days journey by land from Hoden, there is a place called Teggazza[5], which in our language signifies a chest or bag of gold. In this place large quantities of salt are dug up every year, and carried by caravans on camels to *Tombucto*, and thence to the empire of *Melli*, which belongs to the Negroes. On arriving there, they dispose of their salt in the course of eight days, at the rate of between two and three hundred *mitigals*, or ducats, for each load, according to the quantity, and then return with their gold.

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5 The name of this place is explained as signifying a chest or bag of gold. There is a place marked in the Saharra, or great sandy desert, under the name of *Tisheet*, where there are salt mines, in lat. 17° 40′ N. and long. 6° 40′ W. which may possibly be Teggazza. The distance of Tisheet from Hoden in our maps is about 375 miles E. S. E. But there are other salt mines in the desert still farther to the east.—E.

SECTION III.

Of the Empire of Melli, and some curious particulars of the Salt Trade: Of the Trade in Gold: Of the Azanhaji; and concerning swarms of Locusts.

THE empire of Melli, of which some mention has been made in the preceding Section, is situated in an extremely hot climate, and affords very bad nourishment for beasts; insomuch, that out of an hundred camels which go from the desert into that country, scarcely twenty-five return; several even of the Arabs and Azanhaji, belonging to the caravans, sicken and die likewise every year. There are no quadrupeds kept by the natives of the country, as indeed none can live there for any time. It is reckoned to be forty days journey on horseback from Tegazza to Tombuctu, and thirty from thence to Melli [1]. Having inquired what use the merchants of Melli made of this salt, the traders of the desert informed me, that a part of it was consumed in that country, which lying near the line, where the days and nights are of equal length, certain seasons of the year are so excessively hot that the blood of the inhabitants would putrify, if it were not for the salt, and they would all die. They have no art or mystery in its use; but every one dissolves a small piece every day in a porringer of water, and drinks it off, which in their opinion preserves their health.

The remainder of the salt is carried a long way in pieces on mens heads, every piece being as large as a man can well bear. As brought from Teggazza, the salt is in large pieces as taken out of the mine, each camel being loaded with two pieces, and the negroes break these down into smaller pieces, for the convenience of carrying them on their heads, and muster a large number of footmen for this yearly traffic. These porters have each a long forked stick in their hands; and, when

1 The distance between Tisheet and Tombuctu, according to our best maps, is about 560 miles E. and by S. In the same proportion, supposing Tisheet to be Teggazza, the distance between Tombuctu and Melli ought to be about 420 miles. Of Melli we have no traces in our modern maps, but it may possibly be referred to *Malel*, the apparent capital of Lamlem; see Pinkert. Geogr. II. 917, as laid down from the Arabian geographers, nearly 1200 miles E. S. E. from Tombuctu.—E.

when tired, they rest their loads on these sticks. They proceed in this manner till they arrive on the banks of a certain water, but whether fresh or salt my informer could not say, yet I am of opinion that it must be a river, because, if it were the sea, the inhabitants could not be in want of salt in so hot a climate. The negroes are hired to carry it in this manner for want of camels or other beasts of burden, as already mentioned; and, from what has been said, it may easily be concluded that the number, both of the carriers and consumers must be very great. When arrived at the water side, the proprietors of the salt place their shares in heaps in a row, at small distances, setting each a particular mark on his own heap; and when this is done, the whole company retires half a days journey from the place. Then the other negroes, who are the purchasers of the salt, who seem to be the inhabitants of certain islands, but who will on no account be seen or spoken to, come in boats to the place where the heaps of salt are placed, and after laying a sum in gold on each heap as its price, retire in their turns. After they are gone, the owners of the salt return, and if the quantity of gold on their heaps is satisfactory to them, they take it away and leave the salt; if not, they leave both and withdraw again. In this manner they carry on their traffick, without seeing or speaking to each other, and this custom is very ancient among them, as has been affirmed to me for truth by several merchants of the desert, both Arabs and Azanhaji, and other creditable persons [2].

On inquiring how it came to pass that the emperor of Melli, whom they represented as a powerful sovereign, did not find means, by friendship or force, to discover who these people were who would not suffer themselves to be seen or talked to, I was informed that this emperor, not many years ago, resolved to procure some of these invisible people, and held a council on the occasion, in which the following plan was devised and carried into execution. Before the salt caravan returned the half days journey from their salt heaps, some of the emperors people made certain pits by the water side, and near the place where the salt was left, and when the negroes came to deposit their gold

2. This story is probably a fiction, proceeding upon a trade of barter between parties who did not understand the languages of each other. The succeeding part of the story seems a mere fable, without the smallest foundation whatever.—E.

gold on the salt, those who were concealed in the pits attacked them suddenly and took four of them prisoners, all the rest making their escape. Three of those who were thus taken were immediately set free by the captors, who judged that one would be quite sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of their emperor, and that the negroes would be the less offended. But after all, the design proved abortive; for though spoken to in various languages, the prisoner would neither speak or take any victuals, and died at the end of four days. On this account, the Melli negroes concluded that these other negroes were dumb; but others were of opinion, that being endowed with the human form, they must necessarily have the power of speech; but, that finding himself treated in this manner, so contrary to ancient custom, he refused to speak from indignation. This untoward result was much regretted by the negroes of Melli, because it prevented them from gratifying the curiosity of their emperor; who, on being informed of this persons death, was much dissatisfied, yet asked what manner of men the prisoners were. He was accordingly informed that they were of a deep black colour, well shaped, and a span taller than the natives of Melli. That their under lip was thicker than a mans fist, of a very red colour, and hung down on their breasts, with something like blood dropping from it; but that their upper lips were small, like those of other men. That the form of the under lip exposed their gums and teeth, which were larger than their own, having great teeth in each corner of their mouth, with large black eyes, and altogether a terrible appearance, as the gums dropped blood continually, as well as the great hanging under lip.

This cross accident prevented all the succeeding emperors of Melli from making any farther attempt of the kind; because, from that time, these negroes forbore, for three years, from coming to buy salt as usual. It is believed that their lips began at last to putrify, through the excessive heat of the climate; and being no longer able to endure a distemper, of which some must have died for want of the effectual remedy which they had experienced from the use of salt, they returned of their own accord to traffic for that commodity in the old way. All this has established an opinion that they cannot live without salt; the negroes of Melli judging of the case of others by their own. As for the emperor of Melli, he cares not whether these blacks will speak, and be seen or not, so

that

that he has the profit of their gold[3]. This is all I could learn on this subject, which I think may be credited, as so many persons have vouched for its truth, of which I, who have both seen and heard of many wonderful things in this world, am perfectly satisfied.

The gold brought to Melli is divided into three parts. One part is sent by the caravan which goes annually from Melli to *Kokhia*[4], which lies on the road to Syria and Cairo. The other two parts go first to Tombuctu, whence one of them goes by *Toet*[5] to Tunis and other parts of the Barbary coast, and the other portion is carried to Hoden, and from thence to *Oran* and *One*[6], towns in Barbary, which are within the Straits of Gibraltar, and to Fez, Morocco, Arzila, Azafi, and Messa, towns on the African coast of the Atlantic, where the Italians and other Christians procure it from the Moors, in return for various commodities. Gold is the best and principal commodity which comes through the country of the Azanhaji, and a part of it is brought every year from Hoden to Arguin, where it is bartered with the Portuguese[7].

No money is coined in the land of the *Tawny Moors*, or Azenhaji; nor is any money used by them, or in any of the neighbouring

3 Few persons, perhaps, will be disposed to think the credit of the Africans, however positive, or the belief of the author, however strong, sufficient evidence of the truth of this story. Yet it certainly is a common report of the country, and not the invention of Cada Mosto. Jobson, who was at the Gambra or Gambia in 1620, repeats the whole substance of this story; and Movette relates the circumstances of the blacks trafficking for salt without being seen, which he had from the Moors of Morocco. He leaves out, however, the story of the frightful lips. Every fiction has its day; and that part is now out of date.—Astl.

4 Melli being itself unknown, we can hardly look to discover the situation of Kokhia or Cochia; but it may possibly be Kuku, a town and district to the N. E. of Bornou, which lies in the direction of the text; or it may be Dar Kulla, greatly more to the S. W. but still in the same track.—E.

5 In Grynæus this place is called Ato. As in the direction of the caravan from Tombuto towards Tunis, it may possibly be Taudeny, an ouasis or island of the great desert, in lat 21° 30' N.—E.

6 Called Hona in Grynæus. What part of Barbary this name may refer to does not appear. But the passage ought perhaps to run thus, "*to Oran by the Mountain of Wan*," as there is a range of mountains of that name to the S. E. of Oran, which joins the chain of Atlas, or the Ammer Mountains.—E.

7 This is the earliest account of the places from whence gold is brought, and of the course of its trade through Africa, and thence into Europe; and is even more particular and exact than any that has been given by later authors.—Astl.

neighbouring countries; but all their trade is carried on by bartering one commodity against another. In some of their inland towns, the Arabs and Azanhaji use small white porcelain shells, or cowries; which are brought from the Levant to Venice, and sent from thence into Africa. These are used for small purchases. The gold is sold by a weight named *mitigal*, which is nearly equal in value to a ducat. The inhabitants of the desert have neither religion nor sovereign; but those who are richest, and have the greatest number of retainers and dependents, are considered as chiefs or lords. The women are tawny, and wear cotton garments, which are manufactured in the country of the Negroes; but some of them wear a kind of cloaks, or upper garments, called Alkhezeli, and they have no smocks. She who has the largest and longest breasts, is reputed the greatest beauty; on which account, when they have attained to the age of seventeen or eighteen, and their breasts are somewhat grown, they tie a cord very tight around the middle of each breast, which presses very hard and breaks them, so that they hang down; and by pulling at these cords frequently, they grow longer and longer, till at length in some women they reach as low as the navel. The men of the desert ride on horseback after the fashion of the Moors; and the desert being everywhere very hot, and having very little water, and extremely barren, they can keep very few horses, and those they have are short lived. It only rains in the months of August, September, and October. I was informed that vast swarms of locusts appear in this country some years, in such infinite numbers as to darken the air, and even to hide the sun from view, covering the horizon as far as the eye can reach, which is from twelve to sixteen miles in compass; and, wherever they settle they strip the ground entirely bare. These locusts are like grasshoppers, as long as ones finger, and of a red and yellow colour. They come every third or fourth year, and if they were to pay their visits every year, there would be no living in the country. While I was on the coast, I saw them in prodigious and incredible numbers.

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SECTION IV.

Of the River Senegal and the Jalofs, with some Account of the Manners, Customs, Government, Religion, and Dress of that Nation.

LEAVING Cape Branco, and the Gulf of Arguin, we continued our course along the coast to the river Senegal, which divides the desert and the tawny Azanhaji from the fruitful lands of the Negroes. Five years before I went on this voyage, this river was discovered by three caravels belonging to Don Henry, which entered it, and their commanders settled peace and trade with the Moors; since which time ships have been sent to this place every year to trade with the natives[1]. The river Senegal is of considerable size, being a mile wide at the mouth, and of sufficient depth. A little farther on it has another entrance, and between the two, there is an island which forms a cape, running into the sea, having sand-banks at each mouth that extend a mile from the shore[2]. All ships that frequent the Senegal ought carefully to observe the course of the tides, the flux and reflux of which extend for seventy miles up the river, as I was informed by certain Portuguese, who had been a great way up this river with their caravels. From Cape Branco, which is 280 miles distant, the whole coast is sandy till within twenty miles of the river. This is called the coast of *Anterota*, and belongs entirely to the Azanhaji or Tawny Moors. I was quite astonished to find so prodigious a difference in so narrow a space, as appeared at the Senegal: For, on the south side of the river, the inhabitants are all exceedingly black, tall, corpulent and well proportioned, and the country all clothed in fine verdure, and full of fruit trees; whereas, on the north side of the river, the men are tawny, meagre, and of small stature,

1 Cada Mosto is incorrect in the chronology of this discovery, and even de Barros is not quite decided as to the first discovery of the Senegal. He says that Denis Fernandez *passed* it in 1446, and that Lancerot *discovered* it in 1447; the latter of which is *eight* years before the visit of Cada Mosto.—Clarke.

2 The northern mouth of the Senegal is in lat. 16° 40'. The southern in 15° 45', both N. so that the distance between them, or the length of the island mentioned in the text, is about sixty-two miles.—E.

stature, and the country all dry and barren. This river, in the opinion of the learned, is a branch of the *Gihon*, which flows from the Terrestrial Paradise, and was named the Niger by the ancients, which flows through the whole of Ethiopia, and which, on approaching the ocean to the west, divides into many other branches. The *Nile*, which is another branch of the Gihon, falls into the Mediterranean, after flowing through Egypt [3].

The first kingdom of the Negroes is on the banks of the Senegal, and its inhabitants are called *Gilofi* or Jalofs. All the country is low, not only from the north to that river, but also beyond it, as far south as Cape Verd, which is the highest land on all this coast, and is 400 miles from Cape Branco. This kingdom of the Jalofs, on the Senegal, is bounded on the east by the country called *Tukhusor*; on the south by the kingdom of *Gambra* or Gambia; on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; and on the north by the river Senegal and the Azanhaji [4]. The king who reigned in Senegal in my time was named Zukholin, and was twenty-two years old. This kingdom is not hereditary; but for the most part, three or four of the principal lords, of whom there are many in the country, choose a king in the event of a vacancy, but always fix their choice on a person of noble lineage, who reigns only as long as he gives satisfaction to these great lords. They often dethrone their kings by force; who, on the other hand, often render themselves so powerful as to stand on their defence. This renders the government unsettled, and is productive of civil wars; similar to Egypt, where the Soldan of Cairo is always in fear of being killed or banished.

The people are savages, and extremely poor, having no walled towns, and their villages are entirely composed of thatched

3 This fancy of all the great rivers in Africa being branches from one principal stream, is now known to be entirely erroneous.—Astl.

4 Although the first kingdom, or kingdoms of the Negroes lies on the Senegal, Senega, or Sanaghas, and others along the Gambia, yet there were not properly any kingdoms of these names. On the north, indeed, of the Sanagha, lay the country of the Sanhaga, Azanaghi, or Azanhaji, from whence the river seems to have taken its name; but was divided among various tribes of people, and not under any one sovereign. Geographers, however, have since continued to propagate this first error.—Astl.

The Jalofs and Foulahs inhabit the country between the Senegal and Gambia, on which latter river the Feloops reside. What is meant by *Tukhusor* in the text does not appear, unless it may obscurely indicate Karta.—E.

thatched cottages. They use neither lime nor stone in building, not knowing how to make the one, or to form the other. The kingdom of the Jalofs is small, and, as I was informed, extends only 200 miles along the coast, and about the same distance inland. The king has no settled revenue; but the lords of the country court his favour, by making him yearly presents of horses, which being scarce, are in high estimation, together with horse furniture, cows, and goats, pulse, millet, and other things. He likewise increases his wealth by means of robbery, and by reducing his own subjects, and those of neighbouring provinces to slavery, employing a part of these slaves to cultivate the lands which are assigned to him, and selling the rest to the Arabs and Azanhaji traders, who bring horses and other things for sale; as likewise to the Christians, since they have established a trade in these parts.

Every man may keep as many wives as he pleases. The king has always upwards of thirty, and distinguishes them according to their descent, and the rank of the lords whose daughters they are. He keeps them in certain villages of his own, eight or ten in one place, each having a separate house to dwell in, with a certain number of young women to attend her, and slaves to cultivate the land which is assigned for her maintenance, which they sow and reap, and to tend her cows and goats. When the king comes to any of these villages, he brings no provisions along with him, as his women are obliged to support him and his retinue whenever he visits them. Every morning at sunrise, each of his wives in the village where he happens to reside, prepares three or four dishes of various viands, such as flesh, fish, or other dainties, cooked in their fashion, which are carried by the slaves to the kings pantry; so that in less than an hour, thirty or forty dishes are provided, and when the king has a mind to eat, he finds every thing ready at his command. When he has eaten of such things as he likes best, the remainder is given to his retinue; but as this diet is never very plentiful, they are but poorly fed. He travels about in this manner, from place to place, visiting his several wives, by which means he has a very numerous issue; and whenever one of his wives happens to fall with child, he visits her no more. The lords or chiefs of the country live in a similar manner.

These

These negroes profess the Mahometan religion, but are not even so well instructed in it as the tawny Moors, more especially the common people. The lords have always about them some Arabs or Azanhaji for this purpose, who inculcate on their minds that it would be disgraceful for men of their quality to live in ignorance of the laws of God, like the common people who have no religion. They have become Mahometans merely by means of their intercourse with the Azanhaji and Arabs; for since they became acquainted with the Christians, they are by no means so fond of the Mahometan faith. The generality of the negroes go quite naked, except a piece of goat skin before; but the lords who are able to procure such, wear cotton shirts, which are spun and manufactured by their women. Their webs are only a span in width, as they have not sufficient art to construct and use wider looms; so that they are obliged to sew five, six, or more of these webs together, when it is required to make any large piece of work. The shirts reach half way down the thighs, and have wide sleeves which cover only half of their arms. They wear also cotton drawers, reaching to the small of their legs; and these drawers are made preposterously wide, being often thirty-five or forty palms in circumference; so that, when tied on, they are full of plaits, and though like a sack before, the hinder part trails on the ground like the train of a large petticoat. Thus, though making a most ridiculous appearance, they think nothing comes up to their dress for elegance, and they often ask the Europeans if they ever saw a finer dress. Their women, both married and unmarried, go naked from the waist upwards, and wear a piece of cotton which covers them from the waist to the middle of the legs. Both sexes go barefooted, and have no coverings to their heads; and weave and tie their hair, though short, into neat tresses. The men often employ themselves in womens work, such as spinning, washing clothes, and such like employments.

This country is extremely hot, the month of January being not so cold as it is with us in Italy in the month of April; and the farther we went to the south, the weather became so much the hotter. Both men and women wash themselves four or five times a-day, and are very cleanly in their persons; but are by no means so in regard of eating, in which they observe no rule. Although very ignorant, and extremely awkward in any thing to which they have not been accustomed,

accustomed, they are as expert as any European can be in their own business, and in all things with which they are acquainted. They are full of words, and extremely talkative, and are for the most part liars and cheats. Yet they are exceedingly hospitable, and charitably disposed, as they will most readily give a dinner or a supper, or a nights lodging, to any stranger who comes to their houses, without expecting any remuneration or reward. The chiefs of these negroes are often at war against each other, or against the neighbouring tribes or nations; but they have no cavalry, for want of horses. In war, their only defensive armour is a large target, made of the skin of an animal called *Danta*, which is very difficultly pierced; and their principal weapons are *azagays* or light darts, which they throw with great dexterity. These darts are pointed with iron, the length of a span, and barbed in different directions, so that they make dangerous wounds, and tear the flesh extremely when pulled out. They have also a Moorish weapon, much bent like a Turkish sword or cimeter, and made of iron, without any steel, which they procure from the negroes on the river Gambia, as they either have no iron in their own country, or want knowledge or industry in working it. Having but few weapons, or rather no missiles, their wars are very bloody, as they soon come to close quarters, and their strokes seldom fall in vain; and, being extremely fierce and courageous, they will rather allow themselves to be slain as save themselves by flight; neither are they disheartened by seeing their companions slain. They have no ships, nor had they ever seen any before the Portuguese came upon their coast; but those who dwell upon the river Senegal, and some who are settled on the sea coast, have *zoppolies* or canoes, called *almadias* by the Portuguese, which are hollowed out of a single piece of wood, the largest of which will carry three or four men. They use these almadias for catching fish, and for transporting themselves up or down the river. The negroes of this country are the most expert swimmers in the world, as I can vouch from frequent experience of their dexterity.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Continuation of the Voyage to the country of a King named Budomel, with some account of his Territory, and the Manners of his People.

HAVING passed the river Senegal, we sailed about 800 miles farther south along the coast, which was all low land without mountains, till we came to the territory or kingdom of Budomel[1]. As some Portuguese, who had dealt with Budomel, represented him as a very just person, who paid for any goods he might receive, and might therefore be confided in, I stopped at his country, that I might endeavour to dispose of some Spanish horses I had on board, which are in great request among the Negroes; besides which, I had some cloth, Moorish wrought silks, and other commodities, for sale. We came, therefore to anchor, at a place on the coast, called Palma di Budomel, which is only an open roadstead, and not a port. I immediately dispatched my negro interpreter on shore, to inform this lord of my arrival, and of the goods I had on board for sale. Not long afterwards Budomel came himself to the beach, attended by about fifteen horsemen and an hundred and fifty foot, and sent a message desiring me to land, with professions of a friendly disposition, and promising to render me every attention and service in his power. I went accordingly on shore immediately, and was received with great civility. After some discourse, I delivered to him seven horses, with their furniture, and every other article for which he expressed an inclination,

1 The text seems corrupted in giving so large a distance between the Senegal river and this country of king Budomel, as 800 miles to the south, or rather S. S. E. would carry us to what is called the *grain*, or windward coast of Guinea, in lat. 6° N. and, from the sequel, Cada Mosto does not appear to have passed Cape Verd till after quitting the country of Budomel. According to Brue, as quoted by Clarke, the king of Kayor or Kayltor was styled Damel. Kayor or Cayor appears on our maps above an hundred miles up the Senegal, and on its north side, which therefore can have no reference to the place in the text. I am disposed to believe, that the distance in the text ought only to have been 80 miles, and that the territory of Budomel was in the country of the Jalofs, between the Senegal and Cape Verd, at the mouth of a small river, on which our charts place two towns, Macaye and Enibaul, in lat. 15° 20′ N.—E.

nation, all of which had cost me 300 ducats, trusting to his honour for payment, which was to be in slaves, and which he promised to deliver at his own residence, which was twenty-five miles distant from the shore, whither he invited me to accompany him. To this invitation I readily agreed, induced as much by a desire of seeing the country, as on account of receiving payment. Before setting out however, Budomel made me a present of a beautiful negress, about twelve years of age, who, he said, was meant to serve me in the cabin; and I received the gift, and sent her on board the caravel.

I was furnished by Budomel with horses and every thing necessary for the journey; and when we arrived within four miles of his residence, he gave me in charge to his nephew Bisboror, who was lord of a small town or village at which we stopped. Bisboror took me to his own house, where I was treated with much civility and attention, during twenty-eight days which I tarried in that place. This was in November 1455. In that time I went often to visit Budomel, accompanied by his nephew, and had many opportunities to observe the produce of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, more especially as, on account of the tempestuous weather, I was under the necessity of travelling back by land to the river Senegal. For, finding it impossible to get on board at the coast by reason of the surf, I had to order the ship to return to that river, and went there by land to re-embark. On this occasion, being very desirous to transmit instructions to those on board the ship to meet me at the river Senegal, I inquired among the negroes if any one would undertake to carry a letter from the shore. Several of them readily offered their services, though the ship lay three miles from the shore, and, owing to a strong wind, the sea broke on the shore with a tremendous surf, insomuch that I thought it impossible for any one to succeed in the attempt. Besides the surf, there were several sand banks near the shore, and other banks about half way to the ship, between which there ran a strong current, sometimes one way and sometimes the other, along shore, so that it was extremely difficult for any one to swim through without infinite danger of being carried away by the stream; and the sea broke with such violence on the banks, that it seemed quite impossible to surmount such complicated obstacles. Yet two of the negroes offered to go, and only demanded two *mavulgies* of tin for each of them,

them, one mavulgi being worth no more than a *grosso*[2], at which price they engaged to carry my letter in safety to the ship. I cannot express the difficulties which they encountered in passing the sand bank. They were sometimes out of sight for a considerable space, so that I often thought they were both drowned. At last, one of them, finding himself unable to resist the violence with which the waves broke over him, turned back; but the other, being stronger, got over the bank after struggling a whole hour, and, having carried the letter to the caravel, returned with an answer. This seemed to me very wonderful, and made me conclude that the negroes of this coast must be the most expert swimmers in the world.

It has been already observed, that those who are called lords in this country have neither castles nor cities, the king even having nothing but villages with thatched houses. Budomel is lord of one part of this kingdom, yet his place of residence was not a palace, nor even a walled house. These great men are not lords on account of their riches or treasure, as they possess neither, nor have they any coin in use among them; but they are considered as such out of courtesy, and on account of the great retinues by which they are always attended, being more feared and respected by their subjects than any of the lords in Italy. Budomel has several villages appointed for his own habitation and that of his wives, as he never fixes in one place. The village in which I resided with Bisboror was one of his habitations, containing between forty and fifty thatched cottages, built near one another, and surrounded with ditches and strong pallisades, having only one or two passages left for entering; and every house had a court-yard, inclosed by a hedge. According to report, Budomel had nine wives in this place, and more or less in several other villages. Each of these wives had five or six young negresses to attend upon her, with all of whom he might sleep when he pleased, without giving offence to the wives, for such is the custom of the country. Both sexes are extremely amorous; and Budomel strongly importuned me for philacteries, in which he had been informed the Europeans were very expert, and offered any reward within his power for my compliance. They are very jealous, and suffer no man to enter the houses which are inhabited by the women, not even their own sons.

Budomel

2 The grosso, or Venetian groat, is worth about three farthings.—Astl.

Budomel is always attended by a retinue of at least 200 negroes, who are changed from time to time, some going away and others coming back in their room; besides which, many people repair to wait upon him from the adjacent places which are under his government. Before arriving at his particular apartment, there are seven large courts, one within the other, having a tree in the middle of each, where those wait who come to him on business. His family is distributed in these courts, according to their several ranks; the most considerable having their station in the court nearest his dwelling, and the meanest in the outermost court of all. Few people are allowed to approach his own particular apartment, except the Christians and Azanhaji, who have free admission, and more liberty is allowed to them than to the negroes. This lord affects great state and gravity in his deportment, and does not allow himself to be seen except an hour every morning, and for a short while in the evening; at which times he appears near the door of an apartment in the first court, into which only persons of note are permitted to enter. On these occasions of giving audience, every person who comes to speak to him, however high may be his rank, is in the first place obliged to strip himself stark naked, except the small cloth in front formerly mentioned; and, immediately on entering the court, he falls down on his knees, bows down his head to the ground, and scatters dust with both hands on his own head and shoulders; neither is even the nearest relations of the lords exempted from this humiliating expression of their duty and obedience. The person who receives an audience continues in this humble posture a great while, strewing himself with sand, and crawling on his knees, till he approaches the great man; and when within two paces of his lord, he stops and begins to relate his case, still continuing on his knees, with his head down, and throwing sand on his head in token of great humility. All the time the lord scarcely appears to notice him, and continues to discourse with other persons; and when the vassal has related his story, the lord gives him an answer in two words, with an arrogant aspect. Such is their affected pride and grandeur, and such the submission which is shewn him, which, in my opinion, proceeds from fear, as their lords, for every little fault they commit, take away their wives and children, and cause them to be sold as slaves.

Budomel treated me with the utmost attention and civility, and

and used to carry me in the evenings into a sort of mosque, where the Arab and Azanhaji priests, whom he had always about his person, used to say prayers. His manner on these occasions was as follows. Being entered into the mosque, which was in one of the courts belonging to his residence, and where he was attended by some of the principal negroes, he first stood some little time with his eyes lifted up as if it were to heaven, then, advancing two steps, he spoke a few words in a low tone; after which, he stretched himself on the ground, which he kissed; the Azanhaji and the rest of his attendants doing the same. Then rising up, he repeated the same series of actions repeatedly, for ten or twelve times, which occupied about half an hour. When all was over, he asked my opinion of their manner of worship, and desired me to give an account of the nature of our religion. On this I told him, in the presence of all his doctors, that the religion of Mahomet was false, and the Romish the only true faith. This made the Arabs and Azanhaji extremely angry; but Budomel laughed on the occasion, and said, that he considered the religion of the Christians to be good, as God alone could have gifted them with so much riches and understanding. He added, however, that in his opinion the Mahometan law must be good also; and he believed, that the Negroes were more sure of salvation than the Christians, because God was just, who had given a paradise to the Christians in this world, and would certainly give one to the Negroes in the next, as they possessed scarcely any good in this world in comparison. In all his discourse he shewed a good understanding, and took great pleasure in hearing the customs of the Christians described. I firmly believe he might easily have been converted to Christianity, had it not been from fear of losing his power, as I was often told by his nephew, with whom I lodged, and he took great delight in hearing me discourse of our religion. The table of Budomel, like all other lords and people of condition in this country, is supplied by his wives, in the same manner as has been already mentioned in regard to Zukholin, the king of Senegal; each wife sending him a certain number of dishes every day. He and the other lords eat on the ground, without any regularity or company, except the Arabs and Azanhaji, who are their teachers and priests, and one or two of their principal negro attendants. The inferior people eat in messes of ten or twelve each, having a basket full of victuals set in the

the midst, into which all put their hands at the same time. They eat but little at one meal, but repeat these four or five times a-day.

Section VI.

Account of the Country of Budomel continued.

On account of the great heats in the kingdom of Senegal, and all the other countries of the Negroes on the coast, no wheat, rye, barley, or spelt, can grow, neither are vines cultivated, as we knew experimentally from a trial made with seeds from our ship: For wheat, and these other articles of culture, require a temperate climate and frequent showers, both of which are wanting here, where they have no rains during nine months of the year, from October to June both included. But they have large and small millet, beans, and the largest and finest kidney beans in the world, as large as hazle nuts, longer than those of the Venetian territory, and beautifully speckled with various colours as if painted. Their beans are large, flat, and of a lively red colour, and they have likewise white beans. They sow in July, at the beginning of the rains, and reap in September, when they cease; thus they prepare the soil, sow the seed, and get in the harvest, all in three months; but they are bad husbandmen, and so exceedingly averse to labour, that they sow no more than is barely sufficient to last them throughout the year, and never lay up any store for sale. In cultivating the ground, four or five of them go into a field with spades, with which they turn up the soil about four inches deep; yet such is the fertility of the soil, that it makes ample returns for this slight culture, without any farther trouble.

The liquors of the Negroes are water, milk, and palm wine, which they call mighol, or migwol, which is taken from a tree of the palm tribe, very numerous in this country, somewhat like the date tree, but not the same, and which furnishes this liquor the whole year round. The trees are tapped in two or three places near the root, and from these wounds a brown juice runs out, as thin as skimmed milk, into calabasses that are placed to receive the liquor, which drops but slowly, as one tree will only fill two calabasses from morning till night. This migwol, or palm-wine, is an exceedingly

pleasant drink, which intoxicates like wine unless mixed with water. Immediately after it is drawn from the tree it is as sweet as any wine whatever; but the luscious taste goes off more and more as it is kept, and at length it becomes sour. It drinks better than at first after three or four days, as it depurates by keeping, and is not so sweet. I have often drank of it, indeed every day that I remained in the country, and liked it better than the wines of Italy. This liquor is not so abundant as that every one may have it at discretion; yet all may have some, especially the chiefs, as the trees are not planted in gardens, like vines and fruit trees in Europe, but are found wild in the forests, and are consequently accessible to all.

In this country there are several sorts of fruit which resemble those of Europe, though not exactly the same, and which are very good, though they grow wild; and, were they to be cultivated as ours are, would prove much better than such as are produced in the northern climates, the quality of the soil and air in this part of Africa being more nutritive. The whole country is plain and fertile, abounding in good pasture, and is covered by an infinite number of large and beautiful trees, that are not known in Europe. It contains several lakes of fresh water, none of them large, but very deep, and full of excellent fish, which differ much from those that are caught in Italy, and many water serpents, which the natives call *Kalkatrici*. They use a kind of oil with their victuals, which tastes like oil of olives, has a pleasant flavour of violets, and tinges the food even better than saffron, but I could not learn what it was produced from[1]. There is likewise a plant which produces large quantities of small kidney-beans.

In this country there are many kinds of animals, but serpents are particularly numerous, both large and small, some of which are venomous. The large ones are more than two paces long[2], but have neither legs nor wings, as has been reported by some persons, but some of them are so very thick as to have swallowed a goat at one morsel. These serpents retire in troops, as the natives report, to certain parts of the country

1 This is almost certainly palm oil, the origin of which will appear in another division of this work.—E.

2 The text must be here erroneous, as two paces, or ten feet, will scarcely suffice in describing the boa constrictor, sometimes near thirty feet long.—E.

country where white ants are found in prodigious swarms, and which, by a kind of instinct, are said to build houses for these serpents, of earth which they carry in their mouths for that purpose, resembling ovens, and often to the number of 150 in one place[3]. The Negroes are great enchanters, and use charms upon almost all occasions, particularly in regard to serpents, over which they have great power. A Genoese, worthy of credit, who was in this country the year before my arrival, and who likewise lodged with Bisboror, the nephew of Budomel, told me he once heard a loud noise of whistling about the house in the middle of the night. Being awakened by the noise, he saw Bisboror get out of bed and order two negroes to bring his camel. Being asked where he meant to go at that time of night, he said he had business which must be executed, but would soon return. On coming back after some time, and the Genoese expressing curiosity to learn the object in which he had been engaged, Bisboror asked if he had heard the hissing noise about the house during the night, and said that it had been made by the serpents, which would have killed a great many of his cattle, if he had not sent them back to their quarters by the employment of certain enchantments. The Genoese was astonished at this story, but Bisboror said he had no need to wonder at this small matter, as Budomel could do a great deal more extraordinary things with the serpents than he could. In particular, when he had a mind to envenom his weapons, he used to draw a large circle, into which, by means of his enchantments, he brought all the serpents of the neighbourhood, from which he selected those he thought most poisonous, and allowed all the others to go away. With the blood of these serpents, mixed up with the seeds of a certain tree, he infected his weapons with so deadly a poison, that, if they drew but the least drop of blood, the person or animal wounded by them was sure to die in a quarter of an hour. Bisboror farther offered to shew him an example of the efficacy of this art, but the Genoese declined witnessing the experiment. This story of the serpents is the more probable, that I have heard of persons in Italy who could charm them in a similar manner;

3 An account of the termites, or white ants of Africa, will appear hereafter. The circumstance of serpents taking up their abode in the large ant-hills, must be entirely accidental.—E.

manner; but I am apt to believe that the Negroes are the most expert sorcerers in the world.

The only tame animals in the kingdom of Senegal are oxen, cows, and goats; having no sheep, which love a temperate or cold air, and could not live in this hot climate. Nature, however, has provided mankind with necessaries fitted for their various occasions; having furnished the Europeans with wool, as they have need of warm clothing, while the Negroes, who live in such intense heat, have been supplied with cotton by the Almighty. Owing to the heat, in my opinion, the cattle of this country are much smaller than those of Italy. It is a great rarity to see a red cow in this country, as they are all black or white, or mottled with black and white spots. Beasts of prey, such as lions, leopards, and wolves, are numerous, and there are plenty of hares. Wild elephants go about in troops, like the wild swine in Italy, but can never be tamed, as they are in other parts of the world. As the elephant is a well-known animal, I shall only observe in general, that those of Africa are of a very large size, as may be easily conceived by the size of their teeth, which are imported into Europe. Of these large teeth, or tusks rather, each elephant has two in the lower jaw, the points of which turn down, whereas those of the wild boar are turned up. Before my voyage to Africa I had been told that the elephant could not bend its knee, and slept standing; but this is an egregious falsehood, for the bending of their knees can be plainly perceived when they walk, and they certainly lie down and rise again like other animals. They never shed their large teeth before death; neither do they do any harm to man unless provoked. In that case the elephant makes his attack with his trunk, which is a kind of nose, protruded to a great length. He can contract and extend this proboscis at pleasure, and is able to toss a man with it as far as a sling can throw a stone. It is in vain to think of escape by running, let the person be ever so swift, in case the elephant pursues in earnest, as his strides are of prodigious length. They are more dangerous when they have young ones in their company than at any other time; of which the females have only three or four at a birth. They feed on the leaves and fruit of trees, pulling down the large boughs with their trunks, and bringing them to their mouths. This trunk is composed of a very thick cartilage, and is pliable in every direction.

There are many kinds of bird s in this country, and parrots

rots are particularly numerous, which are much hated by the negroes, because they do much damage to their crops of pulse and millet. There are said to be several kinds of parrots, but I never saw more than two. One of these is like the kind which is brought into Italy from Alexandria in Egypt, but rather smaller. The other kind is much larger, having a brown head, neck, bill, and legs, with a yellow and green body. I procured a considerable number of both sorts, particularly of the smaller kind, many of which died; but I brought 150 back to Portugal, where I sold them for half a ducat each. These birds are very industrious in constructing their nests, which they build with bulrushes and the small leaves of the palm, and other trees, in a very curious and ingenious manner. Choosing the slenderest branch of a tree, the parrot fastens a bulrush of about two spans long to its outer extremity, at the depending end of which rush it weaves its nest in a most beautiful manner, suspended like a ball, and having only one passage for entering. By this means they contrive to preserve their young from being devoured by the serpents, as the small twigs from which the nests are suspended are unable to bear the weight of the serpents. There are likewise abundance of those birds called *Pharaoh's hens* [4] in Europe, which come to us out of the Levant. They have likewise other birds, both large and small, which are quite different from any that are known in Italy.

As I was long on shore, I went several times to see their markets or fairs, which were held every Monday and Friday in a meadow, not far from where I resided. The men and women, from four or five miles around, came to this place with their various commodities, and those who lived at a greater distance, went to other markets nearer their habitations. The great poverty of the natives appeared manifest in the goods they brought to these fairs; consisting of small quantities of cotton cloth, and cotton yarn, pulse, oil, millet, wooden tubs, palm matts, and every thing else useful to life, according to their manners, likewise arms, and some small quantities of gold. Having no money or coin of any kind, all their trade was carried on by way of barter, or exchange of one thing for another, sometimes two or three things for one, according to their different values. All these blacks used to gaze on me, as if I had been a prodigy, having never seen a white

4 Probably the Pintado, or Guinea fowl.—E.

white man before. Some took hold of my hands, which they rubbed with spittle, to see if the whiteness was natural or artificial, and expressed their wonder to find that my skin was not painted. They were as much astonished at my dress, being clothed in the Spanish fashion, with a black damask waistcoat, and a cloak over it: They seemed much surprised at the waistcoat, and greatly admired the woollen cloth, which they had never seen any of before. My chief purpose in going to these fairs, was to see what quantity of gold was brought thither.

Horses are very scarce, and of great value in the country of the Negroes, being brought all the way from that part of Barbary which lies nearest to Europe, by the Arabs and Azanhaji. Owing to the great heat, horses do not live long here; for they grow so fat that they cannot stale, and so burst. They are fed with bean leaves, which are gathered after the beans are brought from the fields; and, being dried like hay, are cut small, and given to the horses instead of oats. They give millet also, which contributes greatly to make them fat. A horse and his furniture sells for from nine to fourteen negroes, according to his goodness and beauty; and when a negro lord buys a horse, he sends for his horse sorcerers, who cause a fire to be kindled of the stalks of certain herbs, and hold the horses head by the bridle over the smoke, while they repeat over some few words by way of incantation. They afterwards have him anointed all over with fine oil, and having kept him eighteen or twenty days, without allowing any one to see him, they affix some Moorish charms to his neck, which have the appearance of small square billets of writing, folded up and covered with red leather; and affirm, that they will go into battle with greater safety by means of these scrolls or annulets.

The women of this country are very pleasant and merry, especially the young ones, and delight in singing and dancing, taking this diversion only at night by moonlight; and their manner of dancing is very different from that of the Italians. Many things in our ships seemed wonderful to the Negroes, particularly our cross-bows; but much more our artillery. When some of them were on board my ship, I caused one of the guns to be fired off, which threw them into a dreadful panic; and their terror was much increased on being told that one cannon-shot could kill an hundred men. On which account, they alleged that it must be something belonging

longing to the devil. They were likewise greatly astonished at a bag-pipe, which one of our sailors played upon to divert them; and, on examining the several parts and ornaments of the instrument, they conceived that it was a living animal, which sung in different voices. Observing their simplicity, I told them it was a musical instrument, and put it into their hand unblown to examine. They then perceived that it was a work of art, but believed that it was something supernatural, and could only have been devised by a superior being, it sounded so sweetly, and in so many different tones, having never heard any thing which could be compared to it in their estimation. The ship, also, and its various contrivances, as its anchors, masts, sails, and shrouds, afforded them great subjects for admiration and wonder. They looked upon the port-holes in the stern as real eyes, by which the vessel was able to find her way in the sea; and observed, that travellers on land found difficulty to find the road from one place to another, while we were able to travel along the trackless ocean; and that the whites must therefore be the greatest of sorcerers, not inferior to the devil himself. They shewed great admiration on seeing a lighted candle in a candlestick, having themselves no other artificial light but that proceeding from a fire. They have honey-combs, but when they find these, they suck out the honey, and throw away the empty comb as useless. At one time, I bought some honey-combs from a negro, and shewed him how to extract the honey; after which, on asking him if he knew what remained, he said it was good for nothing: But he was greatly astonished on seeing it made into candles, and lighted in his presence; saying, that the Europeans knew every thing. Their only musical instruments are two, one of which they have from the Moors, which is like a large drum [5]; the other is somewhat like a fiddle, having only two strings, which they play on with their fingers, but gives no sounds that can be called harmonious.

5 This in Ramusio is called Tabacche, and Sambuka in Grynæus.—Astl.

SECTION VII.

Continuation of the Voyage from Senegal, by Cape Verd, the river Barbasini, and to the river Gambia; and returns to Portugal.

HAVING seen a considerable part of the dominions of Budomel, and received the slaves which were bargained for, in exchange for my horses and other merchandize, I resolved to proceed on my voyage round Cape Verd, and to prosecute discoveries along this dangerous coast, and in particular, to go in search of the kingdom of Gambra or Gambia, which Don Henry had pointed out, on the information of a person who was well acquainted with the country of the Negroes, as not far from Senegal, and from whence, it was reported, that considerable quantities of gold might be procured. Longing to go in quest of this gold, I took my leave of Budomel, and repaired to the river Senegal, where I went on board the caravel, and got under weigh as soon as possible. Soon after leaving the river Senegal, as we were standing onward with a press of sail towards Cape Verd, we descried one morning two ships in the offing. On joining company, we found that one of these belonged to Antonio, an experienced Genoese navigator, and the other to some gentlemen in the service of Don Henry, and that they had sailed in company with the intention of passing Cape Verd, to explore the coast beyond it, in search of new discoveries. Our intentions being similar, I offered to join company, and we accordingly proceeded together along the coast to the southward, in sight of land.

We came in sight of that cape next day, being about thirty Italian miles from our last anchorage [1]. Cape Verd was so named by the Portuguese, who discovered it about a year before [2], because it is covered with trees which continue green all the year. This is a high and beautiful cape, which runs

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1 Cape Verd is about 100 miles from the southern mouth of the river Senegal; so that the voyagers probably anchored every night within sight of the scarcely known coast.—E.

2 This is erroneous, as it was discovered in 1446 by Denis Fernandez, nine years before.—Clarke.

a considerable way into the sea, and has two hills or small mountains at its outer extremity. There are several villages of the Senegal negroes, or Jalofs, upon and about this promontory, which are composed of thatched cabins close by the shore, and in sight of those who sail past. There are also some sand banks, which extend about half a mile into the sea [3].

Having doubled the cape, we came to three small uninhabited islands, full of green trees [4]; and being in want of water, we anchored at that which seemed the largest and most fruitful, in hopes of meeting with a spring, but could find none to answer our purpose. We met, however, with the nests and eggs of several kinds of birds, such as we had never seen before. This was in the month of July 1456, and we continued here all day, fishing with lines and large hooks, catching a prodigious number of fish, among which were *dentali*, and gilded fish [5], some of which weighed from twelve to fifteen pounds each. On the next day we proceeded in our course, keeping always in sight of land, and found a kind of gulf formed by the coast on the south side of the cape [6]. This coast is all low, and full of fine large trees, which are continually green, as the new leaves grow before the old ones fall off, and they never wither like those in Europe; and the trees grow so near the shore, that they seem to drink as it were the water of the sea. The coast is most beautiful, insomuch that I never saw any thing comparable to it, though I had sailed much both in the Levant and the western parts of Europe. It is well watered every where by small rivers, but these are useless for trade, as they do not admit ships of any size. Beyond this little gulf, the coast is inhabited by two negro nations, called Barbasini and Serreri, which are not subject to the king of Senegal, neither have they any king or lord of their own; but one person is more honoured than another, according to his condition or quality. They are great

3 It is necessary to be cautious with respect to these early voyages, which, having gone through various transcriptions and translations, are liable to numerous errors. In our best charts, this sand bank, intermixed with sunk rocks, extends two miles out to sea.—E.

4 Called the Birds islands, or the Magdalens.—Clarke.

5 In Ramusio these fish are called Orate vecchis, and in Grynæus Ostreas veteres.—Astl.

6 This appears to indicate the gulf between Cape Emanuel, near the isle of Goree, and the Red Cape.—E.

great idolaters, without laws, and living in almost a state of nature, and extremely cruel, and refuse to become subjected to any lord. That their wives and children may not be taken from them and sold as slaves, as is the custom among all the negro nations which are under subjection to kings or lords, they use bows and poisoned arrows, the wounds from which are incurable, if even the smallest blood is drawn, and the wounded person or animal soon dies. Their colour is jet black, and their persons are well made. The country is full of woods, lakes, and streams, from which they derive great security, as they can only be invaded through narrow defiles, by which means they set the neighbouring lords at defiance. In former times, the kings of Senegal often attempted to reduce these two nations under obedience, but were always worsted, owing to the natural strength of the country, and their arrows. Running along the coast to the south with a fair wind, we discovered the mouth of a river about a bow-shot wide, but not deep, to which we gave the name of the *Barbasini* river, and have marked it on the chart which I made of the coast, as sixty miles from Cape Verd [7]. In sailing along the coast, we only made sail at sun rise, having a man continually on the top, and two others on the prow or head, to look out for breakers, and always came to anchor at sun set, about four or five miles from the land, in ten or twelve fathoms water.

Proceeding on our voyage in this cautious manner, we came to the mouth of a river which appeared to be as large as the Senegal [8]; and struck by the fineness of its appearance, and its rich woods which came down to the very shores, we cast anchor, and determined to send one of our negro interpreters on shore, to endeavour to establish a friendly intercourse with the natives. Every ship which sails from Portugal for the coast of Africa is supplied with some of these negro interpreters, who consist of slaves that had been sold by the

7 The river named Barbasini is above eighty-five miles S. S. E. from Cape Verd, measuring to its northern entrance, and forms a small island or delta at its mouth, having another entrance about eighteen miles farther south. There is a small island named *Fetti*, off its northern entrance, of which no notice is taken by Cada Mosto. The natives on this part of the coast, to the north of the Gambia, are now called Barras.—E.

8 From the sequel, I am apt to conclude that this *second* river is the Barbasini of our charts; and that the river named Barbasini in the text of Cada Mosto, is that named *Joall* in modern charts.—E.

the lords of Senegal to the first Portuguese who touched on the coast, and who have learnt the Portuguese language and become Christians. These are hired from their masters in Portugal, who receive, for their hire, a prime slave from the cargo on returning from the voyage; and when any of these interpreters have thus earned four slaves for their master, they become free. Having cast lots to determine which of the three ships should send an interpreter on shore, it fell on the ship commanded by the Genoese gentleman; on which he sent an armed boat, ordering the men not to touch the shore, but to push off as soon as they had landed the interpreter; who was charged to inform himself respecting the condition and government of the country, and to inquire whether it produced gold or any other commodity worth coming for. No sooner was the interpreter landed, and the boat shoved off to some distance as ordered, than several natives came out of the wood, who had been in ambush, with bows, arrows, and other weapons, from the time they saw our ships approach the coast, as if they had been in hopes that some of our people might land upon the coast. After a short parley with our interpreter, they furiously assaulted him with their *gomies*, or short Moorish swords, and slew him; our people in the boat being unable to give him any assistance. This intelligence was brought to the ships, where it excited much surprise; and, concluding that these people must be extremely barbarous, who could treat one of their own race with so much barbarity, and would consequently use us cruelly if in their power, we immediately weighed anchor, and stood on our voyage farther to the south, which improved in the beauty and verdure of the trees as we advanced, always sailing within sight of the coast, which is everywhere low land covered with trees.

We came at length to the mouth of a very large river, which is not less than six or eight miles wide at the entrance, and narrows a little way within to three or four miles, and finding that it could be safely entered, we determined to cast anchor for the night, and to endeavour to learn next day if this were the river and kingdom of Gambra, or Gambia, of which we were in search [9]. We judged, however, from its

9 Cada Mosto betrays strange ignorance of the previous discoveries of the Portuguese, considering that he had resided some time with Don Henry at

its noble river, that we had now attained the so anxiously desired country of Gambia, and flattered ourselves in the hope of finding a country of vast riches, where we might make our fortunes at once, by returning laden with gold, and other rich commodities. Next day, having but little wind, we sent on the small caravel before, well manned, with directions, as their ship was small and drew little water, that they were to proceed as far as possible up the river, observing whether there were any bar or sand banks at its mouth, and to take the soundings with great care; and if the river were found navigable, they were to return and make signals to that effect. Finding four fathoms water at the entrance, the caravel brought to, and made the concerted signal; on which it was thought proper, as that caravel was small, to send another boat well armed along with her up the river, and they were strictly enjoined, in case the natives were hostile, to enter into no conflict with them, but to return immediately to the other ships, as the object of our voyage was to cultivate friendship and trade with the country, which could only be accomplished by policy, not by force. The boats accordingly proceeded up the river for two miles, leaving the small caravel at anchor, and found the banks everywhere beautiful, with sixteen fathoms water. But as the river above this made several returns or reaches, they did not think it prudent to venture any higher.

When on their way back, they saw three *almadias* or canoes near the mouth of a small river which runs into the large one. These almadias resemble the skiffs used in Italy which are called *zoppòli*, and are hollowed out of one large piece of wood. Although our boats were strongly armed, yet, in obedience to their orders, and for fear of being attacked with poisoned arrows, which the Negroes of Senegal had told us were used by all the natives of Gambia, they took to their oars, and made all possible haste back to the ship. By the time they got on board, the almadias, which followed them close, were within arrow flight. There were about twenty-five or thirty negroes in these three almadias, who stopped for some time gazing at the caravel, which was quite a new sight to them; but would neither speak nor come

 nearer,

at Sagres. This fine river was discovered in 1447, nine years before, by Nuno Tristan, who ascended it some way, and was slain there by the poisoned arrows of the Negroes. Perhaps even Don Henry was misled by the name of Rio Grande which it then received, and confused the Venetian in his search for the Gambia.—Clarke.

nearer, notwithstanding every endeavour by signs, to induce them to approach, and at length they returned to the shore. About three next morning, the other three caravels that had remained at anchor without the river, sailed with the rising tide and a light breeze, into the river, to rejoin the small caravel, and to proceed up the river, hoping to meet with a more civilized people than had been seen in the almadias. In this way we sailed up the river, one after the other, the small caravel leading; and when we had got about four miles up, we perceived ourselves to be followed by a number of *almadias*, without knowing whence they came. On this, we tacked about, and bore down towards the almadias, having first fortified ourselves in the best manner we could, to defend us against their poisoned arrows, and made every thing ready for battle, in case of need, though by no means well provided with arms. Our order of sailing was now reversed, and my ship was foremost in going down the river. We soon came to the almadias, which separated into two divisions, having my ship between them, when I had an opportunity to count their numbers, as they gave over rowing, raised their oars, and gazed in wonder at our ship: There were in all fifteen almadias of considerable length, having from 130 to 150 negroes, all well made, of a good size, and very black. They wore white cotton shirts, having white caps, like those worn by the Germans, on their heads; but with a wing on each side, and a feather in the middle, which I supposed to be a distinguishing mark of their being soldiers. There stood a negro on the prow of each almadia, having a round target, apparently of leather, on his arm; and for some time they neither attacked us, nor we them. When they saw the other caravels bearing down upon them, they dropped their oars, and taking up their bows, sent a flight of arrows on board. Seeing this attack, our ships discharged four pieces of cannon, at them, and they were so stupified by the report, that they threw down their bows, and stared about in amazement, at the effect which the stones from the cannon made on the water around them. They continued in this astonishment for some time; but seeing that the cannon ceased to fire, they plucked up courage, and renewed the fight, advancing within a stones throw of the ship. On this our sailors began to use their cross-bows; and the first shot, which was made by the natural son of the Genoese gentleman, hit a negro on the breast, who instantly fell down dead.

dead. Those in the almadia where he fell, took up the dart and gazed at it with wonder; yet they continued the attack with great vigour, and were courageously opposed by our caravels, insomuch that many of the Negroes were soon killed, without the loss of one man on our side. The Negroes now changed their mode of attack, and made a furious united attack on the stern of our smallest caravel, which was both ill manned, and insufficiently armed. On observing this, I brought up my ship to her assistance, and the other large caravel doing the same, we placed the small one between us, and we all vigorously plied our cannon and cross-bows against the almadias, which were at last forced to retire. We now linked all the three caravels together, and dropped one anchor, which was sufficient for us all, as it was calm weather, and the current by no means strong.

We next endeavoured to enter into some conversation with the Negroes, and often hailed them by means of our interpreters. At length one of the almadias drew near, and on being asked the reason of their hostility to strangers, who came among them only to trade in a friendly manner, as they had already done with the Negroes of the kingdom of Senegal, and were desirous of being on the same friendly terms with them, if they thought proper, and were come from a far distant country, with presents for their king or lord, from the king of Portugal, who was desirous of peace and friendship with them. Our interpreters also entreated the Negroes to inform us what country we were in, who was their king, and what was the name of the river; and desired them to come freely on board, and take what goods they pleased; adding, that they might make a return in any commodities they thought proper, and in any quantities they pleased, or might have our goods for nothing. To all this they made answer, "That they had some intelligence of the Christians already, and of their dealings with the Negroes of Senegal, who must be very wicked people for entering into friendship with them; as they were well assured the Christians were men-eaters, who bought the Negroes only to devour them, and, for this reason, they were resolved to have no correspondence with them, except to destroy them, and then to send their effects to their lord, who dwelt three days journey up the country." They added, that the name of their country was Gambra, but I have forgotten the name they gave the river,

ver [10]. At this time a brisk breeze sprung up, and, as we now thoroughly knew the hostile dispositions of the Negroes, we bore down upon their almadias; but they fled to the shore, and we dropt down to the mouth of the river.

While we remained off the mouth of this river, we only once saw the north star in clear weather, and it was then so low as hardly to appear above the height of a lance above the sea [11]. We likewise observed, in about the same elevation, due south by the compass, a constellation of six large bright stars, in the figure of a cross, in this form:

*
* * * *
*

We conjectured this to be the *southern chariot*, but could not expect to observe the principal star, as we had not yet lost sight of the north pole. In this place, on the *first* of July, we found the night to be eleven hours and a half long, and the day twelve hours and a half. The climate is always hot, and I was told, that even the rain in the inland parts falls warm, in consequence of the great heat of the air. It is true, that there is some difference of the heat at different seasons, and when the heat is a little diminished, the natives call it winter. The rains begin in July, and continue till the end of October, and fall every day about noon; at which time certain clouds arise in the N. E. by E. or E. N. E. which are accompanied by prodigious thunder and lightning, and vast torrents of rain. In this season, which is in the beginning of July, the Negroes sow their grain, in the same manner with the people in Senegal. Their provisions consist of millet, pulse, flesh and milk. There is not so much dawn at break of day in this southern latitude as with us in Italy; for, within half an hour after the darkness of the night begins to dispel, the sun appears, and during all that dawn the atmosphere is turbid, as if filled with smoke, and the moment the sun appears this mist is dissipated. I could only account for this phenomenon, by attributing it to the low and flat surface of this country, which is destitute of mountains, and my companions were of a similar opinion.

On

10 From this it would appear, that Gambra or Gambia is the name of the country, not of the river. Johnson says that the natives always call it *Gee,* which merely signifies the river.—Astl.

11 The centre of the mouth of the Gambia is in lat. 13° 30′ N.—E.

On holding a consultation among the commanders of the three caravels, we came to a resolution of proceeding about an hundred miles up the river, in hopes of meeting with a less ferocious, and better disposed people in the interior, than those we had encountered at the mouth of this river: But the sailors were impatient to return home, without incurring any farther dangers, and unanimously and loudly refused their consent to our determination, declaring that they had already done enough for the present voyage. Upon this being made known to us, and being well aware that seamen are of headstrong and obstinate dispositions, we conceded to their clamours, and steered next day for Cape Verd, on our return to Portugal [12].

SECTION VIII.

The Second Voyage of Cada Mosto, in 1456, *to the coast of Africa, in which the Cape de Verd Islands were Discovered* [1].

As I could say little or nothing about the condition of the country of Gambia, on my return to Portugal, on account of being obliged to leave it so suddenly; partly owing to the intractable and fierce disposition of the natives, and partly through the perversity of our sailors, who refused to proceed in exploring the river; the Genoese gentleman, Antonio, who had been with me in the former voyage, and I, resolved next season to fit out two caravels, in order to return to the river Gambia, and Don Henry, who was much pleased with our intentions, determined to send one of his caravels along with us. Every thing being made ready for our voyage, we sailed from Lagos, near Cape St Vincent, with a favourable wind, in the beginning of May, and steered for the Canaries, which we

12 It may be noticed, that during the whole of his narrative, Cada Mosto constantly speaks of Spain, and the Spanish language, as if forgetting that the ships and crews were Portuguese.—Clarke.

1 There is some difficulty respecting the date of this second voyage. In the former, Cada Mosto sailed from Portugal in March 1455. In the course of his proceedings, the month of November is mentioned, and some subsequent transactions are said to have happened in July, which, on this arrangement, must necessarily have been of the year 1456. If, therefore, the dates of the former voyage be accurate, the second ought to have been dated in 1457.—E.

we made in a few days; but, as the wind continued favourable, we did not touch there, and continued our course to the southward; and, as we were favoured by a current setting to the S. W. we sailed on at a great rate. At last we came in sight of Cape Branco, keeping well out at sea, and on the following night we were assailed by a great storm from the S. W. which occasioned us to steer W. by N. for two days and three nights, in order to weather the tempest, rather than turn back. On the third day, to our great joy and surprise, we descried land, being much astonished to discover land in a quarter where no person could have expected it[2]. Two men were immediately sent aloft, who cried out that two large islands were in sight. This news was communicated through the ships, to our great satisfaction, as we were sensible these islands were unknown in Portugal. Judging it probable that these islands might be inhabited, and eager to try our fortune, we steered towards one of them, which we soon came up with, and sailed round a part of it, till we found safe anchorage. The weather being now much calmed, we sent our boat on shore, well manned and armed. The men landed, and having examined some part of the island, brought back word that they could meet with no signs of inhabitants whatever.

Next morning, to clear up all doubts, I sent ten men to land on the island, well armed with guns and cross-bows, whom I ordered to go to the top of some mountains within sight, and to look from thence, not only for people, but for more islands. These men executed my commands, but found no appearance of any inhabitants. They found, however, an incredible number of pigeons, which were so tame, being strangers to man, that they readily allowed themselves to be caught, and our people brought great numbers of them to the caravels. But, what was of much more importance, they brought intelligence of having discovered three other islands; one of which being to leeward, towards the north, could not be seen from the ships, while the other two lay to the south, all within sight of each other. These men likewise noticed

[2] This part of the narrative is involved in difficulty, and must be erroneous. A storm from the S. W. off Cape Branco, almost in lat. 21° N. and a N. W. course, could not possibly lead to the discovery of the Cape Verd islands, almost six degrees farther south, and at least six degrees farther west. This difficulty may be solved, by supposing the storm from the N.E. and that the ships drove to the S. W. *from* off Cape Branco.—E.

noticed something resembling islands towards the west, but at so great a distance that they could not be clearly distinguished, neither did I think proper to sail in that direction, lest I should lose time in visiting uninhabited islands, like this at which we had touched. The fame of my discovery of these four islands, brought other navigators afterwards to explore this group; who found them to be ten in number, both large and small included, and altogether uninhabited, except by pigeons and other birds, and having a fine fishery[3].

Leaving the first island, we came in sight of the other two, and searched for an anchoring place near one of them, which was full of trees. Discovering the mouth of a river, and being in want of water, we came to anchor, and sent our boats on shore to supply our wants. Some of our people went a little way up the river, where they found some small lakes containing remarkably fine white salt, of which they brought large quantities to the ships, laying in what store was thought necessary, as we did likewise of water. We found here great numbers of tortoises, or turtle, the shells of which were larger than a target. The sailors cooked these into different dishes, as they had done before in the gulf of Arguin, where these animals are found in plenty, but not so large as here. Out of curiosity I eat some of the flesh of these tortoises, which seemed very good, having a good smell and taste, and was not inferior to veal. We salted a great number of them, which proved a valuable addition to our stock of provisions during the voyage. We caught likewise a prodigious quantity of fish, both off the mouth of the river and in the stream; and, though we knew not the kinds, they were large and well-flavoured. The mouth of this river is a good arrow-shot across, and it is deep enough to admit a vessel of 150 tons. We remained two days in this place for refreshments, taking in a good stock of tortoises and fish, and large quantities of pigeons, which we killed without number. To the first island at which we anchored we gave the name of *Bona Vista*, as being the first we got sight of; and to this other, which seemed the largest of the four, the name of St Jago, having cast anchor there on the day of St Philip and St James.

Every

3 This passage alludes to the voyage of Antonio de Noli in 1462. And it may be remarked, that de Faria, who mentions the discovery of these islands by Noli, takes no notice of the actual discovery by Cada Mosto. —Astl.

Every thing being in readiness for pursuing our voyage, we took our departure from these islands, and shaped our course for Cape Verd. We arrived at *Spedegar*, and keeping within sight of land, we came to a place named the *Two Palms*, which is between Cape Verd and the river Senegal. Being perfectly acquainted with the coast, we doubled the Cape next day, and came once more to the river Gambia, into which we immediately entered; and, finding no opposition from the Negroes or their almadias, we sailed up the river, always by day, and continually sounding. Such of the almadias as we saw on the river kept at a distance, close to the banks of the river, and never ventured to approach. About ten miles up the river we cast anchor on a Sunday morning, at an island where one of our sailors was buried who had died of a fever; and as his name happened to be Andrew, we called it the island of St Andrew[4].

Leaving this island we proceeded up the river, followed by some of the Negroes in their almadias, yet always keeping at a considerable distance. Our interpreters often hailed them, and shewed them various trinkets, which were offered for their acceptance, and endeavoured to entice them to come near, by telling them that we were good-natured civilized people, from whom they had nothing to fear. Wrought upon by these representations, the Negroes at length approached, and came up with my caravel; and at last one of them, who understood the language of our interpreter, came on board. He was greatly surprized at every thing he saw in and about the caravel, especially with the sails and rigging, having no other idea of moving a vessel on the water but by means of oars. He was no less amazed at our colour and dress, as his nation mostly go stark naked, or with a single white cotton shirt as their sole dress. We were exceedingly kind and attentive to this Negro, and made him many presents of trinkets, and other things of small value, with which he was much delighted. I asked him many questions respecting the country, through our interpreter, and at length learnt that we were in the country of Gambia, of which Forosangoli was chief lord; and, by what we could learn from him,

4 The editor of Astleys Collection considers this as having been St Jameses island, which is about twenty miles up the Gambia: But there is a small island near the northern bank, now called Charles I. which exactly corresponds with the distance in the text.—E.

him, the residence of Forosangoli was at the distance of nine or ten days journey, in a direction between the south and the southwest. He said that Forosangoli was tributary to the king of Melli, who is the great emperor of the Negroes; that there were many inferior lords, who dwelt near the river on both sides, and, if we pleased, he would conduct us to the residence of one of these lords, named Battimansa, and would endeavour to negociate a treaty of peace and friendship between him and us. Being much pleased with this offer, we carried this Negro along with us, and treated him with much attention; and, sailing up the river, we came to the place where Battimansa resided, which, in my opinion, was above forty miles from the mouth of the river. In going up the river, into which several lesser rivers fall, we sailed to the eastwards, and at the place where we came to anchor, we found it much narrower than at the mouth, being not above a mile in breadth, by our estimation[5]. On coming to this place, we sent one of our interpreters and the native Negro to Battimansa, with a present of a handsome garment, called an *alzimba*, made of Moorish silk, in the form of a shirt; and they were desired to inform him of the reason of our coming into his country, signifying, "That the Christian king of Portugal had sent us thither, to enter into a treaty of friendship and peace with him, and that if he had any call for our commodities, our king would supply him with them every year."

As soon as our messengers had discharged their commission, Battimansa sent some of his Negroes to the caravel, with whom we entered into friendship, and bartered several things for Negro slaves and some gold; but gold was by no means to be had in any thing like the plenty we expected, from the account given of this country by the natives of Senegal, who, being themselves extremely poor, consider that to be a large quantity which we think very trifling. The Negroes value their gold as a very precious thing, even at a higher rate than the Portuguese, yet we got it in barter very reasonably

5 According to our best maps or charts of the Gambia, this river is never less than four miles broad, and generally above five, till we get near 100 miles up the river, to the reach which encircles the Devils Point, where it still is two miles wide. It is possible that the original journal of Cada Mosto may have had leagues of three marine miles each, in which case the residence of Battimansa may have been at or near the Devils Point, above 100 miles up the river.—E.

reasonably for things of very small value. We continued here eleven days, during which the caravels were continually resorted to by great numbers of Negroes from both sides of the river, who came to see the novelties, and to sell their goods, among which there were a few gold rings. Part of their commodities consisted of cotton cloth and cotton yarn; some of the pieces being all white, some striped blue and white, and others again with red, blue, and white stripes, all very well wrought and coloured. They likewise brought civet for sale, the skins of civet-cats, monkies, large and small baboons of various sorts; and these last being very plenty they sold them cheap, or for something not exceeding ten *marquets* in value, for each; and the ounce of civet for what was not worth more than forty or fifty marquets; not that they sold their commodities by weight, but I judged the quantity to be about an ounce. Other Negroes brought various sorts of fruit for sale, among which were many small wild dates, which they seemed to think much of, but which our people thought not good, as the taste was different from those of Europe: As for me, I would not venture to eat any of them, lest they might have given me the flux, or some other distemper. Our ships were every day crowded with people of different aspects and languages[6], and the natives were continually going up and down the river from one place to another, both men and women, in their almadias. They have no sails, and propel their almadias entirely with oars, which they use on both sides, all the rowers standing up. One man stands at the stern, who rows sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, to keep the almadia steady in her course. They have no pins or row-locks to steady their oars, but hold them fast with both hands; their oar being a pole, like a half lance, seven feet and a half long, with a round board like a trencher fastened to one end, and with these they row with great safety and swiftness, in the mouths of their rivers, which are very numerous; but they seldom go out to sea, or to any distance from their own coasts, lest they should be taken by their neighbours and sold for slaves.

SECTION

6 Though this country will be amply described in other voyages in our Collection, it may be proper to remark, that both sides of the river Gambia are inhabited by a mixed population of three nations, the Feloops, Foleys, and Mandingoes, each of whom have their own separate villages interspersed. This population is divided into many states, lordships, or little kingdoms; as Joalli, Barrah, Kolar, Badibu, Barsalli, &c. on or near the northern bank; Kumbo, Fonia, Kaen, Jagra, Yamini, &c. on the southern.—E.

SECTION IX.

Some Account of the Manners and Customs on the Gambia, and of the Elephant and Hippopotamus.

IT now remains for me to relate what I observed and was informed of concerning this country, during my short stay. The religion of the Negroes of Gambia consists of various kinds of idolatry; they place great reliance on sorcery and other diabolical things, yet all believe in God. There are many Mahometans among them, who trade to many countries, yet are not settled in houses, because the natives are ignorant[1]. They live very much in the same manner with the natives of Senegal, and have the same kinds of provisions; but they cultivate more sorts of rice. They eat dogs flesh, which I never heard of being used anywhere else. They are clothed in cotton garments, and have great abundance of cotton in their country, which may be the reason of the Gambians not going naked, as those of Senegal do, where cotton is very scarce. The women dress in the same manner; and, when they are very young, take great delight in delineating figures on their necks, breasts, and arms, with the point of a hot needle, which are never obliterated, and which resemble the flowers and ornaments which are wrought on silk handkerchiefs. The country is excessively hot, and the heat increases as we go to the south; besides which, we found it much hotter up the river than at sea, owing to the immense number of trees with which the country everywhere abounds. Some of these trees are of very great dimensions. Near a spring where our sailors were in use to fill our water casks, not far from the banks of the river, there grew an exceedingly large tree, but its height was by no means proportional to its thickness; for, though it measured seventeen cubits in girth near the ground, its height, by estimation, was only twenty paces. This tree was hollow, but the branches were very large, and extended to a great distance, forming a thick and ample shade. But there were many other trees much larger

1 The meaning of this expression is obscure. Perhaps it implies that their Mahometan teachers had no mosques, because the Negroes were ignorant of the means and method of construction. The knowledge of God among the northern Negroes was assuredly due exclusively to the Mahometan missionaries.—E.

larger than this, by which the richness and fertility of the soil may be easily conceived; and the country is intersected by numerous streams.

There are many elephants in this country, but the natives are ignorant of the art of taming these animals, as is practised in other countries. One day, while we lay at anchor in the middle of the river, we observed three elephants come out from the wood and walk by the river side, on which we sent our boat with some of the people towards them, but they immediately returned into the wood. These were all I ever saw alive; but, sometime afterwards, Guumi-mensa[2], one of the Negro lords, shewed me a dead young elephant, which he had killed after a chase of two days. The Negroes hunt on foot in the woods, using only arrows and assagays, or javelins, which are all poisoned. When they hunt the elephant they conceal themselves behind trees, and even sometimes mount to their tops, leaping from one tree to another in pursuit of the elephant, which, being a large unweildy animal, is often wounded in many places before it can turn round, or place itself in a posture of defence; but, in an open field, no person dare attack one, nor could even the swiftest escape from their pursuit, as I have been informed by many of the Negroes. The teeth of this dead elephant, which was shewn me by Guumi-Mensa, one of which still remained in the jaw, did not exceed three spans long, which distinctly shews that it was quite young in comparison of those whose teeth are from ten to twelve spans in length; yet, small as it was for an elephant, we computed that the weight of its carcass was equal to five or six oxen. Guumi-Mensa made me a present of what part of this elephant I liked best, and gave the remainder to his huntsmen to feast on. Understanding that elephants flesh was eaten by the Negroes, I had some both roasted and boiled, of which I tasted, that I might be able to say that I had fed upon the flesh of an animal which had never been eaten by any of my countrymen; but I found it hard, and of an unpleasant relish. I brought one of the legs and a part of the trunk on board our caravel, together with some of the hair from its body, which was a span and a half long, of a black colour, and very thick. On my return to Portugal, I presented this hair to Don Henry, together with a

2 Called Gnumi-Mensa in Grynæus. According to Jobson, Mensa, or Mansa, signifies a king in the Mandingo language.—Astl.

a part of the flesh salted up for that express purpose, which he received with much satisfaction, as it was the first of the kind that had been brought from the countries that were discovered under his auspices. The foot of the elephant is round, like that of a horse, but without hoofs; instead of which it is covered by a very thick, hard, black skin, and defended by five nails on the fore part, which are round and of the size of a *grossone*[3]. Though young, the foot of this elephant measured a span and a half in diameter. From the same Negro lord I received the foot of a full-grown elephant, the sole of which was three spans and an inch in diameter; which, together with a tooth of twelve spans long, I presented to Don Henry on my return, who sent it afterwards as a great curiosity to the Dutchess of Burgundy.

In the river Gambia, and in other rivers on this coast, besides the *Calcatrici*[4] and other animals, there is one called the *river horse*, or hippopotamus, of the same nature almost with the sea cow, and which lives both on land and in the water. This animal is as large in the body as a cow, with very short legs and cloven feet, having a large head like that of a horse, and two huge teeth like the tusks of a wild boar, some of which I have seen upwards of two spans long. This animal, when it gets out of the river, walks on the land like any other fourfooted beast; and, so far as I know, was never before discovered by any Christian traveller, except perhaps in the Nile. We saw likewise a number of bats, or rather owls, upwards of three spans long; and many other birds, quite different from those of our country, both in appearance and taste, yet very good to eat.

Section X.

Continuation of the Voyage from the Gambia to the river Kasa-Mansa, Cape Roxo, the rivers of St Ann and St Domingo, and the Rio Grande.

Having continued eleven days in the river Gambia, and many of our people becoming affected by acute fevers, we dropt

3 A Venetian silver coin, not exceeding a silver penny.—Astl.

4 This animal is nowhere explained. Perhaps the crocodile or alligator.—E.

drept down the river on the evening of the eleventh day, departing from the country of Batti-Mansa [1], and got out of the river in a few days, so stocked with commodities as to encourage us to proceed farther; and indeed, having been so far successful, and having a plentiful supply of provisions, and every thing necessary for prosecuting the voyage, we considered as incumbent on us to attempt some farther discoveries towards the south. We accordingly steered southwards with a favourable wind; but finding the land to run a considerable way to the S. S. W. from the mouth of the Gambia, to a certain point which we took for a cape [2], we stood out to the west to gain the open sea, the whole coast to the south of the Gambia being low, and covered with trees to the waters edge. On gaining an offing, we found that the beforementioned point was no actual cape or promontory, as the shore appeared perfectly straight on the other side; yet we kept at some distance out to sea, as we observed breakers for several miles out to sea [3]. On this account we had to proceed with great caution, keeping always two men at the head of the ship, and one in the main-top, to look out for shoals and breakers; and as a farther precaution, we sailed only during the day, and came to anchor every night. In this cautious progress, our caravels sailed always one before the other, having fixed the order of sailing by lot, and changed the leader every day, in order to avoid all disputes.

At the end of two days sail in this manner, always in sight of land, we discovered on the third day the mouth of a river about half a mile wide [4], and towards evening we observed a little gulf or inlet, which we supposed might be the entrance of another river; but as it grew late, we came to anchor for the night. Next morning we sailed into this gulf, and found that it was the mouth of a large river, not a great deal less in my opinion than the Gambia, and both its banks were full

1 At this place Grynæus calls him Batrinense; though he had named him rightly Bati-mansa before.—Astl.

2 This is now called Cape St Mary.—E.

3 This seems to allude to what is now called Bald Cape, about twenty miles south from Cape St Mary, and stretching somewhat farther west; from which there extends breakers or sunken rocks a considerable distance from the land.—E.

4 Between the mouth of the Gambia and that of the Casamansa, there are three inlets, which appear to be smaller mouths of the latter river. The most northern of these is named St Peter, the most southerly Oyster river; th e intermediate one has no name.—E.

full of very beautiful tall trees. We cast anchor within the mouth of this river, and agreed to send two armed boats on shore with our interpreters to get intelligence respecting the country, according to our usual practice. This was done accordingly, and our interpreters, brought back word that the river was called Kasamansa, from a Negro lord of that name who resided at a place about thirty miles up the river; but who was absent from his residence, on a warlike expedition against the lord of a neighbouring territory.

On receiving this intelligence, we sailed from this river next day, without attempting any traffic with the natives. This river of Kasamansa is twenty-five leagues, or 100 miles to the south of the Gambia[5]. Standing on about twenty-five miles farther, we came to a cape which is a little more elevated than the rest of the coast, and as its front had a red colour, we named it Cape *Roxo*, or *Rosso*. Proceeding forwards, we came to the mouth of a pretty large river about a crossbow-shot wide, which we did not enter, but to which we gave the name of the river of St Ann. Farther on still, we came to the mouth of another river, not less than the former, which we named St Dominic, or St Domingo[7]; distant from Cape Rosso, by our estimation, between fifty-five and sixty miles. In another days sailing, we came to a very large river, which at first appeared to be a gulf, and was judged to be about twenty miles in breadth; but we could observe the beautiful trees on the south side, and it took us a considerable time to sail across to that side. On getting over to that side, we observed several islands in the sea, and as we wished to procure some intelligence concerning the country, we came to an anchor. Next morning two almadias came off to us from the land, one of which was as long as a caravel, and carried about thirty hands; the other was smaller, and was manned by sixteen Negroes. They came towards us with great eagerness; and, not knowing what might be their design,

5 The actual distance is barely a degree of latitude, or less than seventy English miles. Cada Mosto probably estimated by the log, the more circuitous track by sea.—E.

6 Cada Mosto does not mention the remarkable change which takes place here in the direction of the coast. From the Gambia to Cape Rosso, the coast runs direct south; after which its direction is E. S. E. to the mouth of the river St Ann.—E.

7 Called in modern charts, Rio S. Dominica.—E.

sign, we took to our arms and waited their approach. As they drew near, they fixed a white cloth to the end of an oar, which they held up as a signal of peace, and we answered them in a similar manner. The Negroes then came alongside of our ships, the largest of the almadias coming up to the caravel in which I was. They gazed at every thing they saw, examining the form of the ship, the masts, yards, sails, and rigging with much attention, and they seemed astonished at seeing the white colour of our people. Our interpreters spoke to them, in order to learn the name of the country, but could not understand a word of their language, which was a great mortification to us, as we were obliged to leave the place without getting any intelligence; but we purchased a few gold rings from one of the Negroes, agreeing about the price by signs.

Finding ourselves in a country where our interpreters were of no use, and considering therefore that it would be to no purpose for us to proceed any farther, we determined to return. We stayed two days in the mouth of this large river, which we therefore named Rio Grande[8], and where we found the north pole very low[9]. In this place we found great irregularity in the tides; for, whereas at Venice, and all other places in Europe, the flux and reflux are each of six hours continuance, the tide here only flows four hours, and ebbs eight, and the violence of the flowing tide is quite incredible, insomuch that we had great difficulty to stem it with three anchors a-head. Nay, such was its impetuosity, that we were sometimes obliged to hoist our sails, and even then it exceeded the force of the wind.

Taking our departure from the mouth of this vast river, on our way back to Portugal, we directed our course to two large islands and some small ones, which lay about thirty miles distance from the continent, which we found quite low, yet full of large and beautiful green trees, and inhabited

8 According to de Faria, Rio Grande was discovered by Nunez Tristan in 1447, nine years before it was visited by Cada Mosto.—Astl.

9 Cada Mosto is exceedingly superficial in his account of the Rio Grande; and it even seems dubious if he ever saw or entered this river, as he appears to have mistaken the navigable channel between the main and the shoals of the Rio Grande for the river itself; which channel extends above 150 English miles, from the island of Bulam in the E. S. E. to the open sea in the W. N. W. This channel agrees with his description, in being twenty miles wide, whereas the real Rio Grande is greatly smaller than the Gambia.—E.



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bited by Negroes [10]. Encountering here the same difficulty of intercourse, for want of knowing their language, we made no stop, but took our departure for Portugal, where we arrived in safety.

SECTION XI.

The Voyage of Piedro de Cintra to Sierra Leona, and the Windward coast of Guinea; written by Alvise da Cada Mosta.

THE two voyages to the coast of Africa in which Cada Mosto was engaged, and which have been narrated in the foregoing Sections of this Chapter, were followed by others; and, after the death of Don Henry, two armed caravels were sent out upon discovery by orders from the king of Portugal, under the command of Piedro de Cintra, one of the gentlemen of his household, with injunctions to proceed farther along the coast of the Negroes than had hitherto been effected, and to prosecute new discoveries. In this expedition, Piedro de Cintra was accompanied by a young Portuguese who had formerly been clerk to Cada Mosto in his two voyages; and who, on the return of the expedition to Lagos, came to the house of his former employer, who then continued to reside at Lagos, and gave him an account of the discoveries which had been made in this new voyage, and the names of all the places which had been touched at by Piedro de Cintra, beginning from the Rio Grande, the extreme point of the former voyage [1].

 De

10 These may be the island of Warang and the Marsh islands, at the north-western entry of the channel of the Rio Grande, forming part of the Bissagos islands.—E.

1 For this exordium or introduction, we are indebted to the editor of Astley's Collection of Voyages and Travels, said to have been a Mr John Green. The infant Don Henry of Portugal died in 1463; so that there must have been an interval of six or seven years between the second voyage of Cada Mosto and this of Piedro de Cintra: Though de Faria seems to put this voyage as having been executed before the death of that excellent prince, yet Cada Mosto, who then actually resided at Lagos, could not be mistaken in this important particular.—Astl.

De Cintra first went to the two large inhabited islands at the mouth of the Rio Grande which I had discovered in my second voyage, where he landed, and ordered his interpreters to make the usual inquiries at the inhabitants; but they could not make themselves understood, nor could they understand the language of the natives. Going therefore into the interior, they found the habitations of the Negroes to consist of poor thatched cabins, in some of which they found wooden idols, which were worshipped by the Negroes. Being unable to procure any information in this place, Cintra proceeded in his voyage along the coast, and came to the mouth of a large river between three and four miles wide, which he called Besegue, from a lord of that name who dwelt near its mouth, and which he reckoned to be about forty miles from the mouth of the Rio Grande [2]. Proceeding about 140 miles from the river Besegue, along a very hilly coast clothed with high trees, and having a very beautiful appearance, they came to a cape to which they gave the name of Verga [3]. Continuing along the coast, they fell in with another cape, which, in the opinion of all the seamen, was the highest they had ever seen, having a sharp conical height in the middle like a diamond, yet entirely covered with beautiful green trees. After the name of the fortress of Sagres, which was built by the deceased Don Henry on Cape St Vincent, the Portuguese named this point Cape Sagres of Guinea. According to the account of the sailors, the inhabitants of this coast are idolaters, worshipping wooden images in the shape of men, before which they make offerings of victuals as often as they eat or drink. These people are more of a tawny colour than black, having marks on their faces and bodies made with hot irons. They go almost entirely naked, except that they wear pieces of the bark of trees before them. They have no arms, as there is no

2 In a note to the second voyage of Cada Mosto, it has been already noticed that he seems to have given the name of Rio Grande to the channel between the Bissagos islands, or shoals of the Rio Grande and the Main. This river Besegue, may possibly be the strait or channel which divides the island named particularly Bissagos, or more properly Bissao, from that of Bassis or Bussi. Yet, this river Besegue may even have been that now called Rio Grande, in which, about twenty-four leagues above its mouth, there is an island called Bissaghe.—E.

3 It is strange that the Rio de Nuno, close by this cape, the estuary of which is not less than seven or eight miles wide, should be here omitted; but the present voyage is very superficially narrated throughout.—E.

no iron in their country. They live on rice, millet, beans, and kidney beans, larger than ours; and have also beef and goats flesh, but not in any great abundance. Near to Cape Sagres there are several very small uninhabited islands.

The inhabitants of this river [4] have large almadias, carrying from thirty to forty men, who row standing, without having their oars fixed to any thing, as formerly noticed. They have their ears pierced with many holes, in which they wear a variety of gold rings. Both men and women have also a hole through the cartilage of the nose, in which they wear a gold ring, just like that of iron in the noses of our buffalos, which they take out when eating. The ladies belonging to the kings and great men, by way of extraordinary grandeur, have gold rings on other parts of their body, which decorum prevents us from particularizing.

Passing Cape Sagres, they sailed about forty miles farther along the coast, and came to the *Rio de San Vincente*, which is about four miles wide; and about five miles farther they found another, which they called *Rio Verde*, larger at the mouth than the former [5]. Both of these rivers were so named by the sailors in the caravels. About twenty-four miles beyond the Rio Verde, they came to another cape which they called *Cape Liedo*, signifying the *cheerful*, because of the beautifully verdant country in its neighbourhood [6]. From Cape Liedo there extends a large mountain for about fifty miles along the coast, all of which is very high, and covered with tall verdant trees. At the end of this mountain, and about eight miles from the shore, there are three small islands, the largest

4 The text is here obviously defective, as no river is mentioned before; but the allusion must be to the river Pongo, Pongue, or Pougue, at the mouth of which Cape Sagres is situated; indeed that cape seems to be formed by one of the islands off the mouth of the river.—E.

5 There are a number of small rivers on the coast, between Cape Sagres and Cape Tagrin, such as Tofali, Dania, Buria, Berrea, Tanna, Pogone, Cagrance, dos Casas; but our modern charts have none named as in the text on this part of the coast.—E.

6 This is now called Cape Tagrin, and forms the northern point at the entrance of the Sierra Leone river, otherwise called the Mitomba or Tagrin river. The southern point is named Cape Sierra Leone; and in some maps is likewise named Liedo very improperly. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between the *Cape* of Sierra Leone, and the mountainous ridge of the same name, which appears to extend a considerable way along the coast to the S. E. near fifty miles, to the river Kates, or Sa. Ma. della Neue. But, from the baldness of the narrative, there is great difficulty in tracing out this voyage.—E.

largest of which does not exceed ten or twelve miles in circumference. To these the sailors gave the name of *Saluezze*[7]; and they named the mountain *Sierra Leona*, or the Lion Mountain, on account of the continual roaring of thunder on its summit, which is always enveloped in clouds.

Proceeding beyond Sierra Leona, the coast was quite low, and the shore full of sand banks running out into the sea. About thirty miles from the southern extremity of the mountain, they found a river near three miles wide at the entrance, and because the water had a red colour, they called it Rio Roxo[8]. And farther on they found a cape, likewise of a red colour, which they named Cape Roxo[9]. And they gave the same name of Roxo to a small uninhabited island, about ten miles off at sea, where the north polar star seemed only the height of a man above the horizon. Beyond Cape Roxo, the sea forms a gulf, about the middle of which there enters a river, which the seamen called St Mary del Nievos, or of the snow, as having been discovered on the day of that Saint. On the other side of the river there is a cape, with an island close beside it[10]. This gulf is full of sand banks, running ten or twelve miles along the coast, on which the sea breaks with considerable violence, and has a strong current both in the ebb and flow of the tide; and the little island just mentioned is named *Scauni*, on account of these sand banks. Twenty-four miles distant from this river is a large cape called St Ann, having been discovered on the day of that saint; and the whole coast between is low, with very shallow water. Twenty-four miles beyond this cape is the river of *Palms*, so named from the abundance of these trees which were seen there. The mouth of this river, though of sufficient width, is so full of shoals and sand banks as to render its entrance very dangerous. About seventy miles farther on, there is another small river called *Rio de Fumi*, or Smoke River; so named, because at the time of its discovery, they saw nothing but

7 These are now called Bananas islands, in lat. 8° N.—E.

8 Perhaps the Camaranca.—E.

9 Probably that now called Tassa Point, or Cabo de S. Anna.—E.

10 This account seems again to refer to the river Camaranca and Tassa Point; otherwise called Cape St Ann; yet this cape is brought in immediately afterwards. Indeed this voyage is inextricably confused, probably incorrect or corrupt.—E.

but smoke along this coast, made by the Negroes[11]. Beyond this river, about twenty-four miles, there is a cape which runs a great way out into the sea, on which stands a high mountain, on which account it was called *Cabo del Monte*, or Cape Mount. About sixty miles still farther on, to the S. E. there is another and smaller cape, on which is a small mountain or hill, which was named Cape *Cortese*, or *Misurado*. The first night after their arrival at this place, the voyagers saw many fires among the trees, made by the Negroes on seeing the ships, as they had never seen such objects before.

About sixteen miles beyond Cape Misurado, there is a large forest of trees close to the shore, to which they gave the name of St Mary's Grove. The caravels came to anchor beyond this wood, and several almadias came off from the shore towards them. There were two or three naked negroes in each, having sharp pointed sticks in their hands, which our seamen supposed to be darts; some of them had small knives, and they had only two targets and three bows among them all. These Negroes had their ears and noses pierced, from which hung some strange ornaments resembling human teeth. The interpreters spoke to them, but could not understand their language. Three of these Negroes ventured on board one of the caravels, one of whom was detained by the Portuguese, and the other two allowed to go away; for Cintra had been ordered by the king, in case of discovering any country where the interpreters did not understand the language, that he was to bring away one of the natives either by force or fair means, that he might be able to give an account of his country, either by some of the Negroes in Portugal happening to understand his language, or after he had acquired the Portuguese.

Piedro de Cintra, having determined to proceed no farther, returned back to Portugal from Cape Misurado, to which he had traced the coast of Africa from the Rio Grande. Upon his return, this negro who had been detained off Cape Misurado, was examined by several Negroes, and at length was understood by a Negress who belonged to an inhabitant of

11 The large island of Sherbro, with Sherbro Sound and Shoals, a very prominent feature of this part of the African coast, is here entirely overlooked; unless we suppose de Cintra to have gone on the outside of that island, considering the sound as a river, and naming the N. W. point of Sherbro island Cape St Ann.—E.

of Lisbon; not indeed by his own proper language, but by means of another which was known to them both. Whatever intelligence may have been procured on this occasion, was not made public, except that there were unicorns in his country. After this Negro had been kept for some months in Lisbon, and had been shewn many of the curiosities of Portugal, the king ordered him to be supplied with clothes, and sent him back in a caravel to his own country. But from that coast no other ship had arrived before my departure, which was on the first of February 1463 [12].

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF THE PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES ALONG THE COAST OF AFRICA, FROM THE DEATH OF DON HENRY IN 1463, TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1486 [1].

SECTION I.

Progress of Discovery from Cape Verga to Cape St Catherine; from the Death of Don Henry to that of King Alphonzo V.

AFTER the decease of Don Henry, the illustrious father of maritime discovery, the progress of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa received a considerable check, as the military ardour of Alphonzo the Fifth was principally directed to the support of his pretensions to the throne of Castile, the circumstances of which are unconnected with the plan of this work. King Alphonzo was not however entirely inattentive to the trade for gold and slaves, which his illustrious uncle Don Henry had commenced with that part of Africa

12 We have already seen that Don Henry died in this year, which must, therefore, be here an error of the press, either in the original publication by Cada Mosto, or in some of the after editions.—E.

1 Astley, I. 15. Clarke, I. 290. Purchas, I. Harris, I. 664.

Africa which is now called Guinea. The origin of this name of Guinea, or *Ghinney*, is unknown. It is not in use among the natives, and seems to have been imposed by the Portuguese from the appellation of *Ghenehoa*, given to a country on the south side of the Senegal, as first mentioned by Leo and afterwards by Marmol. Ever since the year 1453, as already mentioned, considerable importations of gold had been made to Portugal from the coast of Africa; but little or no progress had been made in extending the discoveries farther south, for some time previous to the decease of Don Henry. In 1470, King Alphonzo sailed with a considerable army, in a fleet of above 300 ships, and carried the strong fort of *Arzila* on the Atlantic coast of Africa, a little way to the south of the Straits of Gibraltar. But of his military exploits in Africa, from which he acquired the appellation of *Africanus*, and assumed the additional title of *Lord of the coasts on both seas*, our present purpose does not call for any recital. In 1479, the disputes between the crowns of Portugal and Castile were compromised by a treaty entered into by Alphonzo V. king of Portugal, and Ferdinand king of Castile; by which the trade of Guinea, and the navigation of its coast, with the proposed conquest of *Fez*, were guaranteed to Portugal, and the Canary islands were annexed to the crown of Castile.

From the want of any accurate history of the progress of the Portuguese discoveries, it is utterly impossible to determine the dates or circumstances of many of the progressive discoveries along the western coast of Africa, and of its islands. In 1469, Alphonzo farmed the Guinea trade for five years to Fernando Gomez, for the yearly rent of 500 ducats, or about 138 pounds; taking him bound at the same time, to extend the discoveries for 500 leagues to the southwards during the period of his exclusive privilege. In 1471, according to Marmol, Juan de Santaren and Pedro de Escobar, discovered the *Oro de la Mina*, or the *Gold coast*; and advancing still farther, under the guidance of two experienced pilots, Martin Fernandez and Alvaro Esteves, they discovered *Cabo Catalina*, or Cape St Catherine, in lat. 1° 40′ S. This promontory, which is thirty-one leagues to the south of Cabo de Lope Gonzales, derived its name from the day of the saint on which it was first seen, and forms the northern boundary of the great kingdom of Congo. The discovery of this cape is assigned by

some

some writers to Sequiera, a knight belonging to the royal household.

The celebrated Portuguese historian, Emanuel de Faria, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, has recorded all the Portuguese voyages, from their first attempts under Don Henry, to their developement of China and Japan, and has even left an account of all the ships that sailed from Lisbon for Africa and Asia, down to the year 1600; but was unable to ascertain the dates of many important events. Neither he nor De Barros have been able to remove the uncertainty respecting the first discovery of the island of St Thomas on the coast of Africa, the south end of which touches the equinoctial. During the remainder of the reign of Alphonzo, the line of coast, from Cape Verga in lat. 10° N. to Cape St Catherine in 1° 40′ S. was much frequented by the Portuguese. Of this coast an ample account has been given by Dapper and Barbot, chiefly following a tract published by Gotard Artus of Dantzick, which is to be found in De Bry's Collection, and that of David von Nyendael and others. This was the work of a Dutch navigator, which was first translated into German, and thence by Artus into Latin. But our peculiar department is confined to actual voyages and travels, and the progress of discovery; and it would both much exceed our proper limits, and would be an entire deviation from our plan of arrangement, to admit lengthened geographical and topographical disquisitions; which, so far as they are at all admissible, must be reserved for the more particular voyages and travels, after those of general discovery have been discussed.

There are four principal islands in the Gulf of Guinea, or Bight of Biafra, as it is usually called by English navigators, Ferdinand Poo, Princes isle, St Thomas, and Annobon, the discovery of which have been related as follows by Barbot, and his account seems the most probable [2]. Fernando Lopez discovered the first of these in 1471, in lat. 3° 40′ N. giving it the name of *Ilha formosa*, or the Beautiful Island, which was afterwards changed to that of *Fernando Poo*, which it still retains. In an account of the kingdom of Congo, in Churchill's Collection, viii. 527, more properly named the Oxford Collection, or that of Osborne, v. 2. This island, and a river on the coast of the continent of Africa, directly east, now called Cameroon River, are said to have taken

2 Clarke, I. 295.

taken their names of Fernando Poo from their first discoverer. Some writers assign the discovery of these four islands, and that of St Matthew, to Fernando Gomez, who farmed the Guinea trade. Perhaps they were discovered under his auspices, by the navigators whom he employed. This island is composed of very high land, easily seen at a great distance, and the Portuguese had formerly sugar plantations upon it. The *Ilha do Principe*, or Princes Island, in lat. 1° 30' N. was either discovered by Fernando Lopez, or by Santaren and Escobar, about the same period, and probably received its name in honour of the illustrious prince, Don Henry. This island is described as consisting of high table mountains, pyramidal at their bases, and visible at the distance of twenty leagues; being about nine leagues long by five leagues broad. It is said to abound in oranges, lemons, bananas, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, rice, many species of sallad herbs, and to be susceptible of producing the European grains. The mandioca, or root of the cassada plant, is generally used for bread, of which the juice while raw is said to be a virulent poison; while its meal, or rasped root, after the malignant juice is carefully pressed out, is used for bread. The inhabitants also, have sheep, hogs, goats, and an immense number of poultry; but these have probably been introduced by the Portuguese.

The *Ilha de San Thome*, or island of St Thomas, which is said to have received its name from the saint to whom the chapel of the great monastery of *Thomar* is dedicated, and to which all the African discoveries are subjected in spirituals, has its southern extremity almost directly under the equinoctial, and is a very high land of an oval shape, about fifteen leagues in breadth, by twelve leagues long.

The most southerly of these islands, in lat. 1° 30′ S. now called Annobon, was originally named *Ilha d'Anno Bueno*, or Island of the Happy Year, having been discovered by Pedro d'Escovar, on the first day of the year 1472. At a distance, this island has the appearance of a single high mountain, and is almost always topt with mist. It extends about five leagues from north to south, or rather from N. N. W. to S. S. E. and is about four leagues broad, being environed by several rocks and shoals. It has several fertile vallies, which produce maize, rice, millet, potatoes, yams, bananas, pine-apples, citrons, oranges, lemons, figs, and tamarinds, and a sort of small nuts called by the French

noix

noix de medicine, or physic nuts[3]. It also furnishes oxen, hogs, and sheep, with abundance of fish and poultry; and its cotton is accounted excellent.

Including the voyages of Cada Mosto and Pedro de Cintra, which have been already detailed, as possibly within the period which elapsed between the death of Don Henry in 1463, and King Alphonzo, which latter event took place on the 28th August 1481, and the detached fragments of discovery related in the present Section, we have been only able to trace a faint outline of the uncertain progress of Portuguese discovery during that period of eighteen years, extending, as already mentioned, to Cape St Catherine and the island of Annobon. A considerable advance, therefore, had been made since the lamented death of the illustrious Don Henry; which comprehended the whole coast of Guinea, with its two gulfs, usually named the *Bights* of Benin and Biafra, with the adjacent islands, and extending to the northern frontier of the kingdom of Congo[4]. If the following assertion of de Barros could be relied on, we might conclude that some nameless Portuguese navigators had crossed the line even before the death of Don Henry; but the high probability is, that the naval pupils of that illustrious prince continued to use his impress upon their discoveries, long after his decease, and that the limits of discovery in his time was confined to Cape Vergas. Some Castilians, sailing under the command of Garcia de Loaysa, a knight of Malta, landed in 1525 on the island of St Matthew, in two degrees of southern latitude[5]. They here observed that it had been formerly visited by the Portuguese, as they found an inscription on the bark of a tree, implying that they had been there eighty-seven years before[6]. It also bore the usual motto of that prince, *talent de bien faire*.

In

3 These may possibly be the nuts of the Ricinus Palma Christi, from which the castor oil is extracted.—E.

4 Strictly speaking, the northern limits of Loango, one of the divisions of the extensive kingdom of Congo, is at the Sette river, ten leagues S. S. E. from Cape St Catherine.—E.

5 There is no island of that name in this position; so that the island of St Matthew of de Barros must refer to Annobon.—E.

6 These dates would throw back the discovery of this island, and the passage of the line by the mariners of Don Henry, to the year 1438, at a time when they had not reached the latitude of 25° N. which is quite absurd. —E.

In the paucity of authentic information respecting these discoveries, it seems proper to insert the following abstract of the journal of a Portuguese pilot to the island of St Thomas, as inserted by Ramusio, previous to the voyage of Vasco de Gama, but of uncertain date; although, in the opinion of the ingenious author of the Progress of Maritime Discovery, this voyage seems to have been performed between the years 1520 and 1540. In this state of uncertainty, it is therefore made a section by itself, detached in some measure from the regular series of the Portuguese discoveries.

SECTION II.

Voyage of a Portuguese Pilot from Lisbon to the Island of St Thomas[1].

BEFORE I left Venice, I was requested by letter from Signior Hieronimo Fracastro of Verona, that, on my arrival at Conde, I would send him an account of my voyage to San Thome, to which island our ships often sail for cargoes of sugar. The passage of the equinoctial line, under which that island is situated, appeared to that gentleman so extraordinary a circumstance as to merit the attention of men of science; and you likewise made me a similar request. I began, therefore, immediately after my return, to draw up an account of my voyage, from those notes which we pilots usual keep of all occurrences, and I compared it in my progress with the journals of some friends who had formerly made the same voyage. When I afterwards attentively perused my manuscript, it did not appear to me worthy of being communicated to a gentleman of such scientific character as Signor Hieronimo, whose talents I had duly appreciated, by the perusal of his publications, which I received from you before my departure from Venice. I therefore laid my manuscript aside, not wishing that any one might peruse it; but as you have again urged the performance of my promise, I now anxiously obey a request, which, as coming from you, I must always consider a command. Apprehensive, likewise, of appearing forgetful of your polite attentions,

1 Ramusio. Clarke I. 298. This voyage was communicated by the relator to Count Raimond della Torre, a nobleman of Verona.—Clarke.

tentions, I prefer the danger of exposing my ignorance, to the possibility of being charged with ingratitude or want of attention. Being a sailor, and unused to composition, I pretend to little more than copying the remarks of those who have sailed from our continent to *Ethiopia*, without attempting to reduce my narrative into lucid order, or to embellish it with fine writing. You will therefore have the goodness to destroy this account, after its perusal, that the errors I have committed, by compliance with your commands, may not draw upon me the imputation of presumption.

The Portuguese ships which sail to the island of St Thomas from Lisbon, for cargoes of sugar, usually put to sea in February, though some vessels make this voyage at every period of the year. Their course is S.S.W. until they reach the Canary Islands; after which they steer for the island of Palmas, which is opposite to Cape Bojador on the coast of Africa, and is about ninety leagues from the kingdom of Castile. This island has plenty of provisions, and abounds in wine and sugar. The north-west wind prevails most, and a great sea rages continually on its coast, particularly in the month of December [2].

If the ships which are bound for the island of St Thomas find it necessary to obtain a quantity of salt after having taken on board a sufficient supply at the island of *Sal*, they steer for the coast of Africa at the Rio del Oro; and, if they have calm weather and a smooth sea, they catch as many fish in four hours, with hooks and lines, as may suffice for all their wants during the remainder of the voyage. But, if the weather is unfavourable for fishing at the Rio del Oro, they proceed along the coast to Cape Branco, and thence along the coast to the island of Arguin. The principal sorts of fish on this coast are *pagros*, called *albani* by the Venetians; likewise *corvi* and *oneros*, which latter are only a larger and darker-coloured species of *pagros*. As soon as taken, the fish are opened and salted, and serve as an excellent supply of provisions to navigators. All the coast of Africa, from Cape Bojador, otherwise called *Cabo della Volta*, as

2 A description of the islands of Cape Verd, and an account of the supply of salt usually taken on board by the Portuguese ships at the island of Sal, for the purpose of laying in a sea store of salt fish, is here omitted.—Clarke.

as far as Cape Branco and even to Arguin, is low and sandy. At Arguin, which is inhabited by Moors and Negroes, and which is situated on the confines between these two nations, there is a capacious harbour, and a castle belonging to our king of Portugal, in which some Portuguese always reside with the royal agent.

On leaving the island of Sal, our ships steer next for St Jago, another of the Cape Verd islands. This island is situated in *fifteen degrees on the equinoctial and thirty leagues towards the south*[3]. It is seventeen leagues long, and has a city on the coast, with a good harbour called *Ribiera Grande*, or the Great River, now St Jago. From two high mountains, one on each side, a large river of fresh water flows into the harbour; and, from its source, full two leagues above the city, its banks are lined on each side with gardens, having fine groves of oranges, cedars, pomegranates, several sorts of figs, and the cocoa-nut palm, which has been long planted on this island. It produces all kinds of vegetables in great abundance and perfection; but they do not afford good seeds, so that it is necessary to procure these every year from Europe. The city is on the south coast of the island, and is well built of stone, being inhabited by about 500 families of distinction, Portuguese and Castilians. Its government is entrusted to a corregidor or governor, appointed by the king of Portugal; and two judges are chosen annually, one for the determination of naval and maritime causes, and the other for regulating the police. This island is very mountainous, and is very barren in many parts, which are entirely destitute of wood; but its vallies are fertile and well cultivated. In June, when the sun enters Cancer, the rains are so incessant that the Portuguese call that month *La Luna de las Aquas*, or the Water Month. Their seed-time begins in August, when they sow maize, called *miglio zaburo*. This is a white bean, which is ready to be gathered in forty days, and is the chief food of these islanders, and of all the inhabitants of the coast of Africa[4]. They also sow much rice and cotton; the latter of which

3 This geographical expression is utterly unintelligible, but may be a strange mode of denoting its latitude, which is 15° N. but I know not what to make of the thirty leagues towards the south, unless the author meant that it was thirty leagues in extent from north to south, and seventeen leagues from east to west.—E.

4 The description in the text is not applicable to maize, and must refer to some species of bean, or kidney-bean.—E.

which comes to great perfection, and is manufactured into striped cloths, which are exported to the country of the Negroes, and bartered for black slaves.

To give a distinct view of the commercial transactions with the Negroes, it is proper to inform you, that the western coast of Africa is divided into several countries and provinces, as Guinea, *Melegote* [5], the kingdom of Benin, and the kingdom of Manicongo. Over all this extent of coast, there are many Negro kings or chiefs, whose subjects are Mahometans and idolaters, and who are continually at war with each other. These kings are much respected by their subjects, almost to adoration, as they are believed to have originally descended from heaven. When the king of Benin dies, his subjects assemble in an extensive plain, in the centre of which a vast pit or sepulchre is dug, into which the body is lowered, and all the friends and servants of the deceased are sacrificed and thrown into the same grave, thus voluntarily throwing away their own lives in honour of the dead. On this coast there grows a species of *melegete*, extremely pungent like pepper, and resembling the Italian grain called *sorgo*. It produces likewise a species of pepper of great strength, not inferior to any of that which the Portuguese bring from Calicut, under the name of *Pimienta del rabo*, or *Pepe dalla coda*, and which African pepper resembles *cubbebs*, but so powerful that an ounce will go farther than a pound of the common sort; but its exportation is prohibited, lest it should injure the sale of that which is brought from Calicut [6]. There is also established on this coast a manufacture of an excellent kind of soap from palm-oil and ashes, which is carried on for the king's account. All the trade of this coast, to the kingdom of *Manicongo* exclusively, is farmed out every four or five years to the highest bidder. Great Negro caravans bring gold and slaves to the stations on the coast. The slaves are either prisoners taken in war, or children whom their parents have parted with in the hope of their being carried to a more fertile country. For above ninety years after the first discovery of this coast, the Portuguese merchants were accustomed

5 Called likewise Maleguette, and named also the Grain-Coast and the Pepper-Coast. Manicongo is obviously the kingdom of Congo.—E.

6 Some of this is smuggled and sold in England.—Clarke.

This Guinea pepper is probably that now known under the name of Jamaica pepper; but the extremely pungent kind must be some of the numerous species of capsicums, usually called Cayenne pepper.—E.

tomed to enter the large rivers by which the country is everywhere intersected, trading independently with the numerous tribes inhabiting their banks; but now the whole of this commerce is in the hands of stationary licensed factors, to whom it is farmed.

On quitting St Jago we steer southerly for the Rio Grande, which is on the north of Ethiopia, beyond which we come to the high mountain of Sierra Liona, the summit of which is continually enveloped in mist, out of which thunder and lightning almost perpetually flashes, and is heard at sea from the distance of forty or fifty miles. Though the sun is quite vertical in passing over this mountain, and extremely hot, yet the thick fog is never dissipated. In our voyage we never lose sight of land, yet keep always at a considerable distance, carefully observing the declination of the sun, and keeping a southerly course till we arrive in *four degrees on the equinoctial* [7], when we suddenly change our course to the south-east, keeping the Ethiopian coast always on our left hand in our way to the island of St Thomas. On this coast, between the tropic and the equinoctial, we never meet with any hard gales, as storms are very rarely found within the tropics. On nearing the land, the soundings in many parts of the coast do not exceed fifty *braccia*, but farther out the depth rapidly increases, and the sea usually runs high at a distance from the land. When we arrived at Rio del Oro, as mentioned before, we observed four stars in the form of a cross, of an extraordinary size and splendour, elevated thirty degrees above the antarctic pole, and forming the constellation called *il Crusero*. While under the tropic of Cancer, we saw this constellation very low; and, on directing our *balestra* [8] to the lowermost of these stars, we found it to be directly south, and concluded that it must be in the centre of the antarctic polar circle. We observed the same constellation very high when we were at the island of St Thomas; and remarked that the moon, after rain, produces a rainbow similar to that occasioned by the sun during the day, except that the colours were dim and ill-defined. On leaving the straits of Gibraltar, I did not observe any sensible change on the ebb and flow of the

7 This strange expression seems to imply 4° of north latitude.--E.

8 Called likewise Balestriglia, being the Venetian name for the cross-staff, or fore-staff, an astronomical instrument which has been superseded by the quadrant and sextant.--E.

the sea; but when we approached Rio Grande, which is eleven degrees to the north of the equinoctial, we observed a considerable tide at the mouth of that river, and the rise in some places was much the same as on the coast of Portugal, whereas at the isle of St Thomas it was nearly the same as at Venice.

The island of St Thomas was discovered above eighty [9] years ago, by some captains in the royal navy of Portugal, and was altogether unknown to the ancients. Its horizon or parallel passes at an equal distance between the arctic and antarctic poles, and its days and nights are always equal. The arctic polar star is there invisible, but the *guardiani* are seen in some measure to revolve, and the constellation which is known by the name of *il crusero*, is seen in the heavens at a high altitude. To the eastwards [10] of St Thomas, and at the distance of 120 miles, the small island called *Il Principe* is situated. This latter island is inhabited and cultivated, the produce of its sugar canes belonging to the revenue of the kings eldest son, from which circumstance the island derives its name. To the S. S. W. or S. and by W. and in the latitude of almost 2° S. is the uninhabited island of Annobon, on which numbers of crocodiles and venomous serpents are found. Its rocky shores abound in fish, and are much resorted to by the inhabitants of St Thomas on that account. When first discovered, the island of St Thomas was an entire forest, containing a variety of trees, which, though barren, were extremely verdant. These trees were all remarkably tall and straight, their branches all drawn close to the stems, and not spreading out as with us. After clearing away a great part of the forest, the inhabitants built a principal town called *Pouoasan*, which has an excellent harbour. The principal dependence of the settlers in this island is upon their

9 In an after part of this narrative, the pilot informs us, that his first voyage to the island of San Thome was in 1520, and that he made five voyages to that place. If, therefore, the date of his present voyage were fixed to 1530, it would carry us back to 1450, or even earlier, for the date of this discovery, near thirteen years before the death of Don Henry.—Clarke.

In Mr Clarkes note on this passage, he erroneously calculates on the above data that the discovery might have been in 1460, which is only seventy years back from 1530. But the result of the data in the text shews, that either the pilot was mistaken as to the real date of the discovery, or that his narrative has been corrupted, so that no reliance can be placed on his dates.—E.

10 The direction of *Il Principe*, or Princes Island, from St Thomas, is N. N. E. and the distance does not exceed seventy miles.—Clarke.

their sugars, which they exchange yearly with the merchants who trade thither, for flour in barrels, wines, oil, cheese, leather, swords, glass beads, drinking-cups, pater-nosters, and *buzios*, which are a small kind of shells, called by the Italians *white porcelain*, and which pass in Ethiopia as money. The Europeans who reside on this island depend much for provisions on the ships, as they cannot subsist on the fare used by the Negroes. The slaves employed in their sugar plantations are procured from Guinea, Benin, and Congo; and some rich planters have from 150 to 300 Negroes. These work five days in every week for their masters, and are allowed the Saturdays to themselves, when they cultivate various articles of provision, as the *miglio zaburo*, a species of bean formerly mentioned, a root called *igname*, and many species of culinary vegetables, the seeds of which must be imported from Europe, as they do not come to perfection in this climate.

The soil of St Thomas consists of a red and yellow marl, or clay, of great fertility, which is kept soft and mellow by the heavy dews which fall nightly, contributing greatly to vegetation, and preventing it from being dried up by the great heats; and so great is the luxuriant fertility of the soil, that trees immediately spring up on any spots left uncultivated, and will grow as high in a few days as would require as many months with us. These sprouts are cut down and burnt by the slaves, and their ashes are used as manure for the sugar-canes. If planted in January, the canes are ready to be cut in June, and those which are planted in February become ripe in July; and in this manner they keep up a succession throughout the whole year. In March and September, when the sun is vertical, the great rains set in, accompanied with cloudy and thick weather, which is of great service to the sugar plantations. This island produces yearly above 150,000 arobas of sugar, each containing thirty-one of our pounds, of which the king receives the tenth part, which usually produces from 12,000 to 14,000 arobas, though many of the planters do not pay this tythe fully. There are about sixty *ingenios* driven by water, for bruising the canes and pressing out the juice, which is boiled in vast chaldrons, after which it is poured into pans in the shape of sugar-loaves, holding from fifteen to twenty pounds each, in which it is purified by means of ashes. In some parts of the island, where they have not streams of water, the canes are crushed by machines worked by the Negroes, and in others by horses. The bruised

ed canes are given to the hogs, which hardly get any other food, yet fatten wonderfully, and their flesh is so delicate and wholesome as to be preferred to that of poultry. Many sugar refiners have been brought here from Madeira, on purpose to endeavour to manufacture the sugars of St Thomas more white and harder than its usual produce, but in vain. This is alleged to proceed from the extreme richness of the soil injuring the quality of the sugar; just as with us, wines produced in soils of too great fertility are apt to have a peculiar flavour. Another cause of this is supposed to proceed from the climate of the island being too hot and too moist, except in the month of June, July, and August, at which season a fresh dry wind blows from Ethiopia to this island; and they then make their best sugars.

The planters are obliged to ship off their sugars as soon as they can procure shipping, because they would become liquid if attempted to be kept for a length of time. At present, not above two-thirds of the island are appropriated to the cultivation of sugar; but any person who comes to this island for the purpose of settling, whether from Spain or Portugal, or any other country, may procure from the royal intendant as much land as he is able to cultivate, and at a moderate price. The esculent root which is known in the Spanish islands by the name of *batata*, is here named ingame by the Negroes, and is their principal food, either boiled or roasted under the ashes. There are different kinds of this root produced on the island, but that which is known by the name of *igname cicorero* is preferred by the merchant vessels, all of which purchase considerable quantities as a sea-stock for their homeward voyage, and the Negroes cultivate them largely for the express purpose of supplying the ships [11]. This island is distinguished by a high mountain in the middle, thickly covered by tall, straight, and verdant trees, and its summit is continually enveloped in clouds, whence water is diffused

11 These *batatas* are probably a different species from our potatoes, and may be what are called sweet potatoes in the West Indies; perhaps the *igname cicorero* is the West Indian *yam*. Four species of *igname* or *batata*, are mentioned in Barbot as originally from Benin, Anwerre, Mani-Congo, and Saffrance. The first of these is remarkably sweet, and the second keeps well. A variety of esculent roots might prove of high utility to navigators, and are too much neglected. Among these, the parsnip and Jerusalem artichoke deserve notice, as being very nutritive, and proof against all weathers. —Clarke.

diffused in numerous streams all over the island. A large shallow stream flows through the city of Pouoasan, supplying it with abundance of excellent water, which the inhabitants reckon of a medicinal quality, and allege that St Thomas would not be habitable if it were not for this river and its other numerous springs and rivulets. The native trees are chiefly barren, and though some olives, peaches, and almonds, were planted by the early settlers, which soon grew with great luxuriance, they never bore any fruit, and this has been the case with all stone fruits that have been tried. But the cocoa-nut palm, brought hither from Ethiopia, has thriven satisfactorily. Repeated attempts have been made to cultivate wheat, but always unsuccessfully, though tried at different seasons of the year; as the ear would never fill, but always ran up to straw and chaff only.

In March and September, the sky is always overcast with clouds and mists, and continual rains prevail, which season is considered by the inhabitants as their winter. In May, June, July, and August, which they call *Mesi di Vento*, or windy months, the prevalent winds are from the south, southeast, and southwest; but the island is sheltered by the continent from the north, northeast, and northwest winds. The summer months are December, January, and February, when the heat is excessive, and the atmosphere being continually loaded with vapour, occasions the air to feel like the steam of boiling water. The shores of this island abound in many kinds of fish, and, during the months of June and July, the inhabitants catch a kind which they name *le chieppe*, which are singularly delicate. In the seas between this island and the coast of Africa, there are prodigious multitudes of whales, both of the large and small kinds.—Should you, Sir, be unsatisfied with my ill-written and confused information, I beg of you to consider that I am merely a seaman, unpracticed in literary composition.

SECTION III.

Continuation of Portuguese Discoveries, from Cape St Catherine to the kingdom of Congo.

WE are still obliged to continue the account of the Portuguese discoveries historically, from the want of any regular journals

journals of their early voyages along the African coast. In the original efforts of the illustrious Don Henry, although the progress was extremely slow, we have much to admire in the character of that prince, who possessed genius to stretch beyond the trammels of custom and authority, boldly thinking for himself, pointing out the way of extending the knowledge of our globe by maritime discoveries, and persevering nobly in his renewed efforts, in spite of the timid ignorance of his unexperienced pilots and mariners. But it is not easy to explain the continuance of that slow progress, which was even retarded during the years which elapsed between the demise of that prince of mariners in 1463, and that of Alphonso in 1481; when the increased experience of the Portuguese, in their frequent voyages to the new discovered Atlantic islands and African coast, ought to have inspired them with fresh vigour and extended views of discovery and commerce. The military character of Alphonso may, however, explain this in a great degree, as all his energies were directed towards the extension of dominion in the Moorish kingdom of Fez; and the business of discovery was devolved as a burdensome and unprofitable task on the farmers of the trade to the coast of Africa, which appears to have become extensive and lucrative, after the discovery of Guinea and its islands, and the establishment of the sugar colonies in these islands. We learn, likewise, from the preceding voyage of the Portuguese pilot to the island of St Thomas, that the mariners still confined themselves almost entirely to creeping along the coast, from cape to cape, and from island to island, not daring to trust themselves to the trackless ocean, under the now sure guidance of the heavenly luminaries; but which they then did not sufficiently understand, nor did they possess sufficient instruments for directing their course in the ocean. It would appear that they had then no other method of computing the longitude but by means of the log, or dead reckoning, which is liable to perpetual uncertainty from currents and lee-way, and which a storm, even of short continuance, must have thrown into total confusion. Their instruments and methods for determining even the latitudes, appear to have then been imperfect and little understood. In the sequel of this deduction, we shall find the first Portuguese squadron which sailed for India, conducted across the Indian ocean by a Moorish pilot.

 On

On the accession of John II. to the throne of Portugal in 1481, the discoveries along the coast of Africa were resumed with a new spirit. While infante or hereditary prince, his principal revenue was derived from the profits of the Guinea trade, and of the importation of gold from the haven of Mina; and among the first measures of his reign, he turned his attention to the improvement and extension of that valuable branch of commerce. For this purpose, he gave orders to make all necessary preparations for building a fortress and church at the port of Mina. All the requisite materials, even to stones and tiles, were accordingly shipped from Lisbon in a squadron of ten caravels and two transports, with 500 soldiers and 200 labourers or workmen of various kinds. This expedition was placed under the command of Don Diego d'Azumbuja, an experienced officer, under whom were the following naval captains, Gonçalez da Fonseca, Ruy d'Oliveira, Juan Rodrigues Gante, Juan Alfonso, Diego Rodrigues Inglez, Bartholomew Diaz, Pedro d'Evora, and Gomez Aires. This last was a gentleman belonging to the household of Pedro king of Arragon, all the others being noblemen of the household of King John. Pedro de Cintra and Fernam d'Alfonso commanded the transports, and a small vessel attended the squadron as an advice-boat. This squadron sailed on the 11th December 1481, and reached their destination on the 19th January 1482, at an African village named *Aldea*, where they found Juan Bernardo, who had previously sailed for the coast in quest of gold.

Bernardo was immediately sent by Azumbuja, to inform Camarança, the Negro chief of the district, with the arrival of the Portuguese armament, and to desire a conference, with directions to endeavour to impress that chief with a high sense of the rank and character of the Portuguese officers, and of the irresistible power of the armament now upon his coast. Early next morning, Azambuja landed with all his followers, who were secretly armed, in case of meeting with any hostilities from the natives; and moved forwards in great form to a large tree, not far from the Negro village of Aldea, on a spot which had been chosen as a convenient situation for the intended fortress. A flag, bearing the royal arms of Portugal, was immediately displayed upon the tree, and an altar was placed under the shade of its boughs, at which the whole company united in assisting at the first mass that was celebrated in Guinea, offering up

their

their solemn prayers to God for the speedy conversion of the idolatrous natives, and for the perpetual continuance and prosperity of the church which was to be erected on this spot. The day on which this impressive ceremony was performed being dedicated to St Sebastian, that name was given to the valley on which the tree stood, under which they were now assembled.

Soon after the completion of this religious ceremony, Camarança approached with a numerous train. Azambuja, sumptuously dressed, and ornamented by a rich golden collar, prepared to receive the Negro chief, seated on an elevated chair, having all his retinue arranged before him, so as to form an avenue. The Negroes were armed with spears, shields, bows, and arrows, and wore a kind of helmets made of skins, thickly studded with fish teeth, giving them a very martial appearance. The subordinate chiefs were distinguished by chains of gold hanging from their necks, and had various golden ornaments on their heads, and even on their beards. After the exchange of presents, and other tokens of mutual respect and confidence, Azambuja made a speech to Camarança, through the mediation of an interpreter, in which he explained the purpose of his embassy and expedition, and used every argument he could think of, to conciliate the friendship of the Negro chief, to make him fully sensible of the power of the king of Portugal, and to reconcile him to the intended permanent establishment upon the coast. Camarança listened to the harangue, and the explanation of it by the interpreter, in respectful silence, keeping his eyes steadily fixed on the countenance of Azambuja. After which, casting his eyes for some time on the ground, as if profoundly meditating on what he had heard, he is said to have made the following guarded and judicious answer:

"I am fully sensible of the high honour done me on this occasion by your sovereign. I have always endeavoured to deserve his friendship, by dealing strictly with his subjects, and by constantly exerting myself to procure immediate ladings for their ships. Hitherto the Portuguese, who have visited my country, were meanly dressed, and easily satisfied with the commodities we had to give them; and so far from desiring to remain in the country, were always anxious to complete their cargoes, and to return whence they came. This day I observe a wonderful difference. A great number

number of persons, richly dressed, are eager for permission to build themselves houses, and to remain among us. But assuredly, persons of such rank, under the guidance of a commander who claims his descent from the God who created the day and the night, would never be able to endure the hardships of our climate, and could not procure in this country those luxuries they have been accustomed to in their own. Those passions which are common to all men, will certainly produce disputes between us; and it were much better that we should continue on the same footing as hitherto, allowing your ships to come and go as they have always done before; in which case, the desire of seeing each other occasionally, and of mutual intercourse in trade, will preserve peace between you and us. The sea and the land, which are always neighbours, are continually at variance, contending for the mastery; the sea always violently endeavouring to subdue the land, which, with equal obstinacy, defends itself against the encroachments of the sea."

The prudential jealousy and distrust displayed on this occasion by Camarança, astonished and perplexed the Portuguese commander; and it required the exercise of much address on his part, to prevail upon the Negro chief to allow the fulfilment of his orders, and to prevent the necessity of having recourse to violent measures. When the workmen were making preparations next day to lay the foundations of the intended fortress on the coast, they observed a large rock, which lay very commodious for serving them as a quarry, and accordingly proceeded to work it for that purpose. This happened unfortunately to be venerated by the Negroes as one of their Gods, and they immediately flew to arms in opposition against the sacrilegious violation of the sanctified rock, and many of the workmen were wounded, before the natives could be pacified by numerous presents. At length, after the constant labour of twenty days, the fort began to assume a formidable appearance, and received the name of *Fortaleza de San Jorge da Mina*, or Fort St George at Mina. In a church constructed within its walls, a solemn mass was appointed to be celebrated annually, in honour of Don Henry, Duke of Viseo, of illustrious memory. Azambuja continued governor of this place during two years and seven months, and was honoured, on his return to Portugal, with particular marks of royal favour. In 1486, King John bestowed on this

this new establishment all the privileges and immunities of a city.

Impressed with the great advantages that might be derived to his kingdom, through the prosecution of the maritime discoveries in Africa, and more especially by opening a passage by sea to India, of which his hopes were now sanguine, the king of Portugal, who had now added to his titles that of *Lord of Guinea*, made application to the pope, as universal father and lord of Christendom, for a perpetual grant of all the countries which the Portuguese had already discovered, or should hereafter discover, towards the east, with a strict prohibition against the interference of any European State in that immense field of discovery, commerce, and colonization. The pope conceded this enormous grant, probably without the most distant idea of its extent and importance: not only prohibiting all Christian powers from intruding within those prodigious, yet indefinite bounds, which he had bestowed upon the crown of Portugal, but declaring, that all discoveries that were or might be made in contravention, should belong to Portugal. Hitherto, the Portuguese navigators, in the course of their discoveries along the shores of Western Africa, had been in use to erect *wooden* crosses, as indications of their respective discoveries: But the king now ordered that they should erect *stone* crosses, about six feet high, inscribed with the arms of Portugal, the name of the reigning sovereign, that of the navigator, and the date of the discovery.

In the year 1484, Diego Cam or Cano proceeded beyond Cape St Catherine, in lat. 1° 40′ S. the last discovery of the reign of King Alphonso, and reached the mouth of a considerable river, in lat. 5° 10′ S. called *Zayre* by the natives, now called Congo river, or the Rio Padron. Diego proceeded some distance up this river, till he met with some of the natives, but was unable to procure any satisfactory intelligence from them, as they were not understood by the Negro interpreters on board his ship. By means of signs, however, he understood that the country was under the dominion of a king who resided at a considerable distance from the coast, in a town or city called Banza, since named San Salvador by the Portuguese; on which he sent a party of his crew, conducted by the natives, carrying a considerable present for the king, and meaning to wait their return. Unavoidable circumstances, however, having protracted the return

return of his people far beyond the appointed time, Diego resolved to return into Portugal with an account of his discovery; and, having gained the confidence of the natives, he prevailed on four of them to embark with him, that they might be instructed in the Portuguese language, to serve as interpreters for future intercourse with this newly discovered region, and made the natives understand by means of signs, that, after the expiration of fifteen moons, these persons should be returned in safety.

These Africans were men of some consequence in their own country, and were of such quick apprehensions, that they acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language during the voyage back to Lisbon, as to be able to give a competent account of their own country, and of the kingdoms or regions beyond it, to the southwards. The king of Portugal was much gratified by this discovery, and treated the Africans brought over by Diego with much munificence. Next year, Diego Cam returned to the river of Congo, where he landed the four natives, who carried many presents from King John to their own sovereign, and were directed to express his anxious desire that he and his subjects would embrace the Christian faith.

Having landed the Negroes, and received back his own men whom he had left on his former voyage, Diego proceeded to discover the coast to the southwards of the Congo river; leaving a respectful message for the king of Congo, that he must postpone the honour of paying his respects to him till his return from the south. The farther progress of Diego is very indefinitely related by the Portuguese historians; who say, that after a run of twenty leagues, he erected two stone crosses, as memorials of his progress, one at a cape called St Augustine, in lat. 13° S. but the other on Cape Padron, in 22° S. This last latitude would extend the discovery of Diego between the latitude of the Congo river and this high latitude, to 280 Portuguese leagues, instead of twenty. Besides, Cape Padron forms the southern point at the mouth of the river of Congo, and is only in lat. 6° 15′ S. The high probability is, that the first cross erected by Diego Cam in this voyage, was at Cape Palmerinho, in lat. 9° 15′ S. and the other may have been at Rocca Boa, in lat. 13° 20′ S. Clarke[1] is disposed to extend the second

1 Prog. of Mar. Disc. I. 329. *note* r.

second cross to Cabo Negro, in lat. 16° S. Either influenced by his provisions running short, or desirous of forming a friendly connection with the king of Congo, Diego measured back his way to the Congo river, where he was received in a most satisfactory manner by the sovereign of that country. The reports of his subjects who had been in Portugal, and the liberal presents which they had brought to him from King John, had made a deep impression on the mind of this African monarch. He made many inquiries respecting the Christian religion, and being highly gratified by its sublime and consolatory doctrines, perhaps influenced by the reports his subjects had brought him of its magnificent ceremonies, he appointed one of his principal noblemen, named *Caçuta* or *Zazut*, to accompany Diego Cam, as his ambassador to King John; anxiously requesting the king of Portugal to allow this nobleman and his attendants to be baptized, and that he would be pleased to send some ministers of his holy religion to convert him and his subjects from their idolatrous errors. Diego Cam arrived safely in Portugal with Caçuta; who was soon afterwards baptized by the name of *John Silva*, the king and queen of Portugal doing him the honour of attending on him as sponsors at the holy font; and the splendid ceremonial was closed by the baptism of his sable attendants.

Some time previous to this event, Alphonso de Aviero carried an ambassador from the king of Benin to the king of Portugal, requesting that some missionaries might be sent for the conversion of his subjects; and, although the artful conduct of that African prince threw many difficulties in the way of this mission, many of the Negroes of that country were converted. From the ambassador of Benin, the king of Portugal received information of a powerful monarch, named *Organe*, whose territories lay at the distance of 250 leagues beyond the kingdom of Benin, and who possessed a supremacy over all the adjacent states. Assuming Cape Lopo Gonçalves, in lat. 1° S. as the southern boundary of the kingdom of Benin, 250 Portuguese leagues would bring us to the kingdom of Benguela, or that of Jaa Caconda, about lat. 14° or 15° S. Yet some persons have strangely supposed that this king *Organe* or *Ogané* was a corruption of *Jan* or *Janhoi*, the title given by the Christians of the east to the king of Abyssinia. "But it is very difficult to account for this knowledge of Abyssinia in the kingdom of Benin,

nin, not only on account of the distance, but likewise because several of the most savage nations in the world, the *Galla* and *Shangalla*, occupy the intervening space. The court of Abyssinia did indeed then reside in *Shoa*, the south-east extremity of the kingdom; and, by its power and influence, might have pushed its dominion through these barbarians to the neighbourhood of Benin on the western ocean. But all this I must confess to be a mere conjecture of mine, of which, in the country itself, I never found the smallest confirmation [2]." To these observations of the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, it may be added, that the distance from Benin to Shoa exceeds six hundred Portuguese leagues.

While the king of Portugal continued to encourage his navigators to proceed to the southwards in discovering the African coast, he became anxious lest some unexpected rival might interpose to deprive him of the expected fruits of these discoveries, which had occupied the unremitting attentions of his predecessors and himself for so many years. Learning that John Tintam and William Fabian, Englishmen, were preparing, at the instigation of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, in 1481, to proceed on a voyage to Guinea, he sent Ruy de Sousa as his ambassador, to Edward IV. of England, to explain the title which he held from the pope as lord of that country, and to induce him to forbid his subjects from navigating to the coast of Africa, in which negotiation he was completely successful. He likewise used every exertion to conceal the progress of his own navigators on the western coast of Africa, and to magnify the dangers of the voyage; representing that the coast was quite inhospitable, surrounded by most tremendous rocks, and inhabited by savage cannibals, and that no vessels could possibly live in those tempestuous seas, in which every quarter of the moon produced a furious storm, except those of a peculiar construction, which had been invented by the Portuguese ship-builders.

A Portuguese pilot, who had often made the voyage to Guinea, had the temerity to assert, that any kind of ship could make this redoubted voyage, as safely as the royal caravels, and was sent for to court by the king, who gave him a public reprimand for his ignorance and presumption. Some months afterwards, the same pilot appeared again at court,

2 Bruce's Abyssinia, II. 105.

court, and told the king, "That being of an obstinate disposition, he had attempted the voyage to Guinea in a different kind of vessel from those usually employed, and found it to be impossible." The king could not repress a smile at this solemn nonsense; yet honoured the politic pilot with a private audience, and gave him money to encourage him to propagate the deception. About this period, likewise, hearing that three Portuguese seamen, who were conversant in the navigation of the coast of Africa, had set out for Spain, intending to offer their services in that country, John immediately ordered them to be pursued as traitors. Two of them were killed, and the third was brought a prisoner to Evora, where he was broke on the wheel. Hearing that the Portuguese seamen murmured at the severity of this punishment, the king exclaimed, "Let every man abide by his own element, I love not travelling seamen."

Encouraged by the successful progress of Diego Cam in 1484 and 1485, King John became sanguine in his hopes of completing the discovery of a maritime route to India, around the continent of Africa, and determined upon using every exertion for this purpose. His first views were to endeavour to procure some information respecting India, by means of a journey overland; and with this object, *Antonio de Lisboa*, a Franciscan friar, together with a nameless lay companion, were dispatched to make the attempt of penetrating into India, through Palestine and Egypt. But, being ignorant of the Arabic language, these men were unable to penetrate beyond Jerusalem, whence they returned into Portugal. Though disappointed in this attempt, by the ignorance or want of enterprise of his agents, his resolution was not to be repressed by difficulties, and he resolved upon employing fresh exertions both by sea and land, for the accomplishment of his enterprise. He accordingly fitted out a small squadron under Bartholomew Diaz, a knight of the royal household, to attempt the passage by sea.

SECTION IV.

Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, by Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486[1].

FOR this important enterprise, Bartholomew Diaz was only supplied with two small caravels of fifty ton each, accompanied by a still smaller vessel, or tender, to carry provisions. Of these vessels, one was commanded by Bartholomew Diaz, as commodore, the second caravel by *Juan Infante*, another cavalier or gentleman of the court, and Pedro Diaz, brother to the commander in chief of the expedition, had charge of the tender. The preparations being completed, Bartholomew sailed in the end of August 1486, steering directly to the southwards.

We have no relation of the particulars of this voyage, and only know that the first spot on which Diaz placed a stone pillar, in token of discovery and possession, was at *Sierra Parda*, in about 24° 40′ S. which is said to have been 120 leagues farther to the south than any preceding navigator. According to the Portuguese historians, Diaz sailed boldly from this place to the southwards, in the open sea, and never saw the land again until he was forty leagues to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, which he had passed without being in sight of land. The learned geographer, Major Rennel, informs us, that Sir Home Popham and Captain Thompson, while exploring the western coast of Africa in 1786, found a marble cross, on which the arms of Portugal were engraved, in latitude 26° 37′ S. near a bay named Angra Pequena: But, as the Portuguese long continued to frequent these coasts exclusively, and considered them all as belonging to their dominions under the papal grant, this latter cross, on which the inscription was not legible, may have been erected at a considerably subsequent period. At all events, the track of Diaz was far beyond the usual adventure of any former navigator, as he must have run a course of from seven to ten degrees of latitude, and at least between two or three degrees of longitude, in utterly unknown seas, without sight of land. The first land seen by Diaz is said to have been forty leagues to

1 Clarke, I. 342.

to the eastward of the cape, where he came in sight of a bay on the coast, which he called *Angra de los Vaqueros*, or bay of herdsmen, from observing a number of cows grazing on the land. The distance of forty Portuguese leagues, would lead us to what is now called Struys bay, immediately east of Cabo das Agullias, which latter is in lat. 34° 50′ S. and long. 20° 16′ E. from Greenwich. From this place Diaz continued his voyage eastwards, to a small island or rock in the bay, which is now called Zwartkops or Algoa, in long. 27° E. on which rocky islet he placed a stone cross or pillar, as a memorial of his progress, and named it, on that account, Santa Cruz, or *El Pennol de la Cruz*. In his progress to this place from the Angra de los Vaqueros, he had set some Negroes on shore in different places, who had been brought from Portugal for this purpose, and who were well clothed, that they might be respected by the natives. These Negroes were likewise provided with small assortments of toys for bartering with the natives, and were especially charged to make inquiry as to the situation and distance of the dominions of Prester John. Of the fate of these Negroes we are nowhere informed, but may be well assured they would receive no intelligence respecting the subject of their inquiry, from the ignorant Hottentots and Caffres of Southern Africa.

It would appear that Diaz was still unconscious that he had reached and overpassed the extreme southern point of Africa, although now nearly nine degrees to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and at least one degree back towards the north of his most southern range; but he may have supposed himself in a deep bite or bay of the coast, similar to the well-known gulf of Guinea. Under this impression, that he had not accomplished the grand object of his enterprize, he was anxious to continue his voyage still farther towards the east: But, as the provisions on board his two caravels were nearly exhausted, and the victualling tender under the command of his brother was missing, the crews of the caravels became exceedingly urgent to return, lest they might perish with famine. With some difficulty he prevailed on the people to continue their course about twenty-five leagues farther on, as he felt exceedingly mortified at the idea of returning to his sovereign without accomplishing the discovery on which he was sent. They accordingly reached the mouth of a river, which was discovered by Juan Infante, and was cal-

 led

led from him, *Rio del Infante*, now known by the name of Great-Fish River, in about lat. 33° 27′ N. long. 28° 20′ E. The coast still trended towards the eastwards, with a slight inclination towards the north; so that, in an eastern course of about thirteen degrees, they had neared the north about six degrees, though still unsatisfied of having absolutely cleared the southern point of Africa.

From this river, the extreme boundary of the present voyage, Diaz commenced his return homewards, and discovered, with great joy and astonishment, on their passage back, the long sought for and tremendous promontory, which had been the grand object of the hopes and wishes of Portuguese navigation during *seventy-four* years, ever since the year 1412, when the illustrious Don Henry first began to direct and incite his countrymen to the prosecution of discoveries along the western shores of Africa. Either from the distance which the caravels had been from the land, when they first altered their course to the eastwards, or from the cape having been concealed in thick fogs, it had escaped notice in the preceding part of the voyage. At this place Diaz erected a stone cross in memory of his discovery; and, owing to heavy tempests, which he experienced off the high table land of the Cape, he named it *Cabo dos Tormentos*, or Cape of storms; but the satisfaction which King John derived from this memorable discovery, on the return of Diaz to Portugal in 1487, and the hope which it imparted of having opened a sure passage by sea from Europe through the Atlantic into the Indian ocean, by which his subjects would now reap the abundant harvest of all their long and arduous labours, induced that sovereign to change this inauspicious appellation for one of a more happy omen, and he accordingly ordered that it should in future be called, *Cabo de boa Esperança*, or Cape of Good Hope, which it has ever since retained.

Soon after the discovery of the *Cape*, by which shorter name it is now generally preeminently distinguished, Diaz fell in with the victualler, from which he had separated nine months before. Of nine persons who had composed the crew of that vessel, six had been murdered by the natives of the west coast of Africa, and Fernand Colazzo, one of the three survivors, died of joy on again beholding his countrymen. Of the circumstances of the voyage home we have no account; but it is not to be doubted that Diaz and his companions would

would be honourably received by their sovereign, after a voyage of such unprecedented length and unusual success.

SECTION V.

Journey overland to India and Abyssinia, by Covilham and de Payva[1].

SOON after the departure of Diaz, King John dispatched Pedro de Covilham and Alphonso de Payva, both well versed in the Arabic language, with orders to travel by land into the east, for the discovery of the country of *Presbyter*, or *Prester John*, and to trace the steps of the lucrative commerce then carried on with India by the Venetians for spices and drugs; part of their instructions being to endeavour to ascertain the practicability of navigating round the south extremity of Africa to the famed marts of Indian commerce, and to make every possible inquiry into the circumstances of that important navigation. Some writers have placed this journey as prior in point of time to the voyage of Diaz, and have even imagined that the navigator was directed or instructed by the report which Covilham transmitted respecting India. Of the relation of this voyage by Alvarez, which Purchas published in an abbreviated form, from a translation out of the Italian in the collection of Ramusio, found among the papers of Hakluyt, Purchas gives the following character: "I esteem it true in those things which he saith he saw: In some others which he had by relation of enlarging travellers, or boasting Abassines, he may perhaps sometimes rather *mendacia dicere*, than *mentiri*." To *tell* lies rather than *make* them.

Covilham, or Covillan, was born in a town of that name in Portugal, and went, when a boy, into Castile, where he entered the service of Don Alphonso, duke of Seville. On a war breaking out between Portugal and Castile, he returned into his native country, where he got into the household of King Alphonso, who made him a man-at-arms. After the death of that king, he was one of the guard of King John, who employed him on a mission into Spain, on account of his knowledge in the language. He was afterwards employed

1 Clarke, i. 334. Purchas, II. 1091.

ed in Barbary, where he remained some time, and acquired the Arabic language, and was employed to negotiate a peace with the king of Tremesen. He was a second time sent into Barbary on a mission to King *Amoli-bela-gegi*, to procure restitution of the bones of the infant Don Fernando, in which he was successful.

After his return, he was joined in commission, as before-mentioned, with Alphonso de Payva, and these adventurous travellers left Lisbon in May 1487. Covilham was furnished with a very curious map for these times, by the Prince Emanuel, afterwards king of Portugal, which had been copied and composed, with great care and secrecy, by the licentiate Calzadilla, afterwards bishop of Viseo, assisted by Doctor Rodrigo, and a Jewish physician named Moses; which map asserted the practicability of passing by sea to India round the southern extremity of Africa, on some obscure information which had been collected by those who constructed it.

With a supply of 500 crowns in money, and a letter of credit, or bills of exchange, Covilham and De Payva went first to Naples, where their bills of exchange were paid by the son of *Cosmo de Medici.* From Naples they went by sea to the island of Rhodes, and thence to Alexandria in Egypt, whence they travelled as merchants to Grande Cairo, and proceeded with the caravan to *Tor*[2] on the Red Sea, near the foot of Mount Sinai. They here received some information respecting the trade which then subsisted between Egypt and Calicut, and sailed from that place to Aden, a trading city of Yemen, on the outside of the Straits of Babelmandeb. The travellers here separated; Covilham embarking in one vessel for India, while De Payva took his passage in another vessel bound for Suakem on the Abyssinian coast of the Red Sea, having engaged to rejoin each other at Cairo, after having carried the directions of their sovereign into effect.

The Moorish ship from Aden in which Covilham had embarked, landed him at Cananor on the coast of Malabar, whence, after some stay, he went to Calicut and Goa, being the first of the Portuguese nation who had navigated the Indian ocean; having seen pepper and ginger, and heard of cloves and cinnamon. From India he went by sea to Sofala on the eastern coast of Africa, where he is said to have ex-

 amined

2 El Tor is on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, near the mouth of the Bahr Assuez, or Gulf of Suez, in lat. 28° 10′ N. long. 33° 36′ E.—E.

amined the gold mines, and where he procured some information respecting the great island of Madagascar, called by the Moors the *Island of the Moon.* With the various and valuable information he had now acquired, relative to the productions of India and their marts, and of the eastern coast of Africa, he now determined to return to Egypt, that he might be able to communicate his intelligence to Portugal. At Cairo he was met by messengers from King John, informing him that Payva had been murdered, and directing him to go to Ormuz and the coast of Persia, in order to increase his stock of commercial knowledge. The two messengers from the king of Portugal whom Covilham met with at Cairo, were both Jewish rabbis, named Abraham of Beja and Joseph of Lamego. The latter returned into Portugal with letters from Covilham, giving an account of his observations, and assuring his master that the ships which sailed to the coast of Guinea, might be certain of finding a termination of the African Continent, by persisting in a southerly course; and advising, when they should arrive in the *eastern ocean*, to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon.

Covilham and Rabbi Abraham went from Cairo, probably by sea, to Ormuz and the coast of Persia, whence they returned in company to Aden. From that place, Abraham returned by the way of Cairo to Portugal with the additional information which had been collected in their voyage to the Gulf of Persia; though some authors allege that Joseph was the companion of this voyage, and that he returned from Bassora by way of the desert to Aleppo, and thence to Portugal.

From Aden, Covilham crossed the straits of Babelmandeb to the south-eastern coast of Abyssinia, where he found Alexander the king, or negus, at the head of an army, levying tribute or contributions from his rebellious subjects of the southern provinces of his dominions. Alexander received Covilham with kindness, but more from motives of curiosity than for any expectations of advantage that might result from any connection or communication with the kingdom of Portugal. Covilham accompanied the king to Shoa, where the seat of the Abyssinian government was then established; and from a cruel policy, which subsists still in Abyssinia, by which strangers are hardly ever permitted to quit the country, Covilham never returned into Europe. Though thus doomed to perpetual exile in a strange and barbarous land,

Covilham

Covilham was well used. He married, and obtained ample possessions, enjoying the favour of several successive kings of Abyssinia, and was preferred to some considerable offices in the government. Frequent epistolary intercourse took place between him and the king of Portugal, who spared no expence to keep open the interesting correspondence. In his dispatches, Covilham described the several ports which he had visited in India; explained the policy and disposition of the several princes; and pointed out the situation and riches of the gold mines of Sofala; exhorting the king to persist, unremittingly and vigorously, in prosecuting the discovery of the passage to India around the southern extremity of Africa, which he asserted to be attended with little danger, and affirmed that the cape was well known in India. He is said to have accompanied his letters and descriptions with a chart, in which the cape and all the cities on the coast of Africa were exactly represented, which he had received in India from a Moor. Covilham was afterwards seen by, and intimately acquainted with Francesco Alvarez, his historian, who was sent on an embassy into Abyssinia by Emmanuel king of Portugal. Alvarez, who appears to have been a priest, calls Covilham his spiritual son, and says that he had been thirty-three years in great credit with *Prette Janni*, so he calls the king of Abyssinia, and all the court, during all which time he had never confessed his sins, except to God in secret, because the priests of that country were not in use to keep secret what had been committed to them in confession. This would protract the residence of Covilham in Abyssinia, at least to the year 1521, or 1522; but how long he may have lived there afterwards does not appear.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF INDIA BY THE PORTUGUESE, BETWEEN THE YEARS 1497 AND 1525; FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTUGUESE OF HERMAN LOPES DE CASTANEDA.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH, in strict conformity to chronological arrangement, the discovery of America by COLUMBUS in 1492, ought to precede our account of the discovery of the maritime route from Europe to India by the Portuguese, which did not take place until the year 1498; it yet appears more regular to follow out the series of Portuguese navigation and discovery to its full completion, than to break down that original and vast enterprise into fragments. We might indeed have stopt with the first voyage of De Gama, which effected the discovery of India: But as the contents of this Chapter consists of what may be considered an authentic original record, and carries on the operations of the Portuguese in India to the year 1525, it seemed preferable to retain this curious original history entire. It is obvious that Castaneda must have used the original journals of De Gama, and other early Portuguese commanders, or of some persons engaged in the voyages and transactions; as he often forgets the historical language, and uses the familiar diction of a person actually engaged, as will appear in many passages of this Chapter.

The title of this original document, now first offered to the public in modern English, is "*The first Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias by the Portingals, in the time of King Don John, the second of that name. By Hernan Lopes de Castaneda; translated into English by Nicholas Lichefield, and dedicated to Sir Fraunces Drake. Imprinted at London by Thomas East,* 1582."

Though the transactions here recorded are limited in the title to the reign of John II. they occupied the reigns of his immediate successor Emmanuel, or Manuel, and of John III. Castanedas history was printed in black letter at Coimbra, in eight

eight volumes folio, in the years 1552, 1553, and 1554, and is now exceedingly scarce. In 1553, a translation of the first book was made into French by Nicolas de Grouchy, and published at Paris in quarto. An Italian translation was published at Venice in two volumes quarto, by Alfonso Uloa, in 1578 [1]. That into English by Lichefield, employed on the present occasion, is in small quarto and black-letter. The voyage of De Gama is related by De Barros in his work, entitled Da Asia, and has been described by Osorius, Ramusio, Maffei, and de Faria. Purchas gives a brief account of it, I. ii. 26. The beautiful poem of the Lusiad by Camoens, the Portuguese Homer, is dedicated to the celebration of this important transaction, and is well known through an elegant translation into English by Mickle. In the present chapter, the curious and rare work of Castaneda, so far as his first book extends, is given entire; and the only freedom employed in this version, besides changing the English of 229 years ago into the modern and more intelligible language, has been to prune a quaint verbosity, mistaken by Lichefield for rhetorical eloquence. The dedication of the early translator to the celebrated Sir Francis Drake, is preserved in its original dress, as a sufficient specimen of the language of England at the close of the sixteenth century.

DEDICATION.

To the right Worshipfull
Sir Fraunces Drake, Knight,
N, L, G, wisheth all prosperitie.

They haue an auncient custome in Persia (the which is also observed throughout all Asia) that none will enterprise to visit the king, noble man, or perticularly any other person of countenance, but he carieth with him some thing to present him with all worthy of thanks, the which is not onely done in token of great humilitie & obedience, but also of a zealous loue & friendly affection to their superiours & welwillers. So I (right worshipfull following this Persian president) hauing taking vpon me this simple translation out of the Portingale tongue, into our English language, am bold to present & dedicate the same vnto you as a signification of

1 Bibl. des Voyages, V. 2.

of my entire good will. The history conteineth the discouerie and conquest of the East Indias, made by sundry worthy captaines of the Portengales, in the time of King Don Manuel, & of the King Don John, the second of that name, with the description, not onely of the country, but also of every harbour apperteining to every place whervnto they came, & of the great resistance they found in the same, by reson wherof there was sundry great battles many times fought, and likewise of the commodities & riches that euery of these places doth yeeld. And for that I know your worship, with great peril and daunger haue past these monstrous and bottomlesse sees, am therfore the more encouraged to desire & pray your worships patronage & defence therof, requesting you with all to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very many, & so much the more, by reason of my long & many years continuance in foreine countries. Howbeit, I hope to have truly observed the literal sence & full effect of the history, as the author setteth it forth, which if it may please you to peruse & accept in good part, I shall be greatly emboldened to proceede & publish also the second & third booke, which I am assured will neither be vnpleasant nor vnprofitable to the readers. Thus alwaies wishing your good worship such prosperous continuance and like fortunate successe as God hath hitherto sent you in your dangerous trauaile & affayres, and as maye euery waye content your owne heartes desire, doe euen so take my leaue. From London the fift of March. 1582.

Your worships alwayes to commaund,

Nicholas Lichefild.

DEDICATION BY CASTANEDA.

To
The most high and mighty Prince,
John III.
King of Portugal and Algarve,
&c.

It hath seemed to me, most high and mighty prince, our dread king and sovereign, so important and weighty a matter to undertake a history of the great and valiant actions which our Portuguese have performed in the discovery and conquest

quest of India, that I often thought to relinquish the attempt. But as these noble deeds were principally undertaken and performed for the glory of Almighty God, the conversion of the barbarous nations to the Christian faith, and the great honour of your highness; and as, by the power and mercy of the Omnipotent, such fortunate success has been granted to these famous enterprises, I have been encouraged to proceed. I therefore trust entirely to the aid and comfort of the divine goodness in publishing this work, giving the glory thereof to God alone, and its earthly praise to your excellent highness, and the king Don Manuel your father, of famous and happy memory.

Although these glorious deeds are well known and spread abroad over the world, they yet cannot be sufficiently made manifest unless set forth in writing, by means of which their memory may endure for ever, and remain always as if present to the readers; as history hath perpetuated the actions of the Greeks and Romans which are of such high antiquity. Of other transactions, nothing inferior to theirs, perhaps even far greater, which have been performed by other nations, there is little or no memory, because these do not remain recorded by history: Such are those of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians; of the Africans against the Romans; of the Suevi against Julius Cæsar; of the Spaniards in recovering their country from the Moors; and principally of these invincible and pious kings of Portugal, your glorious ancestors, Don Alonso Henriques, Don Sancho his son, and Don Alonso, who acquired the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve by great and wonderful deeds of arms. Of all which, there hardly remaineth any memory, for want of having been duly recorded by writing. So likewise of those actions which have been performed in India, only as it were of yesterday, the exact memory of them is confined to four persons; and if they were to die, all remembrance of these transactions must have ended to their great dishonour. Considering these things, I resolved to record these noble deeds which the subjects of your highness have performed in the discovery and conquest of India, which have never been surpassed in valour, or even equalled, in any age or country. Leaving all mention of the conquests of Cyrus and other barbarians, and even taking into the account the deeds of Alexander, so famous over all the world, which are as nothing compared to what has been performed since India became frequented by the

the Portuguese, no more than a dead lion can be likened to one alive. The conquests of Alexander were all by land, and achieved by himself in person, against nations who were little trained or accustomed to feats of arms. But the Portuguese conquest of India was performed by the captains of your highness, after a voyage by sea of a year and eight months, going almost around the globe, from the utmost limits of the west through the vast and bottomless ocean, seeing only the heavens and the water; a thing never before attempted by man, and hardly even imagined. After surmounting hunger and thirst, and daily exposure to furious storms, and a thousand dangers in the voyage; they had to encounter great and cruel battles on their arrival in India; not against men armed only with bows and spears, as in the time of Alexander, but with people of stout and tried courage and experienced in war, having ordinance and fire-workers more numerous even than the Portuguese, besides many other excellent weapons. The power of these men, against whom the subjects of your highness had to contend, was infinitely greater than that of King Porus, against whom Alexander had to encounter; yet the Portuguese, though few in number, uniformly had the victory, and never retired from the war as was done by Alexander.

Leaving the actions of the Greeks, and considering what was performed by the Romans with their innumerable armies and vast fleets, which seemed to cover the face of the sea, and by means of which they thought to have conquered the whole earth. Yet they never adventured beyond the Red Sea; neither was the greatest of their famous victories comparable to those battles which have been fought by our men in India; in which, most invincible prince, the great prosperity of your father and you is well known. As, without moving from your palace, discoveries and conquests have been achieved by your captains, more extensive than ever were discovered or conquered by any prince in person. There never was any conquest, either by the Barbarians, Greeks, or Romans, of any thing like equal difficulty with this of India; neither any kings or captains of any of these nations equal in valour and conduct to those of your father and yourself, as will manifestly appear from the whole tenor of the following history.

The great actions which the subjects of your highness have worthily accomplished, must be deemed to have been permitted

ted and appointed by the providence of God; that so those barbarians, with their vain idols, and the false sectaries of Mahomet, might be brought into the catholic faith, as at this time great numbers have been added to the Christian religion. For, since these great exploits, your highness, as a most godly and Christian prince, hath taken especial care, and hath given command that the Christian doctrine of the *brotherhood of the company of Jesus* should be taught in India, which you ordered to be brought from Rome, and have always supported at your expence. Thus likewise, you have erected, and founded the noble and sumptuous university of Coimbra, to augment the honour and reputation of your kingdom; where, besides many divines and colleges of poor begging friars to expound the evangelical law, there are temporal men also to instruct those of your subjects that defend and enlarge the commonwealth by deeds of arms, and those who adorn the same by means of learning.

All these heroic virtues of your highness being well known to me, have encouraged me to publish this work and others, which have some taste of learning, that they may remain a perpetual memorial of the noble deeds of so many gentlemen and knights of Portugal, your subjects. In this I have been much forwarded by having been in India, where I sojourned with my father, who was sent into that country by your highness as a judge. I spent all my youth in the pursuit of learning, and in the study of ancient historians. Being in India, I set myself with all diligence to learn and understand all that had been done in regard to the discovery and conquest of that country by the Portuguese, with the intention of making the same known and common to all men. By my inquiries, and through the information derived from sundry gentlemen and captains, both such as were actually present in the various transactions, and employed in their execution, as by others who were engaged in counselling and preparing the means of their being performed, I have derived much authentic information; as, likewise, by the perusal of many letters and memorials, which were written by men of credit and reputation, all of which I have examined as evidences of the authenticity of my work, both while in India and since my return into Portugal. As the matters I meant to write of were many, so it became necessary for me to acquire information from many sources; and as those whom I examined were upon oath, it is lawful for me to bring them forward as

sure

sure evidence. In these researches some of these men had to be sought after in almost every part of Portugal; and being separated in sundry places, my inquiries have occasioned great travel of my person, and much expence; to which I have devoted the greater part of my life, and have constituted the preparation for this work my sole recreation. Since my residence in the university of Coimbra, in the service of your highness, I have joined together all these informations; which, together with the duties of my office, have caused much toil both of body and mind. Having now accomplished the composition of this book and others, I most humbly offer the same to your highness; and, after many and most fortunate years of governing, I pray God to take you from the transitory seignory of this earth, and to receive you into the perpetual joys of Heaven.

Hernan Lopez de Castaneda.

SECTION I.

Previous steps taken by the King of Portugal, John II. preparatory to the Discovery of India.

DON JOHN, the second of that name, and thirteenth king of Portugal, considering that all spices, drugs, precious stones, and other riches which came from Venice, were brought out of the east, and being a prince of great penetration, and high emprize, he was greatly desirous to enlarge his kingdom, and to propagate the knowledge of the Christian faith to distant regions. He resolved, therefore, to discover the way by sea to the country whence such prodigious riches were brought, that his subjects might thereby be enriched, and that his kingdom might acquire those commodities which had hitherto been brought by way of Venice. He was much encouraged to this enterprise, by learning that there were Christians in India, governed by a powerful monarch called Presbyter John, who was reported to be a Christian prince, and to whom he thought proper to send ambassadors, that an intercourse of friendship might be established between them and their subjects. He consulted, therefore, with the cosmographers of the time, whom he directed to proceed according to the example already given in sailing

sailing along the coast of Guinea, which had been formerly discovered by command of the prince his uncle, Master of the order of Christ. Accordingly, Bartholomew Diaz, one of the officers of the royal storehouse at Lisbon, was sent upon this expedition, who discovered that great and monstrous cape, now called of Good Hope, which was unknown to our ancestors. Finding it both terrible and dangerous, he yet passed 140 leagues beyond, to a river which he named *Rio del Infante*, whence he returned into Portugal. In this voyage, Diaz gave those names which they still retain, to the ports, harbours, and rivers where he took in fresh water, and erected certain marks, with crosses, and the royal arms of Portugal, the last of which was placed on a rock named *El pennol de la Cruz*, fifteen leagues on this side of the before mentioned river. Diaz returned from this voyage without having procured any intelligence concerning India, as all the inhabitants of the coast which he visited and discovered were ignorant black savages.

On the return of Diaz, king John resolved to attempt the discovery of India by land; for which purpose he had formerly sent friar Antonio de Lisboa by land, in company with a lay person; but as they were ignorant of the Arabic language, they could not travel into those parts, and went no farther than Jerusalem, whence they returned into Portugal, without having acquired any knowledge of the object of their journey. Yet the king continued to prosecute this discovery of India by land, for which he employed two of his own servants, Pedro de Covillian and Alonso de Payva, both versant in the Arabic language, who were instructed to search out the dominions of Presbyter John, and the country whence the spices and drugs were brought to Venice, and to inquire whether there were any navigation from the southern extremity of Africa to India. To these men he gave a chart, which was extracted from a map of the world, by Calsadilla, bishop of Viseo, an eminent astronomer. He gave them likewise a general letter of credit and safe conduct, requiring them to be assisted and protected, and supplied with money, in whatever kingdoms or countries they might travel; ordering them to receive 400 crowns from the chest of the orchard of Almeryn, for their charges. Of this sum, they took what they deemed necessary to bear their expences till their arrival at Valentia in Arragon, placing the rest in the bank of Bartholomew of Florence, to be repaid at Valentia.

Receiving

Receiving their audience of leave from King John, in presence of Don Manuel, duke of Viseo, afterwards king, they departed from Santaxen on the 7th May 1487, and came to Naples on St Johns day of that year; whence they were forwarded by the sons of Cosmo de Medici, and went to Rhodes, and thence to Alexandria. From this place they travelled as merchants to Cairo, whence they went in company with certain Moors of Fez and Tremesen to Toro, a harbour on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea. They here learned many things respecting the Indies, and of the trade from the Red Sea to Calicut; and, going from Toro to a place on the coast of Ethiopia, they went to the port of Aden. The travellers here separated, Alonso de Payva passing over to the emperor of Ethiopia, erroneously called Presbyter John: For he, of whom Marco Polo speaks, under that title, as governing all the Indies, and whose country joins with the great khan of Kathay, was vanquished and slain in a battle by that sovereign; at which time his kingdom was put an end to, and no one of that race or title has since reigned. Yet Alonso de Payva actually believed that the emperor of Ethiopia was Presbyter John, having learnt that he was a Christian king over a Christian nation, as shall be more particularly declared hereafter. At their separation they agreed to meet again at Cairo, when each had executed his part of the royal orders.

Pedro de Covillian sailed from Aden for the Indies, in a ship belonging to the Moors of Cananor, and went to Calicut and the island of Goa, where he acquired complete information respecting the spices of India, the commodities which come from other places, and the towns of the Indies; the names of all which he inserted, but ill written, in his chart. From India he went to Sofala, where he procured information respecting the great island of St Lawrence, called the Island of the Moon by the Moors. Observing that the natives of Sofala were black, like those of Guinea, he concluded, that all the coast between was under subjection to the Negroes, and consequently that navigation was practicable from Guinea to Sofala, and thence to the Indies. Returning from Sofala, he went to Ormus, and thence to Cairo, where he learnt that Alonso de Payva was dead, and meant to have returned to Portugal. He chanced to meet at Cairo two Spanish jews, Rabbi Abraham, a native of Viseo, and Joseph, born in Lamego; who, after the departure of Covil-

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lian and Payva from Portugal, had told the king that they had been in Cairo, where they had received much information concerning Ormus, and of its trade with the Indies. From these Jews Covillian received letters from the king, directed to him and Payva, ordering them to return along with the Jews, if they had seen all that he had given them in charge. If they had not executed all his original instructions, they were now directed to send by the Jews an exact account of all the knowledge they had acquired, and to use their utmost efforts to visit Presbyter John, and to give all the information in their power respecting Ormus, to Rabbi Abraham, who had sworn by his law not to return to Portugal without visiting that place.

On receiving these letters, Covillian changed his intention of returning into Portugal, and dispatched Joseph there with letters to the king, giving an account of all that he had seen and learnt in India and Sofala, and transmitted the chart on which he had inserted all the places he had visited. In these letters he informed the king that the emperor of Ethiopia was assuredly the same with Presbyter John; but my opinion is that this is an error, as this sovereign has no such name in his own dominions, as I shall more clearly shew hereafter. On the departure of Joseph, Covillian and Rabbi Abraham went to Ormus, and thence back to the Red Sea; whence Covillian sent Abraham into Portugal, with letters to the king, containing all the information acquired in this part of the expedition, and intimating his determination to go into the dominions of Presbyter John. This he accordingly did, and came to the presence of the then emperor of Ethiopia, named Alexander, to whom he delivered the letters with which he had been entrusted by the king of Portugal for that monarch. Alexander received him courteously, and seemed much pleased with the letters of the king of Portugal, as being from so very distant a Christian prince, yet did not seem to attach much credit or importance to them. But he gave all honour, and many gifts to Covillian.

When Covillian was ready to depart from Ethiopia, and awaited leave for that purpose, which he had solicited, Alexander died, and was succeeded by a new emperor named *Nahu*, who could never be prevailed on to allow of his departure; neither could he procure leave for that purpose from the next emperor, David, the son of Nahu, so that Co-

villian

villian had to remain in Ethiopia, and never returned into Portugal. From that time King John never heard more of him, and therefore concluded that he was dead; nothing having ever been received from him respecting his travels, except what was contained in the letters carried by the Jews, as before mentioned.

There came afterwards to Lisbon, a friar from this country of Presbyter John, who was received courteously by the king, and on whose reports of great things concerning that country, the king determined to proceed in making a discovery of the way to the Indies by sea. He accordingly gave orders to John de Bragança, his surveyor of the forests, to cut down timber for building two small ships for that voyage. But King John died, and was succeeded by King Manuel, of glorious memory, who had been chosen by Divine Providence to accomplish the discovery of these countries, by which the Christian faith hath been greatly extended, the royal house of Portugal much honoured, and the subjects wonderfully enriched.

Section II.

Narrative of the first Voyage of Vasco de Gama to India and back, in the years 1497, 1498, *and* 1499.

On the death of King John, he was succeeded by Don Manuel, a prince of a great mind, bent upon high enterprise, and prone to undertake and execute things beyond the ordinary reach of human knowledge, even more than was Alexander the Great. Being exceedingly desirous to prosecute the discovery of the Indies, which had been begun by his predecessor, and proceeding upon the information left him by King John, relative to that navigation, he commanded Fernan Lorenzo, treasurer of the house of Mina, to cause construct two ships for this voyage, from the timber which had been provided by King John. These were named the Angel Gabriel and the San Raphael, the former being of the burden of 120 tons, the latter 100. In addition to these, a caravel of 50 tons, called the Berrio, and a ship of 200 tons were purchased. In the year 1497, the king appointed Vasco de la Gama, as chief captain for the voyage, an experienced navigator, who had done great service, and a man

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of great valour, well fitted for executing the great enterprize intended by the king. Paulo de la Gama, brother to the captain-general, and Nicholas Coello, both men of valour and enterprise, were appointed the other captains of the squadron. Bartholomew Diaz was likewise commanded to accompany the squadron of discovery in a caravel to the Mina: And as the three ships of war appointed for the voyage could not contain a sufficient supply of provisions for their crews, the ship of 200 tons, which had been purchased from Ayres Correa, was ordered to accompany de Gama to a place called St Blaze, at which the squadron was to take in water, where the victuals with which she was loaded were to be distributed to the other ships, after which she was ordered to be burnt.

Having received their orders, Vasco de la Gama and the other captains took their leave of the king at *Monte mayor*, and departed for Lisbon, where he embarked his company of 148 persons, at Belem, on Saturday the 8th of July 1497. At this embarkation all the religious belonging to the church of our Lady at Belem, went in procession in their cowls, bareheaded, and carrying wax candles, praying for the success of the expedition; accompanied by almost the whole people of Lisbon, weeping and deploring the fate of those who now embarked, as devoted to certain death in the attempt of so dangerous a voyage. Thus commended to God and good fortune, the officers and crews embarked and immediately set sail. Vasco de la Gama, the captain-general, took the command in the Angel Gabriel, of which Pedro de Alenquer was pilot, who had been in the same capacity with Diaz when he passed the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered the *Rio del Infante*. Paulo de Gama went captain of the San Raphael, Nicholas Coello of the caravel Berrio, and Gonsalo Gomes [1], a servant of Vasco de la Gama, commanded the large victualling ship. The captain-general gave out instructions, that in case of separation, they should keep their course for Cape Verd, which was appointed as their rendezvous.

Proceeding on the voyage, they came in sight of the Canaries in eight days, whence steering for Rio de Oro, they were separated by a tempest, during an exceedingly dark night, on which they all shaped their course for Cabo Verde. Paulo

1 By Mr Clarke this person is named Gonçalo Nunez.

Paulo de la Gama, Nicholas Coello, Bartholomew Diaz, and Gonsalo Gomes rejoined, and sailed together for eight days, when they came in sight of the captain-general on Wednesday evening, and saluted him with many guns, and the sound of trumpets, all heartily rejoicing for their safe meeting and good fortune in this their first essay of danger. Next day, being the 20th of July [2], the fleet reached the islands of St Jago, and came to anchor in the bay of Santa Maria, where it remained seven days, taking in fresh water, and repairing the yards and other parts of their rigging which had been damaged in the late storm. On Tuesday the 3d of August [3], the captain-general went on his voyage, after taking leave of Diaz, who now returned to Portugal. Proceeding for the Cape of Good Hope with all his squadron, de la Gama *entered the gulf into the sea* [4], and sailed all August, September, and October, suffering many great tempests of violent wind and rain, so that they often expected instant death. At length, on Saturday the 4th November, they got sight of land at nine in the forenoon, at which they were greatly rejoiced; and being all together, the captains saluted the general, all dressed in their best array, and having their ships all decorated with flags. Not knowing the coasts they sailed along until the Tuesday following, when they had a perfect view of a low shore, in which was a great bay, that appeared convenient for the ships to take in water, into which they all entered and came to anchor. This place was afterwards named *Angra de Santa Elena*, or St Helen's bay [5]. The people of the country, as our men afterwards found, were small, black, ill-favoured savages, clothed in the skins of beasts, somewhat like French cloaks, having curious wrought wooden cases for their privities; and in speaking

2 Mr Clarke alleges, that Lichefield, our original translator, has fallen into an error in this date, which ought to have been the 28th July.—E.

3 If Saturday were the 8th July, on which the fleet sailed from Lisbon, the 3d of August must have been on Thursday. But it does not seem necessary to insist upon such minute critical accuracy; which, besides, is unattainable.—E.

4 This strange expression probably means, that Gama stretched directly across the gulf of Guinea, not creeping as usual along the coast, and endeavoured to make a direct course for the Cape of Good Hope.—E.

5 Our old English translator, Lichefield, strangely mistakes in calling this place the *island* of Sancta Hælena; which is assuredly St Elena bay, in lat. 32° 40′ S. It has since been sometimes named St Martin's bay, but the proper and general name is the bay of St Elena, the S. W. point of entry being called St Martin's Point.—E.

speaking they seemed always sighing. These natives were armed with oak staves, hardened in the fire, pointed with the horns of beasts, somewhat burnt or hardened with fire, which served them for swords. They lived on the roots of herbs, and on sea wolves and whales, which are very numerous in this country, likewise on sea crows and gulls. They also eat of certain beasts which they call Gazelas, and other beasts and birds which the land produces; and they have dogs which bark like those of Portugal. The general, after the squadron was brought to anchor, sent Coello in a boat along the shore, in search of water, which he found four leagues from the anchoring ground, at a place which he named St Jago [6], whence all the ships provided themselves with fresh water.

Next day, the general with the other captains, escorted by some of the people, went on shore to view the natives, and to endeavour to learn what distance the Cape of Good Hope was from thence; for the chief pilot, who had been on the voyage with Diaz, had departed thence on returning, in the morning, into the open sea, with a fair wind, and had passed it during the night, and had not come near the shore when outward bound; wherefore he did not certainly know its situation, nor was he acquainted with its appearance, but conjectured it might be thirty leagues from where they then were at the utmost. When the general was on shore, he overtook one of the natives, who was going to gather honey at the foot of a bush, where it is deposited by the bees without any hive. With this person he returned to the ship, thinking to have got an interpreter, but no one on board the squadron could understand his language. The general commanded this man to have meat and drink, and set him on shore next day well dressed, that he might return satisfied to his countrymen. Accordingly, the day following, this man came down to the shore abreast of the ships, with about fifteen more natives, and the general went ashore, carrying with him spices, gold, and pearls, to try if these people had any knowledge of these things. But from the little estimation with which these articles were viewed, it was concluded that the natives had no knowledge of them. The general distributed among the natives some small bells, tin rings, counters, and such toys, which they received joyfully; and

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6 Perhaps the Berg river, at the bottom of St Elena bay.—E.

from that time till next Saturday morning, great numbers of the natives resorted to the fleet, whence they went back to their towns. One Fernan Veloso craved leave of the general to accompany the natives to their habitations, that he might see their manner of living. On going along with them, the natives took a sea wolf, which they roasted at the foot of a hill for their supper, after which they made Veloso return to the fleet, and it appeared to him that the natives had armed themselves, meaning to attack our people. On his return, Veloso saw that he was secretly followed, wherefore he hastened to the shore and hailed the ships. On this, the general who was then at supper, looked out towards the land, where he saw numbers of the savages following Veloso. He therefore gave orders for all the ships to be in readiness against an attack, and went himself on shore with several others unarmed, not dreading any harm. On seeing our boats coming towards the shore, the savages began to run away with much clamour; but when our people landed, they returned and set upon them furiously, throwing their darts, and using other weapons, which constrained our people to take to their boats in all haste, taking Veloso along with them; yet in this scuffle the general and three others were wounded. The Negroes returned to their towns; and during four days after, while our ships remained in the bay, they never saw any more of the natives, so that they had no opportunity to revenge the injury they had done.

"Some commerce took place between the Portuguese and the Hottentot natives around St Elena Bay, by means of signs and gestures; when the fleet received plenty of excellent fresh provisions, in exchange for clothes, hawks bells, glass beads, and other toys; but this friendly intercourse was interrupted through the imprudence of a Portuguese young man named Veloso. Delighted with the novelty of the scene, and anxious to see the manners of the natives more intimately, he obtained permission to accompany them to their huts, where a sea calf was dressed in the Hottentot fashion, to his great astonishment. Disgusted at their loathsome cookery, he rose abruptly, and was impatient to depart, and was accompanied by the natives on his way back to the ships with the utmost good humour. Veloso, however, became apprehensive of personal danger, and horridly vociferated for assistance on his approach to the shore. Coellos boat immediately put off to bring him on board, and the natives fled to

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the woods. These needless apprehensions on both sides were increased by mutual ignorance of each others language, and led to hostilities. While De Gama was taking the altitude of the sun with an astrolabe, some Hottentots sprung from an ambush, and threw their spears, headed with horn, very dexterously among the Portuguese,* by which the general and several others were wounded. On this occasion, the Portuguese deemed it prudent to retreat to their ships [7]."

Having taken in fresh water and provisions in St Elena Bay, the squadron left that place on the forenoon of Thursday the 16th November, with the wind at S.S.W. and steered for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the evening of the following Saturday came in sight of that cape. But on account of the wind being contrary, he had to stand out to sea all day, and turned towards the land as night set in. In that manner he continued plying to windward until the following Wednesday, which was the 20th of November [8], when he doubled the cape with a fair wind, sounding the trumpets of all the ships, and making every demonstration of joy, but placing the chief confidence in God, that his providence would guide and protect them in accomplishing the enterprise in which they were engaged.

"In this part of the voyage the greatest proofs of courage and resolution were evinced by De Gama. While endeavouring to double this formidable and almost unknown cape, owing to contrary winds and stormy weather, the waves rose mountain high. At one time his ships were heaved up to the clouds, and seemed the next moment precipitated into the bottomless abyss of the ocean. The wind was piercingly cold, and so boisterous that the commands of the pilot could seldom be heard amid the din of the warring elements; while the dismal and almost constant darkness increased the danger of their situation. Sometimes the gale drove them irresistibly to the southwards, while at other times they had to lay to, or to tack to windward, difficultly preserving the course they had already made. During any gloomy intervals of cessation from the tempest, the sailors, exhausted by fatigue, and abandoned to despair, surrounded De Gama, entreating him

7 This paragraph is added to the relation of Castaneda from the works of Faria and Osorius.—Clarke.

8 If the Thursday on which they came in sight of the Cape were the 16th, the Wednesday following must have been the 22d of the month.—E.

him not to devote himself and them to inevitable destruction, as the gale could no longer be weathered, and they must all be buried in the waves if he persisted in the present course. The firmness of the general was not to be shaken by the pusillanimity and remonstrances of the crew, on which a formidable conspiracy was entered into against him, of which he received timely information from his brother Paulo. With his assistance, and that of a few who remained stedfast to their duty, the leading conspirators, and even all the pilots, were put in irons; whilst De Gama, and his small remnant of faithful followers remained day and night at the helm, undismayed at the dangers and difficulties that surrounded them. At length, on Wednesday the 20th November, all the squadron safely doubled the tremendous promontory [9]."

Continuing the voyage along the coast beyond the cape, they saw great numbers of large and small cattle as they passed, all well grown and fat; but could perceive no towns, as the villages inhabited by the natives are all farther inland, the houses being of earth covered with straw. The natives were all somewhat black, clothed like those they had seen at St Elena Bay, speaking the same language, and using similar darts, together with some other kinds of arms, both for defence and assault. The country is very pleasant, being diversified with wood and water; and adjoining to the cape on the east side, they found a great harbour now called False Bay, almost six leagues wide at the mouth, and running about as much into the land. Having thus doubled the cape, the squadron came, on the Sunday after, being St Katherines day, 25th November, to the watering-place of St Blaze[10], which is sixty leagues beyond the cape, and is a very large bay, exceeding safe in all winds except the north [11]. The

9 This paragraph is an addition to the text of Castaneda from Osorius. —Clarke, I. 342.

10 From the circumstances in the text, this watering-place of St Blaze is probably what is now called St Katherines or St Sebastians Bay; yet that place hardly exceeds forty-seven Portuguese leagues east from the cape. The sixty leagues of the text would carry us almost a degree farther east, to what is now called Kaffercruyts river. Clarke removes this place still farther to Flesh Bay, otherwise called Angra de St Braz, or Aguada de St Braz by De Barros. This latter place is seventy Portuguese leagues, or above eighty marine leagues east from the cape.—E.

11 This account seems erroneous, whether St Katherines or Flesh Bay be the one in question, as both ought to be safe in north winds, and the winds between the S. and E. points give to both a lee shore.—E.

The natives here resembled those already seen in dress and arms. The country produces many large elephants, and numerous oxen, of vast size and extremely fat, some of which have no horns. On some of the fattest of these the natives were seen riding, on pannels stuffed with rye straw, as is used in Spain, and having a frame of wood like a saddle. Such of them as they choose to sell they mark by means of a piece of wood, like the shaft of one of their arrows, put through the nose. In this harbour, about three cross-bow shots from the shore, there is a rock much frequented by sea wolves, as large as great bears, very wild and fierce, with long great teeth. These animals are very dangerous, and will attack men, and their skins are so hard as not to be pierced with spears, unless pushed with much force and valour. These animals resemble lions, and their young bleat like kids. One day that our men went to this rock for amusement, they saw at least three thousand of these animals, old and young. On this rock also, there are great numbers of birds as large as ducks, which do not fly, having no feathers in their wings, and which bray like so many asses[12].

Having thus arrived at the Bay of St Blaze, and lying there at anchor, the general caused all the provisions to be taken out of the store-ship and divided among the others, and then burned the store-ship, as the king had ordered. In this business and other needful employments, for their safety in the remainder of the voyage, they were occupied in that bay for ten days. On the Friday after their arrival, about ninety of the natives made their appearance, some on the shore, and others on the hills; on which the general and the captains went to the shore, having their boats crews well armed, and even taking ordinance with them, to avoid the same accident which had happened at St Elena bay. When near the shore, the general threw some bells on the land, which the Negroes pickt up, and some of them came so near as to take the bells out of his hands, He much wondered at this familiarity, as Diaz had informed him when he was in those parts, the natives all ran away and would never approach near enough to be seen and conversed with. Finding them thus gentle, contrary to his expectation, he went on land with

12 Probably a species of Penguins: Lichefield calls them *stares*, as large as ducks; Osorius says the natives called them *sotiliario*, and that they were as big as geese.—E.

with his men, and bartered red night-caps with the Negroes, for ivory bracelets which they wore on their arms. Next Saturday, the natives came to the shore to the number of more than two hundred, including their children, and brought with them twelve oxen and four sheep. When our people went on shore, some of the natives began to play on four flutes, in four several tones, making good music; on which the general caused the trumpets to be sounded, and the natives danced with our people. Thus the day passed in mirth and feasting, and in purchasing their oxen and sheep. On Sunday a still greater number of the natives came down to the shore, having several women among them, and bringing a number of oxen for sale. After the sale of one of the oxen, some of our people noticed some young Negroes hidden among certain bushes, who had with them the weapons of the older people, from which it was conjectured that some treason was intended. Upon this, the general caused our people to remove to a place of greater security, and were followed by the Negroes to the landing place. The Negroes now gathered together, as if they meant to fight the Portuguese; on which the general, being unwilling to harm them, embarked in the boats with all his people, and then commanded two pieces of brass ordnance to be fired off, on which they were much amazed and scampered off in confusion, leaving their weapons behind. After this, the general ordered a cross or pillar, having the arms of Portugal to be set upon the shore, but the Negroes pulled it down immediately, even before our people retired.

After remaining ten days here, as before mentioned, the fleet set sail for the Rio del Infante, on Friday the 8th December, being the Conception of our Lady, and during this part of the voyage, there arose a great storm with a *forewind* on the eve of St Lucy, 12th December, that all the ships run under close reefed courses. During this storm, they parted company with Nicholas Coello, but rejoined the next night after. On the 16th December, when the gale abated, they discovered land near certain small rocks, sixty leagues from the harbour of St Blaze, and five leagues from the Pennon de la Cruz, where Diaz set up his last stone pillar[13], and fifteen leagues

13 Probably Rock Point, forming the western boundary of Algoa or Zwartkops bay, in long. 27° E. being the rocky extreme promontory of the Krakakamma ridge.—E.

leagues short of the Rio del Infante [14]. This country was very pleasant, and abounded in cattle, becoming more sightly and with higher trees the farther our fleet sailed towards the east, as could be easily seen from the ships as they sailed along near the shore. On Saturday they passed close within sight of the rock *de la Cruz*, and being loath to pass the *Rio del Infante*, they stood out to sea till vespers, when the wind came round to the east, right contrary. On this, the general stood off, and on plying to windward, till Tuesday the 20th December, at sunset, when the wind changed to the west, which was favourable. Next day at ten o'clock, they came to the before-mentioned rock, being sixty leagues a-stern of the place they wished to have attained [15].

This rock is the cause of the great currents on this coast, which were so powerful, that the fleet had much ado with a brisk favourable wind to stem the current between that place and Rio Infante in three or four days; but at length they joyfully passed these currents without damage, as Diaz had done formerly, and the general, encouraged by his good fortune, gave thanks to God, saying, he verily believed it was the good pleasure of God that they should attain to the discovery of the Indies.

Thus continuing the voyage till Christmas day, they had discovered seventy leagues to the eastwards, and had arrived in the latitude in which India was said to be in his instructions. The fleet continued to sail for so long a time without going to land, as to be in want of water, insomuch that they had to dress their provisions in sea water, and were forced to reduce the allowance of drink to one pint of water per man each day. But on Friday the 11th January 1498, drawing near the land, the boats were sent out to view the coast, where they saw many Negroes, both men and women, all of whom

14 It is infinitely difficult to guess the course of these early voyages, without latitudes or longitudes, and only estimated distances by dead reckoning in uncertain leagues; but the Rio del Infante of this voyage and that of Diaz, is probably that now called Great-fish river, in the Zuureveld of Graaff Reynet, in long. 28° 20′ E. which, however, is twenty-six Portuguese leagues, or thirty geographical leagues from Rocky Point, instead of the fifteen leagues of the text.—E.

15 The sixty leagues in the text are inexplicable on any rational supposition, as they seem to have again made the Rocks de la Cruz, or rather Rocky Point, said just before to be only fifteen leagues from Infante river, to which they were then bound.—E.

whom were of great stature, and followed our boats along the coast. As these people appeared quiet and civil, the general called Martin Alonzo, who could speak many of the Negro languages, and desired him and another to leap on shore, which they immediately did. Alonzo and his companion were well received by the natives, especially by their chief, to whom the general sent a jacket, a pair of breeches, and a cap, all of a red colour, and a copper bracelet, of which he was very proud, and returned thanks to the general, saying, "that he might have any thing he wished for or needed that his country produced." All which, as Martin Alonzo understood their language [16], he reported to the general, who was much pleased that by this means an intercourse could be opened with the natives. Alonzo and another of our people were accordingly permitted by the general to go for one night along with the natives to their town, where the chief dressed himself out in his new garments, and was beheld with much admiration by his people in his finery, clapping their hands for joy. This salutation was repeated three or four times on their way to the town, and when there, the chief made the circuit of the whole village, that all the people might see and admire his new and strange attire. When this ceremonial was ended, the chief retired to his own house, where he commanded Alonzo and his companion to be well lodged and entertained, and gave them for supper a hen exactly the same as one of ours, and a kind of pap, or porridge, made of a yellow grain called *Mylyo* [17], of which likewise they made bread.

Many of the Negroes repaired that night to their lodging to have a near view of the strangers; and next day, the chief sent them back to the ships, accompanied by some Negroes, laden with hens for the general, who returned thanks for the same by means of Alonzo his interpreter. During five days that our ships remained off this coast, no kind of harm was done or offered by the inhabitants, who seemed quiet and gentle,

16 The Portuguese ships appear to have been now on the coast of Natal, or the land of the Caffres, certainly a more civilized people than the Hottentots of the cape. But the circumstance of Alonzo understanding their language is quite inexplicable: as he could hardly have been lower on the western coast than Mina, or perhaps Congo. Yet, as a belt of Caffres are said to cross the continent of Africa, to the north of the Hottentots, it is barely possible that some Caffre slaves may have reached the western coast.—E.

17 This grain was probably what is now well known under the name of millet.—E.

gentle, and to have many *noble men*, for which reason he called this place *Terra da boa gente*, or the land of Good People [18]. The town in which Martin Alonzo was, had its houses constructed of straw, yet well furnished within. The women were more numerous than the men, as in a company of forty women, there were only twenty men. These people were armed with long bows and arrows, and had darts headed with iron, having many copper bracelets on their arms and legs, with copper ornaments in their hair. They have also iron daggers, with pewter handles and ivory sheaths; so that it is manifest they have plenty of copper and tin. They have likewise abundance of salt, which they make from sea water, which they carry in gourds to certain caves where the salt is made. They were so fond of linen, that they gave a great quantity of copper in exchange for an old shirt, and were so quiet and civil, that they brought water to our boats from a river about two cross-bow shots from the landing, which our people named Rio do Cobre, or Copper River.

"Osorius places the arrival of the Portuguese on this part of the coast a day earlier than Castaneda, and gives the following additional information. On the 10th January 1498, they discovered some small islands, about 230 miles from their last watering-place, having a very beautiful appearance, and consisting of verdant meadows, intermixed with groves of lofty trees, where they could see the inhabitants walking on the shore in great numbers. Here De Gama landed, and sent one of his men, who was well versant in the Negro languages to visit the king, and who was received with much civility, receiving presents of the produce of the country on his dismissal. Before leaving Lisbon, De Gama received ten malefactors on board who had been condemned to die, but were pardoned on condition of going on this voyage, for the purpose of being left wherever De Gama pleased, that they might examine the country, and be enabled to give him an account of the inhabitants on his return. On setting sail from this place, De Gama left two of these exiles on shore to inform themselves of the character and manners of the natives [19].

From this place our fleet departed on the 15th January, and proceeding on their voyage, came to another country of very

18 According to Barros, *Aguada da boa Paz.*—Clarke.
19 Gibb's Orosius, I. 50.

very low land, having very thick tall trees; and proceeding onwards, they found a river which was very open at the mouth, near which he came to anchor on Thursday the 24th of January, as the general deemed it proper to examine this country, and to try if any intelligence could be here procured concerning India. That same evening, he and his brother Nicholas Coello [20] entered the river; and, at day-break next morning, the land was observed to be extremely low and covered with water, having many trees of great height, thickly loaded with various kinds of fruits, the country appearing very pleasant. They saw likewise certain boats with some of the natives coming towards the ship, at which the general was well pleased, as he conceived from their having some degree of maritime knowledge in these parts, that he could not now be very far from India, or at least should soon hear news of that country. The natives were Negroes of good stature, all naked, except each a small apron of cloth made of cotton. On reaching the ships, they came on board without hesitation, and behaved themselves as if they had been long acquainted with our people. They were well received, and were presented with bells and other toys, but did not understand any of the languages spoken by Martin Alonzo, or any of the other interpreters on board, so that the only intercourse was by signs. They departed after good entertainment, and afterwards they and many others returned to the ships in their boats, bringing with them such provisions as their country afforded. The natives seemed much satisfied with their reception; and besides those who came to the ships by water, many others came by land [21], among whom were several women who were tolerably handsome, especially the young maidens; but all were as naked as the men. They have three holes in their lips, in which they wear small pieces of tin by way of ornament. The natives took several of our men along with them to make merry at one of their towns, whence they brought water to our ships.

After the general had been three days in this river, two of the nobles, or head men of the natives, came on board to visit him, who were naked like the rest, except that their aprons were much larger, and one of them had a handkerchief on his head,

20 The text here ought probably to be thus amended, "He and his brother, *with* Nicholas Coello," &c.—E.

21 These probably swam off to the ships.—E.

head, embroidered with silk, while the other wore a nightcap of green satin [22]. Observing their cleanliness, or civility, the general treated these people courteously, and gave them victuals, apparel, and other things, of which they seemed to make but small account; and by certain signs, shewn by a young man, it was understood that his country was at a considerable distance, where he had seen ships as large as ours. This intelligence gave great hopes to our people that the Indies were not far off, which was much confirmed by the chiefs who had been on board, sending off for sale certain cloths made of cotton, on which there were marks of ochre. In respect of all these encouraging tokens, the general named this river *Ho rio dos bos Sinaes*, or River of Good Signs; and called the place San Rafael, after the name of his own ship [23].

From the signs of the before-mentioned young men, that the country of the head men who had been on board was far off, where they had seen large ships, the general concluded that the Indies were still at a great distance; and therefore determined, in consultation with the other captains, to lay the ships aground, to give their bottoms a thorough repair, which was done accordingly. In this operation they employed thirty-two days, during which, our people were much afflicted with a grievous sickness, thought to proceed from the air of the country. Their hands and feet became swelled, and their gums became so sore and putrid that they could not eat, and the smell of their breath was quite intolerable [24]. With this

22 De Faria alleges that the people of this river were not so black as the other Africans, and wore habits of different kinds of stuffs, both cotton and silk, of various colours, and that they understood Arabic; and adds, that they informed De Gama there were white people to the eastwards, who sailed in ships like those of the Portuguese. Osorius likewise says, that one of the natives spoke Arabic very imperfectly, and that De Gama left two of his convicts at this place, which he called San Rafael.—Clarke.

23 There is no circumstance in the text from which the situation of this river can even be conjectured. Clarke, p. 440, alleges that it was Soffala; and yet, in a note in his preceding page, says, "That De Gama seems to have passed Cape Corientes during the night, and to have kept so far from land, on account of a strong current setting on shore, as not to have noticed Sofala." In the notes on the Lusiad, this river of Good Signs is ascertained to have been one of the mouths of the Zambeze, or Cuama River, which divides Mocaranga from the coast of Mozambique; the different mouths of which run into the sea between the latitudes of 19° and 18° S.—E.

24 They were evidently afflicted with the scurvy; and accordingly De Barros refers the disease to its proper cause, "Having been for so long a time confined to the use of salt fish and corrupted biscuit.—Clarke."

this pestilent infection our people were much discouraged, and many of them died, the survivors being in great trouble and perplexity. But De Gama took much care, and used much diligence for their recovery, and to comfort their affliction; continually visiting the sick, and giving them such wholesome and medicinal things as he had provided for his own use; through all which many recovered who would have died, and the rest were thereby greatly comforted and encouraged.

Having repaired the ships, and provided them with all necessaries that could be procured at the river of Good Signs, the fleet departed from thence on Saturday the 24th of February.

"At this period, two accidents occurred which had nearly frustrated all the hopes of this expedition. De Gama being along side of the ship commanded by his brother, with whom he wished to speak, had hold of the chains, when the boat was carried from under him by the force of the current, but by immediate assistance, he and his boats crew were providentially saved. Soon afterwards, when the fleet was passing the bar of the river, the ship of De Gama grounded on a sand bank, and her loss was for some time considered as inevitable; but she floated again with the return of the tide, and to their inexpressible joy received no damage[25]."

As there was little or no wind, the fleet stood out to sea to avoid the shore, and about vespers on Sunday, they descried three small islands out to sea, about four leagues distant from each other. Two of these were replenished with trees, but the third was quite bare. Seeing no cause to delay the voyage in examining these islands, De Gama held on for six days, coming always to anchor at night. On the evening of Thursday, the first of March, they came in sight of four islands, two of which were near the land, and the other two farther out to sea; and the fleet steered through the channel next morning, the ship commanded by Coello, as being the smallest, going first. But endeavouring to enter a certain harbour, between the mainland and one of these islands, Coello missed the channel and ran aground, on which the other ships put about and went back. They soon perceived seven or eight boats under sail coming from the island which was a good league distant from Coello, at which sight they

25 Addition to the narrative of Castaneda, from De Barros.—Clarke.

they were much rejoiced, and Coello and his people received them with much demonstration of friendship and satisfaction. Coello went along with these people to the general, and presented them, saying, that here was a quite different kind of people from any they had seen hitherto. Then the general commanded *to let them go a seaboard with their boats* [26], as he proposed to go with them to their island to anchor with his ships, that he might see what kind of a country it was, and if he could learn any certain intelligence concerning India. But the boats continued to follow our ships, making signals, and calling to our people to wait for them; wherefore the ships came to anchor, and the boats came to our fleet. The people on board were of good stature and somewhat black, clothed in dresses of cotton, striped with sundry colours; some girdled to their knees, while others carried their apparel on their shoulders like cloaks. Their heads were covered with kerchiefs, somewhat wrought with silk and gold thread, and they were armed with swords and daggers like Moors. In their boats, also, they had certain musical instruments named *sagbuts*. They came immediately on board with as much confidence as if they were long acquainted, and entered into familiar conversation in the language of Algarve, and would not be known as Moors [27].

The general ordered these people to be well entertained, and they eat and drank willingly of whatever was set before them; after which, by means of Fernan Alvarez, who could speak their language, he learned that the island to which they belonged was called Monsambicke, or Mozambique, on which was a town full of merchants, who traded with the Moors of India, who bring them silver, linen cloth, pepper, ginger, silver rings, many pearls, and rubies; and that, from a country behind, they procure gold. They offered likewise to conduct our people into the harbour, where they would learn the truth of these things more fully. On consulting with the other captains, the general determined upon going into this harbour, to examine more accurately into these reports, and to

26 This obscure expression seems to mean that De Gama wished them to precede the ships, and point out the way into the harbour.—E.

27 This expression has probably been misunderstood by the original translator. It appears that these Moors of Mozambique spoke Arabic, here called the language of Algarve, and finding themselves understood and answered by the strangers, mistook the Portuguese for Moors.—E.

to procure pilots to carry them on their voyage, as they had no one in the fleet who knew the way. Nicholas Coello was therefore ordered to make the first essay, and to take the soundings of the bar, his ship being the smallest. But in entering, he touched on the point of the island where he broke his helm, and was in great danger of being lost; but by good providence he got off with no farther injury. He now found the bar was quite safe, and got into the harbour, where he anchored two cross-bow shots from the town, which is in fifteen degrees towards the south[28]. The harbour is very good, the town is plentifully supplied with such provisions as the country produces, the houses being constructed of straw, and the inhabitants Moors, who trade to Sofala in large vessels that have neither decks nor nails, their planks being sewed together with *cayro*, or twine, made from the fibres of the cocoa nut rind, and their sails of mats made of the leaves of a species of palm. Some of these vessels use compasses of Genoa, and regulate their voyages by means of quadrants and sea charts. With these Moors the Moors of India trade, as likewise do those from the Red Sea, because of the gold which is to be had here. On seeing our people, the Moors of Mozambique thought the Portuguese had been Turks, whom they knew of from the Moors who dwell on the Red Sea; and those who were first at our ships carried intelligence to the xeque, or sheik, which is the title of the governor of this island for the king of Quiloa, in whose territories it is situated.

"Though we shall afterwards have occasion to investigate this eastern coast of Africa more fully, in editing particular voyages to its shores, some notices seem here to be proper[29]. Owing to his keeping at a distance from the shore for security, the present voyage gives little knowledge of the eastern coast of Africa, and it is even difficult to assign the many stations at which De Gama touched between the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique. We have already noticed the river of Good Signs, as being probably the northern mouth of the Delta of the Zambeze, now called *Quilimane*, from a fort of that name on its banks. The mouth of this branch

28 Mozambique is in lat. 15° 35′ S. and in 41° of E. long.—E.

29 The observations here inserted, and marked with inverted commas, are made by the Editor of the present collection. They are much too long for insertion in the form of a note, and appeared of too much importance to be omitted; being chiefly from Clarke, I. 447.—E.

branch runs into the sea in lat. 18° 25′ S. In his passage from the *Terra de Natal*, or Christmas Land, so named from having been discovered on Christmas day, and named, in this account of De Gamas voyage, *the Land of Good People*, De Gama missed Cape Corientes, forming the S. W. point of the channel of Mozambique, or *Inner Passage*, as it is now called, and overshot Sofala, the southern extremity of Covilhams discoveries, at which he was probably directed to touch, as Covilhams chart might have been of some use to direct his farther progress to Aden, and thence to Calicut or Cananor, on the Malabar coast.

" The eastern coast of Africa is hitherto very little known to geography, its trade being entirely confined to the Portuguese, who have settlements at Sofala, the river Zambeze, Mozambique, Quiloa, and Melinda, and conceal all the circumstances respecting their foreign possessions with infinite jealousy. It is said to have once been in contemplation by the British government, to employ Sir Home Popham to make a survey of this coast, but this design was never executed. Commodore Blanket remained on this station for a considerable time, and much information may be expected from his journal, some drawings of the coast having been already made for charts, which are preparing, under the orders of the Admiralty. About the year 1782, a great mass of geographical information was collected on the continent of Europe and lodged in the British Museum, from which information may probably be derived respecting this coast, when that collection shall have been arranged and submitted to the public. According to D'Apres, all the eastern coast of Africa, for a great way south of the equinoctial, is lined by a range of islands, whence shoals extend to the distance of a league. These islets form an outer shore, with a winding channel within, and are in some places a league from the coast of the continent, though very apt to be mistaken for the real coast. Within this range the boats or almadias of the country ply backwards and forwards in great safety, in the intervening channel.

" Ptolemy places the *Prasum promontorium*, or Green Cape, the extreme southern boundary of ancient knowledge of the east coast of Africa, in lat. 15° 30′ S. and the Portuguese universally assume Mozambique as Prasum, by which classical name it is distinguished in the Lusiad of Camoens, in reference to the voyage of De Gama, and the

near

near coincidence of situation gives great probability to this supposition. Πρασον signifies a leek, and is also used to denote a sea-weed of a similar green colour, and the name may either have been derived from the verdure of the point, or from the sea-weeds found in its neighbourhood. At all events, Prasum cannot be farther south than Cape Corientes, or farther north than Quiloa or the Zanguebar islands. The harbour of Mozambique has seldom less than eight or ten fathom water, which is so clear, that every bank, rock, or shallow can be easily seen.

" The Moors, so often mentioned, are supposed by Bruce to have been merchants expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, who first fixed their residence on the western coast of Africa, and extending themselves eastwards, formed settlements in Arabia and Egypt, till the oppressions of Selim and Soliman, the Turkish emperors, interrupted their commerce, and obliged them to disperse along the coast of Abyssinia and eastern Africa. Besides the impossibility, chronologically, for the assigned causes having produced the supposed effect, there is no necessity for having recourse to this improbable hypothesis. From being best acquainted with their Moorish conquerors, the Spaniards and Portuguese have always been accustomed to name all the Arabians Moors, wherever they found them, and even gave at first the name of *black* Moors to the Negroes, whence our old English term *Black-a-moors*. It is well known that the Arabs, especially after their conversion to Mahometanism, were great colonizers or conquerors; even the now half-christian kingdom of Abyssinia was an early colony and conquest of the pagan Arabs, and its inhabitants are consequently *white* Moors in the most extended Portuguese sense. The Arab, or Moorish kingdoms along the African coast of the Indian ocean, are branches from the same original stem, and the early Mahometan missionaries were both zealous and successful in propagating Islaemism among the most distant pagan colonies of their countrymen. As all zealous Mussulmen are enjoined the pilgrimage of Mecca, and commerce mixes largely with religion in the holy journey, by which the faithful from every distant region often meet at Mecca, and induce each other to extend their commercial adventures to new regions, it may possibly have been, that some Moors originally from Spain, may even have reached Mozambique before the time of De Gama; but it is ridiculous to suppose that

that all the Moors on the African coast had been Spaniards. The overthrow of the great Moorish kingdom of Granada only took place five or six years before the present voyage.

"The island of Mozambique, which does not exceed a league in circumference, is described as low and swampy, and was inhabited by Moors who had come from Quiloa and Sofala. It was afterwards much resorted to by the Portuguese as a winter station, and became the key of their Indian trade. The African coast stretches out on both sides of the island into two points, that on the north-east called Pannoni, off which a shoal with three islets extends some way into the sea. The southern point is called Mangale[30]."

When the Moorish governor of Mozambique[31] was informed of the arrival of the Portuguese, and that Coello was come to anchor in the harbour, he fully supposed that they were Turks or Moors from some distant place, and immediately came to visit him, apparelled in fine silk, with many attendants. Coello received him very courteously; but as neither he nor any in his ship could speak their language, the governor soon retired. Coello gave him, however, a red cap, on which he seemed to set little value, and presented him likewise with some black beads, which he carried away in his hand, both being given and received in token of friendship. On leaving the ship, he required Coello, by signs, to let him have the boat to carry him on shore, which Coello readily agreed to, and sent some of his men to the land along with him. These the governor carried to his house, and feasted them on dates and other things, and sent back with them a pot of preserved dates to Coello, with which he regaled the general and his brother when they had entered the harbour. On the arrival of the other two ships, the governor again sent off some of his people to visit them, still taking them for Turks, presenting many pleasant and delicate viands, and asking permission to visit them in person. The general, in return, sent the governor a present, consisting of red hats, short gowns, coral, brass basons, hawks bells, and many other things, which he slighted as of no

 value,

30 For the materials of this addition to the text of Castaneda, we are chiefly indebted to the Progress of Maritime Discovery, p. 447, 458.—E.

31 His name, as given by Osorius, was *Zacoeia*, and De Barros adds, that he wore richly embroidered clothes, and had his sword ornamented with diamonds.—Clarke.

value, and asked why the general had not sent him scarlet, which he chiefly desired.

Soon afterwards the governor came off to visit the general; who, being apprized of his coming, ordered all the ships to be dressed out in their flags. He likewise made all the sick and infirm men to be kept out of sight, and brought a good many of the most alert men from the other ships, whom he ordered to be secretly armed, in case of any violence or treachery on the part of the Moors. The governor came on board, accompanied with many men, all well apparelled in silk, having many ivory trumpets and other musical instruments, on which they played almost without ceasing. The governor was a lean man, of good stature, dressed in a linen shirt down to his heels, over which he wore a long gown of Mecca velvet, having a cap of silk of many colours, trimmed with gold, on his head, at his girdle he wore a sword and dagger, and had silk shoes. The general received him on entering the ship, and led him to an awning, trimmed up in the best manner they were able. The general then begged him not to be offended that no scarlet had been sent, having brought none with him, and that his ships only contained such merchandize as were fit to be bartered for victuals for the people; and that his only object at present was to discover the way to the Indies, for which purpose he had been sent by a great and mighty king, his master. All this was conveyed through the interpretation of Fernan Martin [32]. The general then ordered an entertainment of the best meats and wines which the ship afforded, to be set before the governor and his principal attendants, of all which they partook willingly, even drinking wine with good will. The governor asked whether they came from Turkey, as he had heard say that the Turks were a fair people like them, and desired to see our country bows, and the books of our law. To this the general answered, that he and his men were not from Turkey, but from a kingdom in their neighbourhood; that he would most willingly shew his bows and other weapons, but had not the books of our law, as they were not needed at sea. Then some cross-bows were brought, which were bent, and shot off in presence of the governor, also some of our harness or defensive armour, with

32 This is probably the same person named Fernan Alvares on a former occasion.—E.

with all of which he was much pleased, and greatly astonished.

During this conference, the general learnt that the port of Calicut in India was 900 leagues distant from Mozambique; and, as there were many shoals in the course, that it was very necessary to have a pilot from this place. He learned also that there were many cities along the coast. He likewise understood, that the kingdom of Prester John was far from this place, in the inland country [33]. Considering the expediency of having a pilot, the general requested to have two from the governor, who agreed to the demand, on condition that they should be well used. The reason of wishing to have two was, lest one might die during the voyage, and our people were much pleased with this promise. The governor came a second time to visit the general, and brought with him both the pilots whom he had promised; to each of whom were given thirty crowns and a coat, each crown being worth five shillings, under this condition, that whenever one of them should go on shore, the other should remain on board, that one might always stay by the ship while in harbour.

Notwithstanding these friendly meetings, speeches, and assurances, it soon appeared, after the departure of the governor, that the Moors had learned, during their intercourse with our people, that they were Christians, on which the former friendship and good will of the Moors towards them was changed to wrath and fury, and they henceforwards used every endeavour to kill our men, and to take possession of the ships. The governor, therefore, and his people, used every effort for this mischievous purpose, and had certainly succeeded, if the Almighty had not moved the heart of one of the Moorish pilots who had been received into the Portuguese fleet, to reveal the same to the general; who, fearing lest the infidels might suddenly execute their purpose, as being numerous in comparison to his small company, determined to remain no longer in the harbour. Wherefore, on Saturday the 10th March 1498, being seven days after his arrival, he quitted the harbour of Mozambique, and cast anchor

33 It is added by De Barros, that three *Abexijs*, or Abyssinians, from the territory of *Preste Joano*, came on board the fleet, along with the Moors who brought provisions; and, seeing the image of the angel Gabriel painted on the ship of that name, and being accustomed to such representations of angels in their own country, they made their adorations to this holy picture.—Clarke.

chor close to an island, at the distance of a league from that place; intending, on Sunday, to hear mass on shore, that they might confess and receive the sacrament, which had not been done since leaving Lisbon.

After the ships were come to anchor in this place of safety from being burnt by the Moors, which the general greatly dreaded, he determined to go back to Mozambique in his boat, to demand the other pilot who had been promised, but who still remained on shore. Leaving his brother with the fleet, in readiness to come to his aid if needful, the general went towards Mozambique with his boat, accompanied by Nicholas Coello and the Moorish pilot. On their way they saw six *zambucos*, or boats, filled with Moors, coming towards them, armed with long bows and arrows, and also with shields and spears. The Moors called to our people to come along with them to the town; and the Moorish pilot, who explained their signals, advised the general to do so, as the governor would not otherwise deliver the other pilot, who still remained on shore. The general was much displeased at this advice, believing the pilot only wished him to approach the shore, that he might be able to run away, and therefore ordered him to be secured as a prisoner. He likewise gave orders to fire at the Moorish boats from his ordnance. When Paulo de la Gama heard the shot, believing the general to be in more danger than he actually was, he immediately came with the ship Berrio under sail to his aid. On seeing this, the Moors fled away in such haste that the general could not overtake them, and therefore returned with his brother to where the other ships were at anchor.

Next day, being Sunday, the general and all his men went on shore, where they heard mass, and received the sacrament very devoutly, having confessed the evening before. After this they re-embarked and set sail the same day. Having no hope of procuring the other pilot, the general ordered to release him whom he had confined, and carried him on the voyage. But he, willing to be revenged for the indignity he had experienced, determined on carrying the Portuguese fleet to the island of Quiloa, which was all peopled with Moors; and, as it seemed, intended to inform the king of that place that our ships belonged to the Christians, that he might destroy them and kill the crews. For this purpose, he craftily persuaded the general not to be in trouble for

for want of the other pilot, as he would carry him to a great island, an hundred leagues from thence, which was inhabited half by Moors, and half by Christians, who were always in war with each other, and where he might easily find pilots to conduct him to Calicut. Though the general was much pleased with this information, he yet did not give implicit credit to the Moor, but promised him high rewards if he carried him in safety to that country, and so went forward on the voyage with a scant wind.

On the Tuesday the fleet was still in sight of the land from which they took their departure, and remained becalmed all that day and the next. On Wednesday night, a gentle breeze sprung up from the eastward, on which the fleet stood off to seaward, but on Thursday morning, on again making the land, they were four leagues to leeward of Mozambique, whence plying to windward, they came back that evening to the island where they had heard mass on the Sunday before, where they cast anchor and remained eight days waiting for a fair wind. While here at anchor, a white Moor, who was a *molah* or minister among the Moors of Mozambique, came on board the generals ship, representing that the governor was much grieved at the breach of peace and friendship between them, which he would now gladly renew. To this the general made answer, that he would make no peace with the governor unless he sent him the other pilot whom he had hired and paid. With this answer the *molah* departed, and never came back. After this, while still waiting for a fair wind, there came another Moor on board, accompanied with his son, a boy, and asked the general to give him a passage to the city of Melinda, which he said was on his way to Calicut. He said that he was a native of the country near Mecca, whence he had piloted a ship to Mozambique, and would gladly go with him, that he might return to his own country; and farther, he counselled the general not to remain in expectation of any answer from the *zeque*, who he was sure would make no peace with him, on account of his hatred to the Christians. The general was rejoiced at the coming of this Moor, expecting to acquire information from him concerning the straits of the Red Sea, and of the towns on the coast between Mozambique and Melinda, by which he had to sail, and therefore gave orders to receive this Moor and his son on board.

As

As the ships were rather short of water, the general and the other captains determined upon entering the harbour of Mozambique, to take in what they needed; but ordered strict watch to be kept, lest the Moors should set the ships on fire. They entered therefore again into the harbour on Thursday; and when night came, they went in their boats in search of water, which the Moorish pilot assured them was to be found on the firm land, and offered to guide them to the place. Leaving Paulo de la Gama in charge of the ships, and taking Nicholas Coello and the pilot along with him in the boats, the general went on shore about midnight to the place where the pilot said that water was to be had. But it could not be found; whether that the pilot misled them in hope of escaping, or finding he could not escape, did so out of malice. Having spent the whole night fruitlessly in search of water, and day beginning to dawn, the general returned to the ships for more force, lest the Moors might set upon him and his small company at a disadvantage. Having furnished his boats with a larger force of armed men, he returned to the shore, still accompanied by Coello and the Moorish pilot, who, seeing no means of escaping, now pointed out the watering-place close by the shore. At this place they observed about twenty Moors armed with darts, who shewed as if they meant to prevent them from taking water. The general therefore gave orders to fire three guns, to force them from the shore, that our men might be able to land unopposed. Amazed and frightened by the noise and the effect of the shot, the Moors ran away and hid themselves in the bushes; and our people landed quietly, and took in fresh water, returning to the ships a little before sunset. On arriving, the general found his brother much disquieted, because a Negro, belonging to John Cambrayes, the pilot of Paulo de la Gama, had run away to the Moors, though himself a Christian [34].

Upon Saturday the 24th of March, being the eve of the annunciation of our Lady, a Moor appeared early in the morning on the shore, abreast of the ships, calling out in a loud and shrill voice, "that if our men wanted any more water they might now come for it, when they would find such

34 Mr Clarke, Progr. of Marit. Disc. I. 464, strangely misrepresents this story; saying, "that *the pilot* of Paulo de la Gama had deserted to the Moors, though a Christian."—E.

such as were ready to force their return." Irritated at this bravado, and remembering the injury done him in withholding the promised pilot, and the loss of the Negro, the general resolved to batter the town with his ordnance in revenge, and the other captains readily agreed to the measure. Wherefore they armed all their boats, and came up before the town, where the Moors had constructed a barricade of boards for their defence on the shore, so thick that our men could not see the Moors behind. Upon the shore, between that defence and the sea, an hundred Moors were drawn up, armed with targets, darts, bows, arrows, and slings, who began to sling stones at the boats as soon as they came within reach. They were immediately answered with shot from our ordnance, on which they retired from the shore behind their barricade, which was soon beaten down, when they ran into the town, leaving two of their men slain. The general and his men now returned to the ships to dinner, and the Moors were seen running from that town to another; and so much were they afraid of the Portuguese, that they abandoned the island, going by water to another place on the opposite side. After dinner, our people went with their captains on shore, to endeavour to take some of the Moors, with the hope of procuring restitution of the Negro belonging to Cambrayes, who had run away from the ships, and they were likewise desirous of recovering two Indians, who were said by the Moorish pilot to be detained as captives in Mozambique.

On this occasion, Paulo de la Gama seized four Moors who were in a boat; but a great many Moors in other boats escaped, by hastening on shore and leaving their boats behind, in which our men found much cotton cloth, and several books of their Mahometan law, which the general ordered to be preserved. The general and the other captains ranged in their boats along side of the town, but did not venture on shore, not having sufficient force, nor could they get any speech of the Moors. Next day they went on shore at the watering-place, where they took what was needed without any opposition from the Moors. Being now hopeless of recovering the Negro, or of procuring the Indian captives, it was determined to depart; but the general resolved to be revenged on the town and people for their enmity. For which reason, he went against it next day with ordnance, and destroyed it in such sort that the Moors had to abandon it,

and

and flee into another island within the country [35]. This being done, the fleet weighed anchor on Tuesday the 27th of March, and departed from Mozambique, whence they proceeded to two little rocks, which they called St George, and where they came to anchor in waiting for a wind, which was now contrary. Soon afterwards the wind came fair and they departed, but the wind was so light, and the currents so strong, that they were forced in a retrograde course.

The general was much pleased to find that one of the Moors taken by his brother at Mozambique was a pilot, and was acquainted with the navigation to Calicut. Proceeding on their voyage, they came, on Sunday the first of April, to certain islands very near the coast, to the first of which they gave the name of *Ilha da Açoutado*, because the Moorish pilot of Mozambique was here severely whipt by order of the general, for having falsely said that these islands were part of the continent, and likewise for not shewing the way to the watering-place at Mozambique, as before related. Being cruelly whipt, the Moor confessed that he had brought them to this place expressly that they might perish on the rocks and shoals of these islands, which were so numerous and so close together, that they could hardly be distinguished from each other. On this the general stood out to sea, and on Friday the 4th of April [36], standing to the north-west, he came in sight, before noon, of a great land, with two islands near the coast, around which were many shoals. On nearing the shore, the Moorish pilots recognized it, and said that the Christian island of Quiloa was three leagues astern; on which the general was much grieved, believing certainly that the natives of Quiloa had been Christians, as represented by the pilots, and that they had purposely taken a wrong course that the ships might not come there. The pilots, to conceal their treachery, alleged that the winds and currents had carried the ships farther than they reckoned. But in truth, they were more disappointed in this than even the general, as they had reckoned upon being here revenged upon the Portuguese, by having them all slain. In this God preserved our people from

35 According to De Barros, after the inhabitants abandoned the town, the zeque sent De Gama a pilot to navigate Coello's ship, from whom De Gama learnt that Calicut was a months voyage from Mozambique.—Clarke, I. 464.

36 If Sunday, as above, were the first of April, the Friday following must have been the 6th.—E.

from the intended danger most miraculously, for if they had gone to Quiloa they had all surely perished; as the general was so fully persuaded of the natives being Christians, as reported by the pilot, that he would doubtless have landed immediately on his arrival, and have thereby run headlong to a place where he and all his people would have been slain. Both parties being thus sorry for having missed Quiloa, the general because he hoped to have found Christians, and the Moorish pilots because of their intended treachery, it was determined to put back with the intention of seeking for it; but still the wind and currents opposed their purpose, and they tried a whole day in vain. This doubtless proceeded from the providence of God, and his merciful goodness to our men, who were thus preserved by miracle from the malicious and devilish intentions of the two Moorish pilots of Mozambique.

The fleet being thus baffled and tossed to and fro, it was determined to bear away for the island of Mombaza, in which the pilots said there were two towns, peopled both by Moors and Christians. But they gave out this as before to deceive our people, and to lead them to destruction; for that island was solely inhabited by Moors, as is the whole of that coast. Understanding that Mombaza was seventy miles distant, they bore away for that place, and towards evening, they came in sight of a great island towards the north, in which the Moorish pilots pretended there were two towns, one of Christians and the other of Moors; making this false assertion to make our people believe that there were many Christians on this coast. While pursuing their voyage towards Mombaza for some days, the ship San Raphael chanced one morning, two hours before day, to get aground on certain shoals, two leagues from the shore of the continent. Paulo de Gama immediately made signals to apprize the other ships of his situation and their danger; on which they had the good fortune to avoid the shoals and got safely to anchor. The boats from the other ships were immediately sent off to assist Paulo de Gama in the St Raphael; and, on seeing that the tide was then low, the general was much rejoiced, as he well knew she would float again with the tide of flood; whereas, before, he was much afraid she might be totally lost. He therefore gave orders to carry all their anchors out to deep water, to prevent her from getting farther on the shoal. By the time this was done day broke, and soon after

after at low water the St Raphael was quite dry on a sand bank, having taken no harm in striking. While waiting for the tide of flood, our people named these sands *Os baixos de Sam Rafael*, or the Shoals of St Raphael, and named certain islands and hills of the continent, then in sight, the islands and hills of St Raphael.

While the ship remained thus dry, and the people walking about on the sand, they saw two boats full of Moors, who came to our ships, bringing many sweet oranges, much better than those of Portugal. These men told the general not to fear any damage to the ship which was aground, as she would float uninjured with the next flood; and the general was so much pleased with this good heartening, that he gave them several presents, which they accepted with many thanks; and understanding that our fleet intended to put in at Mombaza, they requested to be carried thither. The general granted their request, and permitted them to remain on board, the others returning from our ships to their own country[37]. When it was full sea, the St Raphael floated and got off the shoal, and the fleet proceeded on its voyage.

Following the coast to the north-eastwards, the fleet came to anchor outside of the bar of the harbour of Mombaza, about sunset of Saturday the 7th of April. Mombaza is on an island very near the shore of the continent, and has plenty of provisions, such as millet, rice, and cattle, both large and small, all well grown and fat, especially the sheep, which are uniformly without tails; and it abounds in poultry. It is likewise very pleasant, having many orchards, abounding in pomegranates, Indian figs, oranges, both sweet and sour, lemons, and citrons, with plenty of pot-herbs, and it has an abundant supply of excellent water. On this island there is a city having the same name, Momabza, standing in lat. 4° S. which is handsomely built on a rocky hill washed by the sea. The entrance of the haven has a mark or beacon, and on the very bar there is a little low fort, almost level with the water[38].

Most

37 The text is here obscure; but it would appear that only some of the men belonging to these two boats remained on board, and the rest returned to the coast. Not that the Moorish pilots from Mozambique were here dismissed, as the text of Lichefild's translation seems to insinuate.—E.

38 Motta, in the Portuguese East Indian Pilot, places this town in lat. 3° 50′ S. He says the entrance is much incommoded with shoals, and so narrow

Most of the houses of this place are built of stone and lime, having the ceilings finely constructed of plaster, and the streets are very handsome. This city is subject to a king of its own, the inhabitants being Moors, some of whom are white and others brown [39]. The trade of this city is extensive, and its inhabitants are well dressed, especially the women, who are clothed in silk, and decorated with gold and precious stones. The harbour is good and much frequented by shipping, and it receives from the African continent, in its neighbourhood, great quantities of honey, wax, and ivory.

The general did not enter the harbour that night because it grew late, but commanded to hoist the flags in compliment, which the people did with much mirth and joy, in hope that they had come to an island in which there were many Christians, and that next day they might hear mass on shore. They had likewise great hope that the sick, who were almost the whole crews, might here recover their health; though, indeed, they were much reduced in number, many having died during the voyage. Soon after our ships came to anchor, although night approached, a large boat, containing about a hundred men, all armed with swords and targets, was seen coming towards the fleet. On reaching the generals ship, they would have all come on board with their weapons, but the general only permitted four of their principals to come aboard, and even they unarmed; causing them to be told in their own language, that they must excuse his precaution, being a stranger, and not knowing therefore whom he might trust. To those whom he permitted to come on board he gave courteous entertainment, presenting them with such conserves as he had, of which they readily partook; and he requested of them not to take ill that he had thus refused entrance to so many armed men. They said that they had merely come to see him, as a new and rare thing in their country, and that their being armed was merely because such was the custom of the country, whether in peace or war. They also

row in some places as not to exceed the length of a ship. This city is said to have once stood on a peninsula, converted into an island by cutting a canal across the isthmus.—Clarke, I. 469.

39 This may be understood that part of the inhabitants were unmixed Arabs, comparatively whites; while others were of a mixed race between these and the original natives, perhaps likewise partly East Indian Mahometans, of a similar origin.—E.

also said, that the king of Mombaza expected his arrival, and would have sent to visit him, if it had not been so late, but certainly would do so next day. Their king, they added, was rejoiced at his arrival, and would not only be glad to see him, but would load his ships with spices. They also said that there were many Christians on the island, who lived by themselves; at which the general was much pleased, believing their story, which agreed with what the two pilots had said. Yet he entertained some jealous doubts, for all their fair speeches, and wisely suspected the Moors had come to see if they could lay a train to take our ships. In this he was perfectly right, as it afterwards appeared that this was their sole intent. The king of Mombaza had received perfect intelligence that we were Christians, and of all that we had done at Mozambique, and plotted to be revenged, by taking our ships and killing our men.

Next day, being Palm Sunday, still prosecuting his wicked purpose, the king sent some white Moors with a message to the general, declaring his great joy at our arrival, inviting him into the harbour, and engaging to supply him with all things he might be in need of; and, in token of amity, sent him a ring, a sheep, and many sweet oranges, citrons, and sugar canes. These white Moors were likewise instructed to pretend that they were Christians, and that there were many Christians in the island. All this was so well counterfeited, that our people actually believed them to be Christians, on which account the general received them with much courtesy, and made them some presents, sending a message to the king that he would certainly come farther into the harbour next day. He also sent a present to the king of a fine branch of coral. And, for the greater security, he sent along with these white Moors, two of our banished men, who had been embarked expressly for such hazardous undertakings, or for being left on shore where it might be deemed expedient, to become acquainted with the circumstances of various places, and to be taken on board again. These men, and the Moors who had been on board, were met in landing by a number of people, curious to see and examine them, who accompanied them all the way to the kings palace, where they had to pass through three several doors, each guarded by an armed porter, before they came to the place where the king was. They found the king in no very great state, yet he received them well, and commanded the Moors who had brought them on

shore

shore to shew them the city. In going through the streets, our men saw many prisoners in irons; but, not knowing the language, they could not ask who or what these were, yet believed they might be Christians, as our general was informed by the Moorish pilots, and the kings two messengers, that there were Christians on the island, and that the Christians and the Moors had wars together. Our men were likewise carried to the house in which the merchants of India dwelt, who were said to be Christians. These people, learning that our men were Christians, shewed much joy at receiving them, embracing and banqueting them, and shewed them a piece of paper on which the figure of the Holy Ghost was painted, which they worshipped on their knees, with great shew of devotion, as if they had been what they pretended. The Moors then informed our men by signs, that there were many other Christians at another place, too far for carrying them there; but that they should be conducted to see them when our ships came into the harbour. All this was done craftily to entice our people into the harbour, where they were determined to destroy them all.

After our two men had seen the city, they were conducted back to the king, who ordered them to be shewn ginger, pepper, cloves, and wheat, giving them samples of them all to be carried to the general, with assurance that he had great store of all these commodities, and would give him his loading if he desired it. They were likewise told, that he had great plenty of gold, silver, amber, wax, ivory, and other riches, which he would sell at lower prices than they could be bought in any other place. This message was brought off on Monday to the general; who, hearing the kings offer to furnish him with a loading of these commodities, was much rejoiced, and was much pleased with the information brought by the two convicts, and their good report of the people, city, and country, and more especially on account of the *two* Christians whom they had seen in the house of the Indian merchants. After a consultation with the other captains, it was determined to enter the port next day, and to accept the spices offered by the king of Mambaza, after which, to continue the voyage to Calicut; and, if they could not procure similar articles there, to return contented with what might be got in this place. In the meantime, several of the Moors visited our ships, conducting themselves with much gentleness and humility, and evincing an appearance of friendship and

and kindness to our people, as if they had been long and familiarly acquainted.

When the tide of flood was sufficiently advanced on the following morning, the general gave orders to weigh anchor, intending to carry the ships into the harbour. But the Almighty Disposer of events, not willing that he and his company should fall into the snare which the Moors had laid for their destruction, interposed to avert the danger, and to work their safety. For, when the generals ship had weighed anchor, and was about to enter the port, she touched on a shoal by the stern; upon which, he immediately let fall his anchor again, which was likewise done by the other captains. Seeing this, the Moors who were on board concluded that he would not enter the harbour that day, and instantly took to their boat, which was alongside, and made for the city: At the same time, the pilot of Mozambique leapt from the stern of the admirals ship into the water, and was taken into the boat by the Moors. The admiral called out to them to bring him back, but all in vain; on which he began to suspect that the Moors and their king had evil intentions towards him and his people, and was thankful for the accident which had detained him from the harbour, and preserved him from the purposed treachery. After explaining his apprehensions to the other captains, he commanded, in the evening of this day, that two of the Moors who had been made prisoners at Mozambique should be put to the torture, to endeavour to ascertain whether any treachery was intended, and to force them to disclose the same. This was done by dropping melted bacon upon their flesh; and they immediately confessed that treason was intended, and that the pilots had escaped by swimming from the ship, as fearing the same had been discovered. On this confession, the general resolved on no account to enter the harbour; yet determined to put another Moor to the torture, to learn if he were in confederacy with the rest. But this Moor, on seeing preparations made for the purpose, although his hands were bound, leapt into the sea; which was likewise done by another Moor before day-light.

Having thus discovered the secret mischiefs which had been prepared against him, the general gave thanks to God, by whose good providence he and his people had been delivered from imminent hazard of death among the infidels; whereupon he and his company joined in the *Salve regina* with great devotion. After this, lest the Moors might attempt

any

any thing against their safety during the night, he ordered a strong and vigilant armed watch to be kept. It is worthy of notice, that all the sick among our people, who were indeed many, began presently to get well from their first coming to Mombaza; so that in this time of their great necessity and danger, they found themselves sound and strong, beyond all human hope, and far above the ordinary course of nature; for which reason it can only be attributed to the marvellous and supernatural power of God, miraculously done at this peculiar instant time of need, for the preservation of these poor and distressed persons, whose only hope of safety was in him. After the night watch was set, those of the Berrio felt the cable by which they lay at anchor swagging, as if shaken by a great tunny, of which there were many in this place, very large and excellent food: But, on giving more attention to the circumstance, they perceived that this was occasioned by their enemies the Moors, some of whom were swimming about the cable, and were cutting it with knives or falchions, that the ship might drift on shore and fall a prey to them. On seeing this, our men scared them away by crying out, and gave notice to the other ships to be on their guard against similar attempts. Some people from the San Raphael went immediately to the assistance of the Berrio, and found some of the Moors about the chains and tacklings of the foremast, who cast themselves into the sea, and swam, along with those who had attempted to cut the cable, to certain boats that were in waiting at a short distance, in which, as our people afterwards learnt, there were a great number of the Moors, who now rowed away to the city in all haste.

Our fleet still remained off the harbour of Mombaza, all the Wednesday and Thursday following; during both of which nights the Moors came off in boats, which always lay close by the shore, whence some of them swam to the ships, endeavouring to cut our cables: But our men kept such strict watch, that they were unable to succeed. Our people, however, were always in much fear and perplexity, lest the Moors might burn our ships; and it was wonderful they did not make the attempt by means of the ships they had in the harbour, which, in all human probability, they had succeeded in, killing and destroying us all. It was conjectured that they were deterred from making this attempt, from fear of the ordnance in our ships; but whatever might appear

appear to us as the cause of their not using open force, it was assuredly the good pleasure and favour of God, that put their hearts in fear against making an open attack, by which we were preserved from the execution of their cruel purposes towards us.

The reason of the general remaining during the two days off Mombaza was, that he might endeavour to procure two pilots from thence to carry him to Calicut, without which assistance the voyage would have been very difficult, as our pilots had no knowledge of that country. But finding none were to be had, he took his departure from that place on Friday morning, though with a very light wind. On leaving the anchorage, he was forced to leave one of his anchors behind, as the crew was so completely exhausted by hauling up the rest, that they were unable to weigh this one. It was afterwards found by the Moors, and carried into their city, where it was deposited near the kings palace. When Don Francisco de Almeida, first viceroy of the Indies, took this place from the Moors, this anchor was there found, as I shall afterwards relate in the second book of this work.

Departing thus from Mombaza, the fleet continued its voyage along the coast to the north-east, and having very light wind, was obliged to come to anchor in the evening near the shore, about eight leagues from Mombaza. Towards the dawn of next day, two sambuccos, or little pinnaces, were seen about three leagues to the leeward of the fleet, and out at sea; on which, in hope of procuring some pilots who could carry him to Calicut, the general ordered the anchors to be weighed, and he and the other captains gave chase to the sambuccos the whole of that day. Towards vespers, the general came up with and captured one of these pinnaces, but the other escaped to the land. In the captured pinnace there were seventeen Moors, among whom was an old man, who seemed master over the rest, and had his young wife along with him. In this boat there was great store of silver and gold, and some victuals. On the same evening the fleet came to anchor off Melinda, which is eighteen leagues from Mombaza, and is in lat. 3° S. This place has no good harbour, being only an almost open roadstead, having a kind of natural pier or reef of rocks on which the sea beats with much violence, owing to which the ships have to ride at a considerable distance from the shore. The city stands

stands in a broad open plain, along the shore, surrounded with many palms, and other sorts of trees, which are green the whole year. It has also many gardens and orchards, abounding with all kinds of herbs and fruits, and many fountains of good water. Their oranges are particularly excellent, very large and sweet. They have also abundance of millet and rice, plenty both of cattle and sheep, and great store of fine poultry, which are very cheap. Melinda is a large city, with fair streets, and many good houses of stone and lime, containing several storeys, with windows, and having terraced roofs made of lime and earth. The native inhabitants are black, of well proportioned bodies, having curled hair; but many strangers resort thither and dwell in the city, who are Moors from Arabia, who conduct themselves in a commendable manner, especially the gentlemen or better sort. These, from the girdle upwards, go naked; but below the girdle they are dressed in silk, or fine stuffs of cotton, though some wear short cotton cloaks, after the old fashion. On their heads they wear certain cloths embroidered with silk and gold. They wear also rich daggers, ornamented with silken tassels of many colours, and very handsome swords. They are all left-handed, and go constantly armed with bows and arrows, taking great delight in archery, at which they are very expert. They account themselves good horsemen; yet there is a common saying on this coast, *the horsemen of Mombaza, and the women of Melinda*, as in Mombaza they are excellent horsemen, and the women of Melinda are very handsome, and dress richly.

In this city also there are many Gentiles from the kingdom of Cambaya in India, who are great merchants and trade to this place for gold, which is found in this country, as likewise ambergris, ivory, pitch, and wax; all of which commodities the inhabitants of Melinda exchange with the merchants of Cambaya for copper, quicksilver, and cotton cloth, to the profit and advantage of both parties. The king of this city is a Moor, who is served with far more state than any of the kings on this coast to the southwards. Being arrived over against this city, the general and all the people of the fleet were much rejoiced at seeing a city resembling those of Portugal, and gave thanks to God for their safe arrival. Being desirous of procuring pilots to navigate the fleet to Calicut, the general commanded to come to anchor, meaning to

use his endeavours for this purpose. For, hitherto, he could not learn from the Moors he had lately captured, whether any of them were pilots; and though he had threatened them with the torture, they always persisted in declaring that none of them had any skill in pilotage.

Next day, being Easter eve, the old Moor who had been made prisoner in the pinnace, told the general that there were four ships belonging to Christians of the Indies at Melinda, and engaged, if the general would allow him and the other Moors to go on shore, he would provide him, as his ransom, Christian pilots, and would farther supply him with every thing he might need. Well pleased with the speeches of the old Moor, the general removed his ships to within half a league of the city, whence hitherto no one came off to our fleet, as they feared our men might make them prisoners; for they had received intelligence that we were Christians, and believed our ships were men of war. On the Monday morning, therefore, the general commanded the old Moor to be landed on a ledge, or rock, opposite the city, and left there, expecting they would send from the city to fetch him off; which they did accordingly as soon as our boat departed. The Moor was carried directly to the king, to whom he said, as instructed by the general, what he chiefly desired to have. He farther said, that the general desired to have amity with the king, of whom he had heard a good report, hoping by his aid, and with the will of God, he might be enabled to discover the route to India. The king received this message favourably, and sent back the Moor in a boat to the general, accompanied by one of his own servants and a priest, saying, that he would most willingly conclude a treaty of amity with him, and should supply him with what pilots he needed. These messengers likewise presented the general from the king, with three sheep, and a great many oranges, and sugar canes, which he thankfully accepted; desiring the messengers to acquaint their master, that he gladly agreed to the profered amity, and was ready to confirm the same between them, and promised to enter their harbour next day. He farther desired them to inform the king, that he was the subject of a great and powerful sovereign in the west, who had sent him to discover the way to Calicut, with orders to enter into peace and amity with all kings and princes on whose territories he might happen to touch by the way. That it was

was now *two years*[40] since he left his own country, and that the king his master was a prince of such puissance and worth as he was convinced the king of Melinda would be glad to have for a friend. He then dismissed the messengers, sending as a present to their king a hat of the fashion of the time, two branches of coral, three brass basons, two scarfs, and some small bells.

On the second day after Easter, the general removed his ships nearer the city. The king knowing this, and believing that the king of Portugal must be a high-spirited prince, and the general a worthy subject, who had hazarded himself in so long and dangerous a voyage, became desirous of seeing such men; wherefore, he sent a more honourable message to the general, saying, that he proposed next day to visit him in person, intending that their meeting should be on the water; and sent him a present of six sheep, with a considerable quantity of cloves, ginger, pepper, and nutmegs. Upon this message, the general removed his fleet still nearer the city, and came to anchor close to the four ships of the Indies, of which the old Moor had made mention as belonging to Christians. When the owners of these ships learnt that we were Christians, they came immediately to visit our general, who happened then to be in the ship of Paulo de la Gama. These men were of a brown colour, but of good stature and well proportioned, dressed in long white cotton gowns, having large beards, and the hair of their heads long like women, and plaited up under their turbans or head-dresses. The general received them with much kindness and attention, asking, by means of an interpreter, who understood the language of Algarve, or Arabic, whether they were Christians. These men had some knowledge of that language, though it was not their own tongue, but had learnt it in the course of their trade and conversation with the Moors of Melinda, of whom they advised the general to beware, lest their inward intentions might be far different from their outward shew. Willing to make trial if these men were really Christians, the general caused a picture to be shewn them, on which our Lady was painted weeping, surrounded by some of the apostles, but without informing them what this was meant to represent. Immediately on this being set before them, they fell down

40 This is surely an oversight in Castaneda or his translator, for *one* year. —E.

down and worshipped the picture, praying for some time. The general then asked if they were of Calicut; on which they answered they were of Grangalor [41], still farther off, and could give him no information respecting Calicut. From this time, so long as our fleet remained at Melinda, these people came every day on board the ship of Paulo de la Gama, to pay their devotions before this picture, offering to the images which it represented gifts of pepper and other things. These Indian Christians, according to their own account, eat no beef.

On the last day of the week after Easter, and in the afternoon, the king of Melinda came off in a great boat to our fleet. He was dressed in a cassock of crimson damask lined with green satin, and wore a rich cloth or turban on his head. He sat in a chair, of the ancient fashion, very well made and wrought with wire, having a silk cushion; and on another chair beside him, there lay a hat of crimson satin. An old man stood by him as his page, who carried a very rich sword with a silver scabbard. In the boat there were many sacbuts, and two ivory flutes eight spans long, on which they played by a little hole in the middle, agreeing and according well with the music of the sacbuts. The king was likewise attended by about twenty Moorish gentlemen, all richly dressed. When the king had nearly attained our ships, the general went to meet him in his boat, gaily decorated with flags and streamers, himself dressed in his best apparel, and attended by twelve of the principal officers of the squadron, leaving his brother in charge of the ships. On the boats meeting, the two parties made every demonstration of friendship and respect; and the Moorish king immediately offered to come on board the generals boat, that he might see him the better. The general accordingly received him with all respect, and the king shewed as much honour and courtesy to the general as if he had been likewise a king. The Moorish king, after examining the dress and appearance of the general and his men with the utmost attention, asked the general the name of his king, which he commanded

41 It is difficult to ascertain what place in India is here meant. Cranganore comes nearer in sound, but is rather nearer Melinda than Calicut; Mangalore is rather more distant. The former a degree to the south of Calicut, the latter not quite two to the north; all three on the Malabar coast. On a former occasion, Castaneda says these merchants were of Cambaya or Guzerat, above eleven degrees north of Calicut.—E.

manded to be immediately written down. He particularly inquired respecting the power of the king of Portugal, and the general gave the most satisfactory answers to all his questions; particularly detailing the reasons of his being sent to discover Calicut, that Portugal might be thence supplied with spices, which were not to be had in his own country. The king, after giving him some information on these points, and respecting the straits of the Red Sea, promised to furnish the general with a pilot to carry him to Calicut, and then earnestly solicited him to accompany him to the city, where he might solace and refresh himself in the palace, after the fatigues and dangers of so long a voyage; and promised, if the general would do so, that he the king would visit him on board. To this the general prudently answered that he was not authorised by his instructions to go on shore, and that he could not answer for deviating from the orders of his sovereign. On this the king observed, that if he were to visit the ships, he could not well answer for his conduct to the inhabitants of his city; yet, he was grieved that the admiral refused to go into the city, which should be at his will and pleasure, and that of the king his master, to whom he should either write or send an ambassador, if the general would call in at Melinda on his return from Calicut. The general gave the king thanks for his politeness, and promised to return that way; and, while this conversation was going on, he sent for the Moors who had been taken in the pinnace, whom he presented to the king, saying, he would most gladly perform any other service that lay in his power to the king. The king was greatly pleased with this gift, which he valued as much as if the admiral had given him another city equal to Melinda.

Having ended their conversation, and confirmed their mutual friendship, the king rowed through among our ships, examining them with much pleasure and admiration, and was saluted in passing by many discharges of the ordnance, at which he and his attendants seemed much delighted. On this occasion, the general attended upon him in his own boat out of respect, and the king observed, that he never was so much pleased with any men as with the Portuguese, and would most gladly have some of them to help him in his wars. To this the general answered, that if his highness were to have experience of what they were able to perform, he would like the Portuguese still better; and that they should certainly give

give him aid, if it should please the king of Portugal to send any of his war ships to Calicut, which he did not doubt would be the case, if it were Gods will to permit the discovery of that place. After the king had satisfied his curiosity, he requested of the general, since he would not go himself into the city, to permit two of his men to go and see the palace, offering to leave his own son, and one of his chief priests, which they named Caçis[42], in pledge for their safe return. To this request the general consented, and sent two of our men along with the king: He, at his departure, requested that the general would next day, in his boat, come close to the shore, when he should be gratified with a sight of the native horsemen going through their evolutions. After this they separated.

Next day, being Thursday, the general and Nicholas Coello went in their boats well armed along the shore, according to the invitation of the king, keeping at a small distance from each other for mutual defence in case of need, where they saw many men skirmishing on the shore. As our boats approached the royal palace, certain of the kings attendants brought him in a chair down some stone stairs which led to the water; and, being then very near the generals boat, the king entered into friendly conversation with him, and once more entreated him to land and go to the palace; saying, that his father, who was lame, was exceedingly desirous to see him, and even offered, that, while the general remained on shore, he and his children would go on board the ships as hostages for his security. But our general, still dreading that some bitter treachery might lurk beneath this honied speech, continued to excuse himself from landing, as he had not permission from his own prince to do so, and must obey him in all things. After this, taking his leave of the king, he rowed past the ships of the Indian merchants, which he saluted in passing with his ordnance; and when they saw us pass, they held up their hands, exclaiming Christe! Christe!

That night, having obtained leave from the king, our men made them a great feast, with much diversion, also of squibs, firing of guns, and loud cries. The fleet remained at anchor for two days without any message from the shore, on which account

42 This seems to be the same office with that named Kadhi, or Khazi, by the Turks and Persians, which is rather the title of a judge than of a priest, which is named Moulah.—E.

account the general was much distressed, fearing the king had taken offence at his refusal to go on shore, and might break the peace and amity between them, and not send him any pilot. But on Sunday the 21st of April, a person who was in high credit with the king, came off to visit the general, who was much disappointed when this person brought no pilot, and again began to entertain suspicions of the kings intentions. When the king learnt this, and that the general remained merely for the purpose of having a pilot, he sent him one who was a Gentile, called *Gosarate*[43] in their language, and whose name was *Canaca*, sending an apology at the same time for not having sent this person sooner. Thus the king and the general remained friends, and the peace continued which had been agreed between them.

"De Barros and Faria give this pilot the name of *Malemo Cana*, and say that he belonged to one of the Indian ships of Cambaya, then at Melinda. De Barros adds, that he shewed De Gama a very small chart of the coast of India, laid down with meridians and parallels, but without rhumbs of the winds. This pilot shewed no surprise on seeing the large wooden and metal astrolabes belonging to the Portuguese, as the pilots of the Red Sea had long used brass triangular instruments and quadrants for astronomical observations, and that he and others who sailed from Cambaya, and the ports of India, navigated by the north and south stars, and the constellations of the eastern and western hemispheres; and, though they did not use these instruments in navigation, they employed one made of three pieces of board, similar to the *balhestillia*, or cross-staff of the Portuguese.

"In a collection of papers published in 1790, called *Documentos Arabicos*, from the royal archives of Lisbon, chiefly consisting of letters between the kings of Portugal and the tributary princes of the east in the sixteenth century, the *zeque*, *sheik*, or king of Melinda, with whom De Gama afterwards made a treaty of alliance, and whose ambassador he carried into Portugal, was named Wagerage[44]."

Having thus procured a pilot, and provided all things necessary for the voyage, De Gama departed from Melinda for Calicut,

43 It is probable that this passage should be thus understood, "The king sent him a pilot, who was an idolater from Guzerate, &c."—E.

44 The addition to, or observations on the text, inserted in this place within inverted commas, are from Clarke, I. 486, 487.—E.

Calicut, on Friday the 26th of April 1498 [45], and immediately made sail directly across the gulf which separates Africa from India, which is 750 leagues [46]. This gulf runs a long way up into the land northwards; but our course for Calicut lay to the east [47]. In following this voyage, our men saw the north star next Sunday, which they had not seen of a long while; and they saw the stars about the south pole at the same time. They gave thanks to God, that, whereas it had been represented to them, that in this season, which was the winter of the Indies, there were always great storms in this gulf, they now experienced fair weather. On Friday the 18th of May, twenty-three days after leaving Melinda, during all which time they had seen no land, they came in sight of India, at eight leagues distance, the land seeming very high. Canaca, the pilot, tried the lead and found forty-five fathoms, upon which he altered his course to the south-east, having fallen in with the land too far to the north. Upon the Saturday, he again drew near the land, but did not certainly know it, as the view was obscured by rain, which always falls in India at this season, being their winter. On Sunday the 20th of May, the pilot got view of certain high hills which are directly behind the city of Calicut, and came so near the land that he was quite sure of the place; on which he came up with great joy to the general, demanding his *albrycias*, or reward, as this was the place at which he and his company were so desirous to arrive. The general was greatly rejoiced at this news, and immediately satisfied the pilot, after which, he summoned all the company to prayers, saying the *salve*, and giving hearty thanks to God, who had safely conducted them to the long wished-for place of his destination. When prayer was over, there was great festivity and joy in the ships, which came that same evening to anchor two leagues from Calicut. Immediately upon anchoring, some of the natives came off to the ships in four boats, called *almadias*, inquiring whence our ships came, as they had

45 In Lichefild's translation this date is made the 22d; but the Friday after Sunday the 21st, must have been the 26th of the month.—E.

46 The difference of longitude between Melinda and Calicut is thirty-four degrees, which at $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the degree, gives only 575 Portuguese leagues, or 680 geographical leagues of twenty to the degree. Thus miserably erroneous are the estimated distances in old navigators, who could only compute by the dead reckoning, or the log.—E.

47 The course from Melinda to Calicut is about E. N. E. the former being about three degrees to the S. and the latter almost eleven degrees to the N. of the line.—E.

had never before seen any resembling their construction upon that coast. These natives were of a brown colour, and entirely naked, excepting very small aprons. Some of them immediately came on board the general, and the Guzerat pilot informed him these were poor fishermen; yet the general received them courteously, and ordered his people to purchase the fish which they had brought for sale. On conversing with them, he understood that the town whence they came, which was in sight, was not Calicut, which lay farther off, and to which they offered to conduct our fleet. Whereupon the general requested them to do this; and, departing from this first anchorage, the fleet was conducted by these fishermen to Calicut.

Calicut is a city on the coast of Malabar, a province of the second India, which begins at the mount of Delhi, and ends at Cape Comory, being sixty-one leagues in length, and fifteen leagues broad [48]. The whole of this country is very low, and apt to be covered with water, having many islands in its rivers, which flow into the Indian Sea. This country of Malabar is divided from the kingdom of Narsinga by a very high hill. The Indians report that this land of Malabar was covered by the sea of old, which then reached to the foot of the hills, and thence to a hill, where now the islands of the Maldives are found, which were then firm land; and that in after times it destroyed that latter country, and laid bare the country of Malabar, in which are many pleasant and rich cities, dependent upon trade, which they carry on principally with Calicut, which exceeds all cities of our days in riches and in vice. Its foundation and rise was as follows: In ancient times, this country of Malabar was entirely ruled by one king, who dwelt in the city of *Coulan*. In the reign of the last king of this race, named *Saranaperimal* [49], who died 600 years ago, the Moors of Mecca discovered India, and came to the province of Malabar, then inhabited by idolaters, and governed by an idolatrous king. From the time of the coming of these Moors, they began to reckon their years as we do, from the birth of

48 This vague account of the extent of Malabar is erroneous or corrupt, as sixty-one Portuguese leagues would barely reach from Cape Comorin to Calicut. The extreme length of the western maritime vale of India, from Cambay to Cape Comorin, exceeds 250 Portuguese leagues.—E.

49 The proper name of this prince who is said to have thus divided the kingdom of Malabar, was Shermanoo-Permaloo.—Clarke, I. 395.

of our Saviour [50]. After the coming of the Moors into Malabar, they insinuated themselves so much into the confidence of the before-mentioned king, that he became a convert to their law, renouncing the religion of his country, and embracing Mahometism with such zeal, that he resolved to go and end his days in the temple of Mecca. Having thus resolved, out of love to the Mahometan sect, to abandon his kingdom, he called his kindred together, and divided all his territories among them, reserving only twelve leagues of country near the place where he intended to embark, not then inhabited, which he bestowed upon one of his cousins who acted as his page. To this kinsman he gave his sword and turban, as ensigns of dignity; commanding all the other nobles, among whom he had distributed the rest of his territories, to obey this person as their emperor, the kings of Coulan and Cananor only excepted; whom also, and all the others, he debarred from coining money, which was only to be done by the king of Calicut. Having thus given away his whole dignities and possessions, and set every thing in order, he embarked from the place where Calicut now stands; and because this king embarked from that place on his pilgrimage to Mecca, the Moors have ever since held Calicut in so high devotion, that they and all their posterity would never take their lading from any other port. From that time forwards, they discontinued trade with the port of Coulan, which they had used formerly, and that port therefore fell to ruin; especially after the building of Calicut, and the settlement of many Moors in that place [51].

As the Moors are merchants of most extensive dealings, they have rendered Calicut, as the centre of their trade, the richest mart of all the Indies; in which is to be found all the spices, drugs, nutmegs, and other things that can be desired, all kinds of precious stones, pearls and seed-pearls, musk, sanders, aguila, fine dishes of earthen ware, lacker [52], gilded coffers,

50 This must be erroneous, as the Mahometans reckon from the year of the Hegira, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca, which commences in 622 of the Christian era.—E.

51 This story seems an Arabian tale, perhaps partly founded upon some real revolution in the government of Malabar. But it would much exceed the bounds of a note to enter upon disquisitions relative to Indian history.—E.

52 Laker is a kind of gum that proceedeth of the ant. This marginal note, in Lichefild's translation of Castaneda, indicates the animal origin of lac, which has been elucidated of late by Dr Roxburgh.—E.

coffers, and all the fine things of China, gold, amber, wax, ivory, fine and coarse cotton goods, both white and dyed of many colours, much raw and twisted silk, stuffs of silk and gold, cloth of gold, cloth of tissue, grain, scarlets, silk carpets, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, alum, coral, rose-water, and all kinds of conserves. Thus, every kind of merchandize from all parts of the world is to be found in this place; which, moreover, is very quiet, being situated along the coast, which is almost open and very dangerous. Calicut is surrounded by many gardens and orchards, producing all the herbs and fruits of this country in great abundance, having also many palms and other sorts of trees, and abounds in excellent water. This part of India produces but little rice, which is a principal article of food in these parts, as wheat is with us; but it procures abundance of that and all other kinds of provisions from other countries. The city is large, but the dwellings consist only of straw huts; their idol temples, and chapels, and the kings palace excepted, which are built of stone and lime and covered with tiles; for, by their laws, no others are permitted to build their houses of any other material than straw. At this time, Calicut was inhabited by idolaters of many sects, and by many Moorish merchants, some of whom were so rich as to be owners of fifty ships. These ships are made without nails, their planks being sewed together with ropes of *cayro*, made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, pitched all over, and are flat-bottomed, without keels. Every winter there are at least six hundred ships in this harbour, and the shore is such, that their ships can be easily drawn up for repairs.

"The subjects of the following digression are so intimately connected with the first establishment of the Portuguese in India, as to justify its introduction in this place, which will greatly elucidate the narrative of Castaneda; and its length did not admit of being inserted in the form of notes. It is chiefly due to the ingenious and Reverend James Stanier Clarke, in his Origin and Progress of Maritime Discovery, extracted by him from various sources."

"The name of this country, Malabar, is said to be derived from *Mulyam*, which signifies, in the original language of that part of India, *skirting the bottom of the hills*, corrupted into Maleyam or Maleam, whence probably came Mulievar, and Mala-bar. In a MS. account of Malabar, it is said that little more than 2300 years ago, the sea came up to the

the foot of the *Sukien* mountains, or the western *gauts.* The emerging of the country from the waters is fabulously related to have been occasioned by the piety or penitence of Puresram Rama, who prayed to *Varauna*, the God of the ocean, to give him a track of land to bestow on the Bramins. Varauna accordingly commanded the sea to withdraw from the *Gowkern*, a hill near Mangalore, all the way to Cape Comorin; which new land long remained marshy and scarcely habitable, and the original settlers were forced to abandon it on account of the numerous serpents by which it was infested: But they afterwards returned, being instructed to propitiate the serpents by worshipping them.

"At first this country was divided into four *Tookrees* or provinces, these into *Naadhs* or districts, and these again into *Khunds* or small precincts. The Bramins established a kind of republican or aristocratical government, under a few principal chiefs; but jealousies and disturbances taking place, they procured a *Permaul* or chief governor from the prince of Chaldesh, a sovereignty in the southern Carnatic: Yet it is more likely that this sovereign took advantage of the divisions among the chiefs of Malabar, to reduce them under his authority. These permauls or viceroys were for a long while changed every twelve years; till at length one of them, named Sheo-Ram, Cheruma Perumal, or Shermanoo Permaloo, the Sarana-perimal of Castaneda, became so popular that he set his master *Kishen Rao*, the rajah of Chaldesh, at defiance, and established his own authority in Malabar. An army was sent into Malabar to reduce the country again to obedience, but it was defeated, and from this event, which is said to have happened 1000 years ago, all the rajahs, chief *nayres*, and other lords of Malabar, date the sovereignty and independence of their ancestors in that country.

"After some time, Shermanoo-Permaloo, either became weary of his situation, or from attachment to the Mahometan religion, resolved to make a division of Malabar among his dependents, from whom the present chieftains are descended. Such is the current story among the inhabitants of Malabar; yet it is more probable that his dependent chieftains, disgusted with his conversion to the religion of Mahomet, revolted from his authority, and contrived this story of his voluntary surrender and division of his dominions, to justify their own assumptions. After this division of his kingdom, it is said that an *erary*, or person of the cast

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of cow-herds, originally from the banks of the Cavery, near Errode in the Carnatic, who had been a chief instrument of the success of Shermanoo-Permaloo in the war against rajah Kishen Rao, made application to Shermanoo for some support. Having very little left to give away, Shermanoo made him a grant of his own place of abode at Calicut, and gave him his sword, ankle-rings, and other insignia of command, and presented him with water and flowers, the ancient symbols of a transfer of property. It is said that this cowherd rajah was ordained principal sovereign over the other petty princes among whom Malabar was divided, with the title of Zamorin, and was authorized by Shermanoo to extend his dominion over all the other chieftains by force of arms. His descendents have ever since endeavoured, on all occasions, to enforce this pretended grant, which they pretend to hold by the tenure of possessing the sword of Shermanoo Permaloo, and which they carefully preserve as a precious relic.

"From the period of the abdication of Shermanoo, to that of the arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut, the Mahomedan religion had made considerable progress in Malabar; and the Arabian merchants received every encouragement from the Samoories or Zamorins, as they made Calicut the staple of their Indian trade, and brought large sums of money yearly to that place, for the purchase of spiceries and other commodities. As the rajahs of Cochin and other petty sovereignties on the coast, were exceedingly jealous of the superior riches and power of the zamorins, and of the monopoly of trade enjoyed by Calicut, they gave every encouragement to the Portuguese to frequent their ports; from whence arose a series of warfare by sea and land, which has finally reduced them all under subjection to the Europeans.

"According to an Arabian author, *Zeirreddien Mukhdom*, who is supposed to have been sent to assist the zamorins and the Mahomedans in India, in their wars with the Portuguese, Malabar is then said to have been divided among a multiplicity of independent princes or rajahs, whom he calls *Hakims*, some of whom commanded over one or two hundred men, and others one, ten, fifteen, or even as high as thirty, thousand, or upwards. The three greatest powers at that time were, the *Colastrian*[53] rajah to the north, the zamorin

53 From the sequel in the narrative of Castaneda, this Colastrian rajah seems to have been the sovereign of Cananor.—E.

morin of Calicut in the centre, and a rajah in the south, who ruled from Coulan, Kalum, or Coulim, to Cape Comorin, comprehending the country now belonging to the rajah of Travancore.

"We now return from this digression, to follow the narrative of the Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India, as related by Castaneda."

So great was the trade and population of Calicut and the surrounding country, and the revenues of its sovereign through these circumstances, that he was able to raise a force of thirty thousand men in a single day, and could even bring an hundred thousand men into the field, completely equipt for war, in three days. This prince, in the language of the country, was styled the Zamorin, or Samoryn, which signifies Emperor; as he was supreme over the other two kings of Malabar, the king of Coulan and the king of Cananor. There were indeed other princes in this country, who were called kings, but were not so. This zamorin or king of Calicut was a bramin, as his predecessors had been, the bramins being priests among the Malabars. It is an ancient rule and custom among these people, that all their kings must die in a pagoda [54], or temple of their idols; and that there must always be a king resident in the principal pagoda, to serve those idols: Wherefore, when the king that serves in the temple comes to die, he who then reigns must leave his government of temporal affairs to take his place in the temple; upon which another is elected to take his place, and to succeed in ruling the kingdom. If the king who is in possession of the temporal authority should refuse to retire to the pagoda, on the death of the king who officiated in spirituals, he is constrained to do so, however unwilling.

The kings and nobles of Malabar are of a brown complexion, and go naked from the waist upwards, all the under parts of their bodies being clothed in silk or cotton vestments; yet they sometimes wear short gowns on their upper parts, called *basus*, of rich silk, or cloth of gold, or of scarlet, splendidly ornamented with precious stones, of all which the zamorin hath great store. They shave their beards, leaving only the hair on their upper lips, and do not shave the

54 This word pagoda, applied by the Portuguese to denote an Indian temple, is said to be derived from a Malabar or Indian word, *Pagabadi*, signifying any idol.—Astley, I. 31.

the head like the Turks. In general, the natives of this country, even of the higher ranks, use little state in their households, and are very sparing in their diet; but the zamorin is served with considerable splendour. These kings or nobles never marry; but every one has a mistress of the Nayre cast, which, among the Malabars, are considered as the gentry; even the zamorin has only a mistress, who has a house of her own near the palace, and a liberal allowance for the charges of her household and maintenance at her own disposal. Upon any dislike or difference, he may always leave her for another. The children are only considered as the offspring of the mother, and have no right or title to inherit the kingdom, or any thing else belonging to the father; and when grown up, are only held in that rank or estimation which belongs to the blood or parentage of their mother. Brothers succeed to brothers; and in lack of these, the sons of their sisters, who do not marry, and have no certainty respecting the fathers of their children; as they are very free and dissolute in their manners, choosing paramours as they please.

These sisters of the zamorin, and other kings of Malabar, have handsome allowances to live upon; and when any of them reaches the age of ten, their kindred send for a young man of the Nayre cast, out of the kingdom, and give him great presents to induce him to initiate the young virgin; after which he hangs a jewel round her neck, which she wears all the rest of her life, as a token that she is now at liberty to dispose of herself to any one she pleases as long as she lives.

When these kings are at war with each other, they often go personally into the field, and even join personally in fight upon occasion. When one of them dies, the body is carried out into the fields, and burned on a pile of sanders, and of another sweet smelling wood called *aguila*, all his brothers and kindred, and all the nobles of the country being present at the ceremony; which is uniformly postponed to the third day after death, that all may have time to gather from a distance, and may have an opportunity of being assured whether his death was natural, or caused by violence: Since, if he died by the hand of any one, all are bound to prosecute revenge. After the body is burnt, and the ashes buried, the whole company shaves every part of their bodies, even to the youngest child of these idolaters. This is their token of mourning; and during the ensuing thirteen days, they all refrain

refrain from chewing betel, any one infringing this law being punished by cutting his lips. During this period of thirteen days, he who is to succeed to the throne must abstain from all exercise of government, that any one who pleases may have an opportunity of urging any valid objection why he should not acquire the vacant government. After this the successor is sworn before all the nobles of the country, to preserve and enforce all the laws and customs of their ancestors, to pay the debts of his predecessor, and to use his utmost endeavours to recover any portion of the kingdom that may have been lost. While taking this oath, having his sword in his left hand, he holds in his right hand a burning candle, on which is a gold ring, which he touches with his fingers. After this they throw some grains of rice over him, using many other ceremonies, and numerous prayers, and then worship the sun three times. When all these ceremonies are gone through, all the *Caymayles*, or lords of noble birth, taking hold of the candle, take an oath to be true and faithful subjects to the new king.

After the end of the thirteen days mourning, they all begin to chew betel, and to eat flesh and fish as formerly, the new king alone excepted. He is bound to mourn for his predecessor during a whole year, chewing no betel, eating no flesh or fish, neither shaving his beard nor cutting his nails during all that time. He must eat only once a-day, washing himself all over before this single meal, and devoting certain hours of every day to prayer. After the expiry of the year, he uses a certain ceremony for the soul of the king his predecessor, much like our solemn dirge; at which 100,000 persons are often assembled, among whom he distributes large alms. When this ceremony is ended, the prince is confirmed as inheritor of the kingdom, and all the people depart.

The zamorin of Calicut, and the other kings of Malabar, have each one especial officer, to whom the administration of justice is confided, and whose authority in all matters of government is as ample as that of the king himself. The soldiers employed by these kings are called *Nayres*, who are all gentlemen, and who follow no other office or employ but that of fighting when needed. They are all idolaters, armed with bows, arrows, spears, daggers of a hooked form, and targets, and they march in a very regular and warlike manner; but they go entirely naked and barefooted, wearing

only

only a piece of painted cotton cloth, which reaches from the girdle to the knees, and a cloth or kerchief on their heads. All these men live continually at the charge of the king and nobles of the country, from whom they have small stipends for their maintenance; and they esteem themselves so highly on account of their gentility of blood, that they will not touch an husbandman, nor allow any such to enter into their dwellings. When any husbandman goes through the streets they must continually call out aloud *hoo hoo;* for if commanded by a nayre to make way, they may be slain if they refuse. The king cannot raise any one to the rank of a *nayre*, who are all such by descent. These *nayres* serve very faithfully under those who give them their wages, not sparing by day or night to use their best endeavours to serve their chiefs, nor making any account of want of food or sleep, or of fatigue, when their service is required or may be effectual. Their expences are so small, that on half-a-crown, which is their only monthly pay, they can sufficiently maintain themselves and a boy, whom each has as a servant.

By the laws of this country, these nayres cannot marry, so that no one has any certain or acknowledged son or father; all their children being born of mistresses, with each of whom three or four nayres cohabit by agreement among themselves. Each one of this confraternity dwells a day in his turn with the joint mistress, counting from noon of one day to the same time of the next, after which he departs, and another comes for the like time. They thus spend their lives without the care or trouble of wives and children, yet maintain their mistresses well according to their rank. Any one may forsake his mistress at his pleasure; and in like manner, the mistress may refuse admittance to any one of her lovers when she pleases. These mistresses are all gentlewomen of the Nayre cast; and the nayres, besides being prohibited from marrying, must not attach themselves to any woman of a different rank. Considering that there are always several men attached to one woman, the nayres never look upon any of these children born of their mistresses as belonging to them, however strong a resemblance may subsist, and all inheritances among the nayres go to their brothers, or the sons of their sisters, born of the same mothers, all relationship being counted only by female consanguinity and descent. This strange law prohibiting marriage, was established, that they might have neither wives or children on

whom to fix their love and attachment; and that being free from all family cares, they might the more willingly devote themselves entirely to warlike service. And the more to animate these gentlemen in the service of the wars, and to encourage them to continue in the order of nayres, they are privileged from all imprisonments, and from the punishment of death on all ordinary occasions, except for the following crimes; killing another nayre, or a cow which is an object of worship, sleeping or eating with an ordinary woman, or speaking evil of the king. When the king has received authentic information of any of these offences having been committed, he issues a written mandate to one of the nayres, commanding him to take two or three other nayres in his company, and to slay the nayre who has committed this offence against the laws. In obedience to this warrant, they attack him with their swords and put him to death wherever they happen to find him, and then affix the royal order upon his body, that all may know the reason of his death.

It is not permitted to any nayre to assume arms, or to enter into any combat, till he has been armed as a knight. When a nayre becomes seven years old, he is set to learn the use of all kinds of weapons, their masters first pulling and twisting their joints to make them supple, and then teaching them to fence and handle their arms adroitly. Their principal weapons are swords and targets; and these teachers, who are graduates in the use of the weapons, are called *Panycaes*, who are much esteemed among the nayres, and all their former scholars, however advanced in life or however high their dignity, are bound at all times to give them due honour and reverence when they meet; likewise, every *nayre* is obliged to take lessons from these professors for two months yearly, all their lives: By this means they are very skilful in the use of their weapons, in which they take great pride. When a nayre desires to be armed as a knight, he presents himself before the king, accompanied by all his kindred and friends, and makes an offering of sixty gold fannoms [55]. On which he is asked by the king if he is willing to observe and follow the laws and customs of the nayres, to which he answers in the affirmative. Then the king commands him to be girt with a sword, and laying his right hand on his head, utters

[55] This is described by Castaneda as a coin equal in value to three crowns.

utters certain words as if praying in so low a voice that he is not heard. The king then embraces the young nayre, saying aloud in their language, "Take good care to defend the Bramins and their kine." On this the nayre falls down and does reverence to the king; and from that time he is considered as a knight, or member of the fraternity of nayres. When any of the nayres enters into the peculiar service of the king or of any individual noble, he binds himself to die with and for him, and they keep their oaths. For, if their master should happen to be slain in any war or otherwise, they will fight till they are all slain; and if they cannot accomplish their purpose at the time, or happen to be absent at the slaughter of their master, they go afterwards in search of the person who has done the deed, and never leave off till they are themselves slain.

The Malabars are much given to soothsaying, and have lucky and unlucky days. They worship the sun moon and stars, the fire, cows, and the first thing they meet on going out of a morning, believing every manner of vanity. The devil is often in them, but they say it is one of their gods or *pagods*, as they call him. But whosoever or whatsoever it may be, it constrains them to utter terrible words, which are believed by the king. When the devil enters into a nayre, he goes with a naked sword before the king, shaking and trembling and giving himself many wounds, saying, "I am such or such a god, and am come to tell thee such and such a thing," crying out, and behaving himself like a madman or one possessed. If the king makes any doubt of what he says, he continues to roar still louder and to slash himself more severely, till the king gives credit to his assertions. There are other tribes or lineages of people among the Malabars, of various sects and divers customs, of whom it were too tedious to speak in this place, who are all under obedience to the several kings and nobles. The Moors alone are exempted from this obedience, on account of the large customs they pay for their merchandize, owing to which they are held in high estimation at Calicut.

Having come to anchor on the outside of the bar or reef of Calicut, the general sent one of the Portuguese convicts on shore, in one of the almadias which had conducted the ships to this port; instructing him to see what kind of a place it was, and to make trial of what kind of a reception might be looked for, seeing we were Christians, and as the

general

general believed that the people were likewise Christians. When this man landed, he was immediately surrounded by great numbers of the natives, staring at him as a stranger. These people asked of the fishermen what man this was whom they had brought on shore? to which they answered, that they supposed him to be a Moor, and that he belonged to the three ships which were riding without the bar. But the people of Calicut wondered much to see a person who was clothed so very differently from the Moors who came from the Red Sea. Some of these people who had knowledge of Arabic spoke to this man, but he could not understand or answer them, at which they were much astonished. Yet, believing him to be a Moor, they conducted him to a house where two Moors dwelt who came originally from Tunis and had established themselves in Calicut. On his appearance, one of these Moors whose name was Bontaybo [56], who could speak Spanish, immediately recognized him for a Portuguese, having often seen people of our nation at Tunis in the reign of King John, in a ship named La Reyna which often traded to that port. As soon as Bontaybo saw the Portuguese, he exclaimed in Spanish, *Devil take you, what brought you here?* He farther inquired which way he had travelled so as to arrive at Calicut? To this the banished man answered, telling how many ships our general had brought with him; at which Bontaybo was much amazed, wondering how they could possibly come by sea from Portugal to India. He then asked what they sought at so great a distance from home? And was answered that they came in search of Christians and spices. Bontaybo then asked why the kings of France and Spain and the Doge of Venice had not sent their ships likewise? Because, said our man, the king of Portugal would not allow them. To this Bontaybo said, he was much in the right. After some farther conversation in this way, Bontaybo gave him good entertainment, commanding certain cakes of wheat flour and honey, called *apes* by the Malabars, to be set before him; and then said that he would accompany him to the ships to wait upon the general.

Bontaybo accordingly came on board our general, whom he immediately addressed in Spanish, saying, "Good luck! good luck! many rubies, many emeralds. Thou art bound to

56 By De Faria, this man is named Monzayde.—Astl. I. 30.

to give God thanks for having brought thee where there is abundance of all sorts of spices, precious stones, and all the other riches of the world." On hearing this, the general and all the people were greatly astonished, not expecting to meet any one so far from home who understood their language; and even shed tears of joy for this happy circumstance, and their safe arrival. They all then joined in humble and hearty thanks to the Almighty, by whose favour and assistance alone this great happiness and good fortune had been accorded to them. The general embraced Bontaybo, whom he made to sit beside him, and questioned him if he were a Christian, and how he came to Calicut. Bontaybo told him frankly that he was a Moor from Tunis in Barbary, and had come to Calicut by way of Cairo and the Red Sea, and explained how he came to know the Portuguese, as has been already mentioned. He farther declared, that he had always been well disposed towards the Portuguese nation, having always found them worthy of confidence and friendship in all their dealings; and, having been a friend to them in times past, he would not discontinue his good will, and was ready and willing to do every thing in his power to serve them, and to assist them in the objects for which they had now come to Calicut. The general gave him many thanks for his good will, and promised to reward him liberally for the friendly aid he might give to him and his expedition, expressing his extreme satisfaction at being so fortunate as to meet such a person in this place, believing that God had sent him here to promote the great objects of this voyage, for which he passed through so many and long continued dangers, being quite sensible that he must have reaped little profit from all his labours without such friendly assistance.

The general then requested information from Bontaybo, as to the character of the king or zamorin of Calicut, and whether, in his opinion, he would willingly receive him as ambassador from the king of Portugal. Bontaybo represented the zamorin as a prince of good and honourable dispositions, who, he was convinced, would gladly receive the general as ambassador from a foreign king; more especially, if the objects of his voyage were to establish a trade with Calicut, and if the general had brought with him any merchandize proper for that purpose; since the advantages which the zamorin derived from the customs upon trade formed the chief

source

source of his revenue. He farther informed the general, that the zamorin resided at this time at Panane, a village on the coast about five leagues from Calicut; and advised that the general should send a message there to notify his arrival, and the reasons of his coming. The general was well pleased with this advice and presented certain gifts to Bontaybo, along with whom he sent two of his men to Calicut, requesting Bontaybo to direct them on their way to Panane, which he did accordingly. When these messengers came into the presence of the zamorin, one of them, named *Fernan Martyn*, declared to him, by means of an interpreter, "That he waited upon his highness on the part of his general, who had arrived in the port of Calicut with three ships, having been sent there by the king of Portugal with letters to his highness, which the general begged permission to present to him." On hearing this message, and before giving any answer, the zamorin commanded each of the two messengers to be presented with a piece cotton cloth and two pieces of silk, such as he used in his own apparel; after which he inquired of Fernan Martyn what king it was who had sent him these letters, and how far his dominions were from thence. Fernan fully answered these inquiries, adding, that he was a Christian prince, and that those whom he had sent in the ships now at Calicut were Christians; and related what great and numerous dangers they had passed through during their voyage. The zamorin was much amazed at the incidents of the voyage which Fernan related at some length, and expressed his satisfaction that so powerful a prince of the Christians should think of sending an ambassador to him from so great a distance. He then desired Fernan to inform the general, that he heartily welcomed him and his people into his dominions, advising him to bring his ships to anchor near a village called *Pandarane* some way below where the ships then lay, as a far better harbour than Calicut which is an open and very dangerous road for shipping. The zamorin desired likewise that the general might come by land from that place to Calicut, where he would be ready to receive him. After this, the zamorin sent a pilot to navigate the ships to the harbour of Pandarane; but, on coming to the bar of that port, the general did not think it advisable to enter so far within the harbour as the pilot proposed, fearing lest he might expose himself to danger by reposing too great confidence in these people, and placing himself too much

within

within their power. In this he acted with much prudent foresight, by which he wisely avoided the injuries which were afterwards attempted against him at this place.

On his arrival at Pandarane, the general received a message from the kutwal[57] of Calicut, intimating that he and other nobles awaited him on shore by order of the zamorin, to conduct him to the city, and that he had permission to land whenever he pleased[58]. But as the day drew near a close, the general returned an answer excusing himself from landing that night. He immediately called a council of the other captains and principal officers of the fleet, to take their advice on the present emergency, to whom he intimated his intention of going to visit the king of Calicut on purpose to settle a treaty of trade and amity. Paulo de Gama, his brother, strongly objected to his venturing on shore; alleging that although the natives of the place were Christians, as they still believed them, yet there were many Moors among them who were much to be feared as his mortal enemies; since these people at Mozambique and Mombaza, where they had only passed by their ports, endeavoured to destroy them all, they were much more to be feared at Calicut where we had come on purpose to enter into competition with them in trade, by which their profits would be diminished. It was therefore the more probable that they would use every effort to destroy the general, on whom our whole hope of safety and success depended; and, however much the zamorin might regret the commission of such a deed, he could not restore him to life: besides which, the Moors were inhabitants of the place, where they had much interest, whereas the general was an utter stranger. Likewise, it was quite impossible for them to be assured that the king of Calicut might not have leagued with the Moors for his death or captivity; either of which would ruin their voyage and prove the destruction of them all, and all the toils and dangers they had passed through would prove in vain. To prevent all this danger,

57 The title of kutwal is of Arabic origin, and properly signifies the governor of a fort or castle, but the office may be different in different places. In some instances, the kutwal seems to have been the deputy-governor, sheriff, or judge of a town.—Astl. I. 30.

58 Such are the expressions used by Lichefild; but I suspect the sense here ought to have been, That the kutwal required De Gama to land immediately, that he might go to Calicut, on purpose to be presented to the zamorin.—E.

ger, he strongly urged that the general should on no account go on shore, but should depute one of the captains, or some other person in the fleet in his stead; alleging that commanders in chief ought never to subject themselves to personal danger, unless in cases of the most urgent necessity.

All the officers were of the same opinion. But the general answered, that even if he were perfectly assured that his landing were to occasion his instant death, he would not refrain from going to visit the king of Calicut, to endeavour to settle amity and trade, and that he might procure some spices and other commodities from the place, by means of which their discovery of Calicut might be proved on their return into Portugal: As otherwise, if we returned without any of the productions of the Indies, their discovery would be discredited, and their honour and veracity called in question. "Think not therefore," said he, "but I will rather die, than leave it in hazard that the long time we have already spent, and may yet employ, shall be lost, and others sent to ascertain the truth of our discoveries, while envious persons may have it in their power to discredit our services. Neither do I run into such hazard of death, nor expose you to such dangers as you suppose; seeing that I am going to a city inhabited by Christians, and to a king who wishes the concourse of many merchants in his dominions, as the more of these that frequent his port so much the greater must be his revenue from the customs upon trade. It is not my intention to stay long on shore, so as to give opportunity to the Moors to complot against me; as I propose only to talk with the king and to return in three days, by which time you may may have every thing in readiness for our departure. If I should have the good fortune, by the will of God, to establish trade and amity with the king of Calicut, I would not exchange the honour and credit of that transaction for any treasure that could be given me; neither can the king of Calicut settle this affair so well with any other person, as he will honour me the more for being the captain-general of this fleet and the ambassador of our king. Should any other go in my stead, the king might look upon himself as slighted and insulted, under an idea that I do not esteem him worthy to be visited by myself, or that I do not trust him on his word and assurance. Besides, it is not possible for me to give sufficiently ample instructions to any one I might

9 send,

send, to enable him to do what may be necessary under every circumstance that may arise, as I myself might do. Even if it should chance that they kill me, it were better this should happen in the discharge of my duty, than that I should preserve my life by neglecting to perform it. You, my friends, remain at sea in good ships: And if you hear of any mischance befalling me, my desire is that you shall immediately depart and carry home news of our discovery. As for our present subject, there need be no farther argument; as I am determined, with the blessing of God, to proceed to visit the king at Calicut."

When this determination was made known the captains made no farther objections, and chose out twelve persons to accompany him, among whom were Diego Diaz his secretary, Fernan Martinez the interpreter, John de Sala who was afterwards treasurer of the Indies, and nine others; and Paulo de Gama, his brother, was appointed to act as captain-general during his absence. The general, before going on shore, gave pointed orders that no person should on any account be permitted to come on board the ships; but that all who were desirous of any intercourse with them should remain in their boats or almadias. He likewise directed that Nicholas Coello should come every day with his boat well armed as near the shore as he could with safety, on purpose to keep up an intercourse between the ships and himself. All these things being settled, the general went on shore with his twelve attendants, all in their best attire; their boat furnished with much ordnance, dressed out with flags and streamers, and sounding trumpets all the way from the ships to the shore. On landing, the general was received with every demonstration of respect by the kutwal, attended by 200 nayres, and a great concourse of natives, both of the country and from the city of Calicut. After compliments were passed, the general was placed in an *andor* or litter, which the king of Calicut had sent for his use. In this country it is not customary to travel on horseback, but in these andors. This vehicle is like a horse-litter, except that they are very plain with low sides, and are carried by four men on their shoulders who run post in this manner, carrying the king or any noble person when on a journey, and going at a great rate. The person in the andor may either sit or lie as he pleases; and certain servants carry umbrellas, which they call *bueys*, to shelter the person in the andor from the

sun

sun and rain. There are other andors which have a curved cane over them like a bow, and are so light that they can be carried by two men.

The general being mounted in one andor and the kutwal in another, they set out for a town called Capocate[59], all the rest being on foot; but the kutwal appointed certain people of the country to carry the baggage of our men, which was restored to them at Capocate, where the party stopped for refreshment, the general and his people being in one house and the kutwal in another. Our people were here provided with boiled fish, with rice and butter, and some of the country fruits which are very good, though quite different from ours. One of these fruits is called *lacas*, and another Mango, and they have figs likewise. The water was excellent, and as good as any in Portugal. After resting and refreshing themselves at Capocate, the general and his suite were embarked in a vessel called an *ensangada* , consisting of two almadias lashed side by side. The kutwal and his train embarked in many other boats; and the whole went up a river which discharges itself into the sea at this place. The numbers of people that came to the river side to view our men as they passed was quite countless, by which it appears that the country was well inhabited. After going about a league up this river, our people came to a place where many large ships were drawn up on the shore. The whole party here disembarked and proceeded by land, the general and kutwal in andors as before, being surrounded by thousands who were curious to see the strangers, even many women pressing into the crowd with their children slung at their backs.

From this place the kutwal carried the general to one of their pagodas or idol temples, into which they entered, and which the kutwal said was a church of great holiness. This the general believed to be the case, fancying it to be a church of the Christians ; which he the more readily believed, as he saw seven little bells hung over the principal door. In front of this entry, there stood a pillar made of wire as tall as the mast of a ship, on the top of which was a weathercock likewise made of wire. This church was as large as a moderate convent, all built of freestone, and covered, or vaulted over with

59 In Astley, I. 31. this place is named Kapokats.—E.

with brick, having a fine outward appearance as if its inside were of splendid workmanship. Our general was much pleased with this church, as he actually believed himself in a Christian country, and gladly entered along with the kutwal. They were received by the priests, who were naked from the waist upwards, having a kind of petticoats of cotton hanging down from the girdle to their knees, and pieces of calico covering their arm-pits, their heads legs and feet bare. They were distinguished by wearing certain threads over their right shoulders, which crossed over their breasts under their left arms, much in the way in which our priests used formerly to wear their stoles when they said mass. These men are called kafrs[60], and are idolaters, serving as priests in the pagodas of Malabar; and on the general going into the pagoda, they took holy water with a *sprinkle* from a font, and threw it over the kutwal and him and their attendants. After this, they gave them powdered sandalwood to throw upon their heads, as used to be done amongst us with ashes; and they were directed to do the same on their arms. But our people, as being clothed, omitted this latter part of the ceremony, complying with the other.

In this pagoda they saw many images painted on the walls, some of which had monstrous teeth projecting an inch from their mouths, and some had four arms; all of them so ugly that they seemed like devils, which raised doubts among our people whether they were actually in a Christian church. In the middle of the pagoda stood a chapel, having a roof or dome of freestone like a tower, in one part of which was a door of wire, to which there led a flight of stone steps. On the inside of this tower an image was observed in a recess of the wall, which our men could not see distinctly, as the place was somewhat dark, and they were not permitted to go near, as none were allowed to approach except the priests. But from

60 Kafr is an Arabic word, signifying an infidel or unbeliever; and is applied by the Mahometans to all who do not believe the doctrines of Mahomet, and especially to all who worship images, including the Roman Catholics. The priests mentioned in the text were obviously bramins. The origin of the term here used by mistake, was obviously from the interpretation of Bontaybo, the friendly Moor; and explains the mistake of De Gama in believing the Malabars to have been Christians. Bontaybo applied the same significant term of kafr to the image worshippers of all denominations, without discriminating one species of idolater from another.—E.

from certain words and signs, our people understood this to be an image of the Virgin; on which the general and his attendants went upon their knees to say their prayers [61]. John de Sala, however, being very doubtful that this was not a Christian church, owing to the monstrous images on the walls, said, as he fell on his knees, "*If this be the devil, I worship God,*" on which the general looked at him with a smile. The kutwal and his people, as they approached the chapel, prostrated themselves three times on their faces with their hands extended before them, after which they arose and said their prayers standing.

From this place they went forwards to the city of Calicut, and were taken at their arrival into another pagoda similar to the former. After this, on entering the city, the crowd was so great that they could hardly make their way through the streets. The general was astonished to see such multitudes, and praised God for having brought him in safety to this city, humbly beseeching his divine mercy so to guide him on his way that he might accomplish the objects of his expedition, and return safely into Portugal. At length the pressure of the crowd became so great that the bearers were unable to get forwards, and the whole company were forced to take shelter in a house. They were here joined by the kutwals brother, a nobleman who was sent by the king to accompany the general to the palace, and had many nayres along with him. The procession again set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way; and one of the nayres carried a *caliver*, which he fired off at intervals. After they were joined by the kutwals brother, the mob gave way for the procession to pass, and shewed as much reverence as if the king himself had been present. There went in the procession at least 3000 armed men, and the multitudes of spectators, in the streets, at the doors and windows, and on the roofs, were quite innumerable. The general was well pleased at his honourable reception, and said pleasantly to those of his company, "*They little think in Portugal how honourably we are received here.*"

The procession arrived at the palace an hour before sunset. Though only constructed of earth, the palace was very extensive

61 On this part of the text, the author, or the original translator, makes the following singular marginal reflection:—"The general deceived, committeth idolatry with the Devil."—E.

extensive and seemed a handsome structure, having great numbers of trees interspersed among the different buildings, with pleasant gardens full of fine flowers and odoriferous plants, and many fountains; as the zamorin never goes out of the palace while resident in Calicut. On arriving at the palace, several caymals and other noblemen came out to receive the general, who led him to a large square immediately in front of the gates, whence they passed through four several courts, at the gate of each of which there were ten porters who were obliged to lay about them with sticks among the people to clear the way. On coming to the gate of the house in which the king resided, they were met by the chief bramin, or high priest of the royal household, a little old man, who embraced the general, and conducted him and his people into the palace. At this time the people pressed forwards with much eagerness to get a sight of the king, which they very seldom do as he goes very rarely out of the palace; and the multitude was so great that some of them were stifled in the throng, which would likewise have been the case with two of our men, if they had not gone on before, with the assistance of the porters, who severely hurt many of the mob, and forced them to make way. On passing the last gate, the general and his attendants entered along with the noblemen into a great hall, surrounded with seats of timber raised in rows above one another like our theatres, the floor being covered by a carpet of green velvet, and the walls hung with silk of various colours. The king was of a brown complexion, large stature, and well advanced in years. He lay on a sofa covered with a cloth of white silk and gold, and a rich canopy over his head. On his head he had a cap or mitre adorned with precious stones and pearls, and had jewels of the same kind in his ears. He wore a jacket of fine cotton cloth, having buttons of large pearls and the button-holes wrought with gold thread. About his middle he had a piece of a white calico, which came only down to his knees; and both his fingers and toes were adorned with many gold rings set with fine stones; his arms and legs were covered with many golden bracelets. Close to his sofa there stood a gold shallow bason on a gold stand, in which was *betel*, which the king chewed with salt and *areka*. This last is a kind of fruit about the size of a nut, and is chewed all over India to sweeten the breath, and is supposed to carry off phlegm from the stomach and to prevent thirst. The king had

had likewise a gold bason on a golden stand, into which he spat out the betel when chewed; and a gold fountain with water for washing his mouth. The king was served with betel by an old man who stood close to the sofa; all the others who were in the presence held their left hands to their mouths, that their breaths might not reach the king, and it is thought unseemly for any one to spit or sneeze in the presence.

When the general entered the hall in which the king sat, he stooped or bowed down three times according to the custom of the country, lifting up his hands as one that praised God. The king immediately made signs for the general to draw near, and commanded him to be seated on one of the seats; and the rest of the Portuguese came forwards, making similar reverences, and were likewise commanded to sit down opposite the king. Water was then presented to all the company to wash their hands, which was very refreshing, for, though it was then winter, they were very hot. They were then presented with figs and jakas, and the king was much pleased to see them eat, laughing at them and conversing with the old man who served him with betel. Our people being thirsty, called for water, which was brought to them in a golden ewer, and they were directed to pour the water into their mouths as it is reckoned injurious to touch the cup with their lips. They accordingly did as they were directed; but some poured the water into their throats and fell a coughing, while others poured it beside upon their faces and clothes, which much amused the king. After this, the king desired the general by an interpreter, to speak to those who were present as to the purpose of his coming to Calicut. But the general was not satisfied with this, and signified that he was ambassador from the king of Portugal, a powerful prince, and that Christian princes were not used to receive the embassies of other sovereigns by means of a third person, but by themselves in person in the presence only of a few of their principal persons: and this being the usage of his country, he chose to deliver his message only to the king himself. The king agreed to this, and commanded the general and Fernan Martinez who acted as interpreter, to be conducted into another chamber, which was adorned with as much magnificence as the first.

As soon as the king entered this chamber, he took his seat on a sofa, attended only by his interpreter, the chief

bramin,

bramin, the old man who served him with betel, and the comptroller of his household. The king then asked the general from what part of the world he was come, and what were his desires. He answered, that he was ambassador from the king of Portugal, the most powerful of the Christian sovereigns in the west, both in extent of dominions, numbers of people, and riches. That he and his predecessors, hearing that there were Christian kings and princes in the Indies, of which the zamorin of Calicut was the chief, were exceedingly desirous of sending some of their captains to discover the way, that they might enter into friendship with the king of this country as brothers; and for this reason he had been sent to his highness: Not that the king his master had any need of his riches, having abundance already and more than was needed both of gold and silver and other valuable things. That all the former captains who had been sent at great charges upon this discovery, after having employed a year or more in vain and having consumed all their victuals, had returned again into Portugal. But that the present king Don Manuel, being anxious to bring this great enterprize to a successful conclusion, had entrusted him with command of three ships well supplied with provisions, commanding him not to return to Portugal without discovering the way to the Christian king of Calicut, and would certainly order his head to be cut off if he returned without fulfilling his orders. The said king his master had given him two letters to deliver to his highness, which he would present next day as it was now somewhat late; when he would convince his highness that the king of Portugal was his friend and brother, and should request of highness, in confirmation of friendship, to send an ambassador to the king of Portugal, as was the custom among Christian princes. The zamorin expressed his satisfaction with this embassy, and told the general that he made him welcome to his capital; and, since the king of Portugal desired to be his friend and brother, he would be the like to him, and should send an ambassador to him as desired. The zamorin then made inquiry into many circumstances respecting Portugal; how far distant it was from Calicut, how long the general had been upon the voyage, and other things: And as it grew late, the king allowed him to retire, first asking him whether he would reside with the Moors or the Malabars; but as the general chose rather to have a house

house to himself, the king gave orders to a Moor who was his factor, to accompany him, and to provide him with every thing necessary for his accommodation.

Leaving the palace late, it being now towards ten o'clock, the kutwal and the rest who had accompanied him there, escorted him back to where he was to lodge; and as they were on their way, all on foot, there fell such rain that the streets ran in torrents, insomuch that the factor gave orders to some of the people to carry our general on their backs. The general was displeased at this and at the delay, and asked angrily at the factor if he meant to carry him all night through the streets. The factor made answer that he could not do otherwise, as the city was large and much scattered. He then conducted him into his own house to rest for some time, and procured a horse for him to ride; but, as the horse had no saddle, the general preferred going on foot. At length he was brought to a very good lodging, to which his people had previously brought all his baggage.

Next day, being Tuesday, the general was greatly rejoiced to see so promising a commencement of his business, and resolved upon sending a present to the zamorin; upon which he sent for the kutwal and the kings factor, to whom he shewed the present which he proposed sending. This consisted of four *capotas* or cloaks of scarlet cloth, six hats, four branches of coral, twelve *almasares*, a box containing seven brass vessels, a chest of sugar, two barrels of oil, and a cask of honey. The kutwal and factor laughed in derision at this present, saying, that this was no fit present for their king, the poorest merchant presenting one more valuable. They desired him rather to send gold, as the king would accept of nothing else. The general was offended at this, saying, if he had been a merchant he would have brought gold; but, being an ambassador, he had brought none. That what he now offered were his own goods, and not belonging to the king his master; who, being uncertain if he should ever reach Calicut, had given him nothing to offer as a present to the zamorin. But, at his next coming, knowing now certainly the route, the king his master would send gold and silver and other rich articles. To this they answered, that these things might be, but it was the custom of this country for every stranger who had speech of the king to make him a present in proportion to the greatness of his rank. The general replied it was very proper their customs should be observed,

and

and therefore he desired to send this present, which he could not make more valuable, for the reasons already assigned; and if they would not suffer it to be carried to the king, he should send it back to his ships. They answered he might do so, for they would not consent to have such a present sent to the king. The general, much displeased, said he would go speak with the king himself, and would then return to the ships, meaning to have informed the king of all that had passed in regard to the intended present. This they said was very proper; but, as they would be detained long at court in attending him, they were obliged in the mean time to go upon other business, and would return to escort him to court, as the king would be angry if he went without them, he being an entire stranger; and besides, he could not go in safety unaccompanied, because of the great numbers of Moors who resided in that city. Giving credit to their words, the general consented to this arrangement, and said he would wait for their return, which he expected would be without delay: But they did not return all that day, as they had been gained over by the Moors to thwart the purposes of the general.

The Moors in Calicut had received information of the transactions of the Portuguese at Quiloa, and of the taking of the *sambuco* off Melinda; and knowing that we were Christians, were very jealous of our arrival at Calicut. Bontaybo had told the Moors that our purpose was not merely to discover Calicut from curiosity, but that spices were in great estimation in Portugal, which abounded in gold and silver, and to which all kinds of merchandize was at present transported that went from Calicut by way of the Red Sea; and finally, that the settlement of a direct trade by the Portuguese with Calicut would tend greatly to the profit of the zamorin. All this the Moors very well understood: But, considering that we were Christians, they believed, if we should establish trade with Calicut, that their own commodities would fall in price, and most of their profits be destroyed. Wherefore they consulted together how to induce the zamorin to take the general prisoner, to seize our ships, and to kill all our men; that they might not return into Portugal with any intelligence concerning Calicut. Upon this they associated themselves with some of those who were in greatest credit with the zamorin, to whom they procured access, and represented to him, That he ought not to be deceived by the

Christians, for the general was no ambassador as he pretended, but a pirate who went about to rob and plunder whereever he came. They asserted having received undoubted intelligence of this from their factors in Africa; where, after entering into a friendly correspondence with the *xeque*, who even visited the general in his ship, gave him many presents, and provided him with a pilot to bring him to Calicut, he had battered the town with his ordnance, and killed several of his subjects. That he had afterwards taken some *sambucos* laden with merchandize, treating the xeque and his subjects like enemies. In like manner they misrepresented the conduct of the general at Mombaza and Melinda, turning every thing that had occurred to his dishonour. They reasoned from these misrepresentations, that he could not be an ambassador sent to maintain peace and amity, as he would not, in that case, have been guilty of these base hostilities, and would assuredly have brought the king a present worthy of the sovereign he pretended to come from.

The king was much amazed at this discourse, and told the Moors that he would consider and determine what was proper for him to do. The Moors also told the kutwal of all that they had said to the king, with whom he was in great credit, and requested of him to persuade the king not to listen to this embassage. The kutwal then went to the king, who told him all that the Moors had said, and the kutwal advised him to do as the Moors had requested. On this the king changed his good intentions towards the general, yet endeavoured to conceal his purposes. The Moors then waited on the general under pretence of friendship, offering to instruct him how best to conduct himself, saying that it was customary for all persons who came from other places to Calicut on business with the king to bring him a present. On this the general shewed them the present he had proposed making, which the kutwal and the factor had made so light of; and, with whom they agreed, saying it was by no means a fit present, and would rather seem a mockery and give offence. Even Bontaybo agreed in this opinion; and asked the general why he had not brought better things, as he knew that Portugal abounded in all manner of rich commodities. But the general excused himself as formerly, by saying that it was quite uncertain whether he might ever have come to Calicut.

The general remained the whole of this day in his lodgings, much displeased that the kutwal and factor had not returned

turned according to promise, and was at one time resolved to have gone to court without them; yet thought it better to wait till next day. In the afternoon of the Wednesday, the kutwal and factor made their appearance, when he mentioned his dissatisfaction at their long absence; but they talked of other things, and gave him no answer on that subject. At length they accompanied him to the palace; but the king, having greatly changed his mind towards him, made him wait three hours for admission, and then ordered that only two of his people should be admitted into the presence along with himself. Though the general considered this separation of his people as not looking well, he went into the presence attended by Fernan Martinez and Diego Diaz, his interpreter and secretary. The king did not receive him so well as formerly, and said with a severe countenance that he had expected him all the preceding day. Not willing to give him the true cause of his absence, lest it might lead to a conversation respecting the present, the general said he had tarried at home to recover from the fatigue of his long voyage. On this the king observed, that he pretended to have been sent on an embassy of friendship from a rich and powerful king, and that he did not well understand what kind of friendship was intended, since he had sent him no present. To this the general answered, That it was not to be wondered that the king his master had sent no present to his highness, considering the extreme uncertainty of his being able to come to this place by a way never before attempted, and unknown till now. But, now that the way was discovered, and God spared him to return to Portugal, his master would assuredly send him princely gifts, worthy of them both: And if his highness would have the goodness to give credit to the letters which he had brought from the king his master, he would there learn the intentions of the king of Portugal in sending him to Calicut. Instead of desiring to see the letters, the king asked him whether he was sent in search of stones or of men; and if sent to discover men, how came it that the king his master had sent no present? And since it was manifest that he had brought him nothing, he demanded of him to send him the golden image of the Virgin, which he understood was in his ship.

The general, much concerned to find the king so much changed towards him, on account of not bringing him a present and amazed at this strange demand, said that the

image

image of the Virgin Mary of which his highness had been told, was only of wood gilt, and not of gold; and besides, as this holy image had protected him during his long perils on the sea, and had brought him so far in safety, he was unwilling to part with it. The zamorin made no reply to this, but immediately demanded that he should produce the letters from the king of Portugal. One of these was written in the Portuguese language, and the other in Arabic; and the general explained that this had been done, because the king his master did not know which of these might be understood in the dominions of his highness: And, since he now knew that Portuguese was not understood in India, whereas Arabic was, he requested that some Christian of the Indies who understood Arabic might be employed to interpret the letter, because the Moors were known to be enemies to the Christians, and he was afraid lest they might purposely give it a wrong interpretation. The king gave orders to this purpose, but no Indian could be found who was able to read the letters, or at least who would acknowledge that he could read them. Seeing that it was now necessary that it should be read by the Moors, the general requested that Bontaybo should be one of those appointed for the purpose, placing more reliance on him than the others, as he was an acquaintance. The king accordingly commanded the letter to be read by him and other three Moors; who, having first read it over to themselves, interpreted it aloud to the king, to the following effect: "As soon as it became known to the king of Portugal, that the king of Calicut was one of the mightiest kings of all the Indies and a Christian, he was anxious to establish a treaty of amity and commerce with him, that he might procure spices, which were in great abundance in his country, and to procure which the merchants of many parts of the world trade thither: And, if his highness would give a licence to send for spices, he would send many things from his kingdom which were not to be had in the dominions of his highness; or if these things were not satisfactory, of which the general could shew him some samples, he was wiling to send money, both gold and silver, to purchase the spices. And finally referring his highness to the general for farther information."

On hearing this letter interpreted, and being desirous that his revenues might increase by the resort of many merchants to his dominions, the zamorin evinced his satisfaction at what he

he had heard; and assuming a more friendly deportment towards the general, asked him what were the articles of merchandize that could be had from Portugal. De Gama named many different kinds; particularly mentioning such as he had samples of along with him, and likewise their money, and requested permission to go on board his ships that he might bring these things to his highness, offering to leave four or five of his men in his lodgings during his absence. Giving now more credit to the general than to what had been said by the Moors to his prejudice, the king told De Gama he might go on board when he pleased, taking all his men with him, as there was no call for any of them remaining on shore. He likewise said the general might freely bring his goods on shore, and sell them to the best advantage. The general was greatly satisfied with this permission, of which he had no hopes at the first, on seeing the unfriendly reception he had met with at the commencement of his audience. He went back, therefore, to his lodging, accompanied by the kutwal; and the day being near a close, he deferred returning on board that night.

De Faria gives a somewhat different account of what passed at this second audience[62]. "It was wonderful that the zamorin, not knowing how to be properly assured of the truth, should rely on the faith of him who was accused by his ministers. For, as if he had really known in what detestation the Portuguese hold a lie, although to their own advantage, he sent for De Gama, and told him plainly that he had been informed his embassy was all a counterfeit, and that he was some banished man or a fugitive: Yet at the same time offered, even if it were so, to give him a kind reception, and to make him handsome appointments in his service; and promised to rely entirely on his word for information respecting the truth of the whole story. De Gama heard the king to an end with a firm countenance, and declared himself highly sensible of the confidence reposed in him. He then proceeded to answer all that had been alleged against him, which he completely overturned by irrefragable argument in a long and eloquent speech, preserving the utmost gravity and composure throughout the whole. The zamorin eyed him steadfastly the whole time, hoping to be enabled to judge of the truth or falsehood of his assertion by his countenance; and concluded, from the unconcernedness of his looks, the eloquence of his words, and the firm gravity of his whole demeanour, that no deceit could

62 Astley, I. 24. a

could lurk under such appearances of sincerity, that the Moors had accused him maliciously, and had imposed on his ministers. He therefore frankly allowed De Gama permission to return to his ships, and to land his merchandize, if he had any: Saying, that while that was doing, he would prepare a satisfactory answer to the letter of the king of Portugal."

On the next day, being the last of May, the kutwal sent a horse to the general to carry him to Pandarane; but having no furniture, he requested to be supplied with an *andor*, which was sent accordingly, when De Gama immediately set out for Pandarane, all his people accompanying him on foot. The kutwal remained at Calicut, but a considerable number of nayres escorted the general on his way. When the Moors learnt that the general was gone to the ships, they went together to the kutwal, making large offers of money to him, if he would pursue the general, and detain him a prisoner under some feigned pretence; when they would take some opportunity of having him slain, in such way that the blame should not attach to the kutwal. And when he objected that the zamorin might punish him for detaining the general contrary to his orders, they engaged so to deal with the zamorin as to obtain his pardon for that offence. Induced by a large bribe, and encouraged by this promise, the kutwal followed De Gama in such haste that he soon passed our men, who lagged behind on account of the great heat. On overtaking De Gama, he asked by signs why he was in such haste, and where he was running to? The general answered in the same manner, that he was running to avoid the heat. On coming to Pandarane, as his men were not come up, the general declined going into the town till they should arrive, and went into a house to get shelter from the rain. The people did not get to the town till near sunset, having lost their way, on which the general said if it had not been for their absence he would have been by this time on board. The general immediately desired the kutwal to order him to be furnished with an almadia or pinnace, to carry him and his people on board; but the kutwal said it was now late, and the ships so far away that he might miss them in the dark, for which reason he had better stay till next day. The general then said, if he were not immediately furnished with an almadia, he would return to the king and complain that he was detained contrary to his license, and even mentioned

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as if he meant to return immediately to Calicut. To dissemble the more, the kutwâl said he might have thirty instead of one, if he needed them, and pretended to send out to procure almadias, while at the same time he commanded the owners to hide themselves that they might not be found.

In the mean time, while messengers were dispatched on pretence to seek almadias, the general, having a strong suspicion that evil was intended towards him, walked leisurely along the water side, and sent off Gonzales Perez and two other mariners, to go on before and endeavour to find Nicholas Coello with his boats, and to caution him to keep out of the way, lest the kutwal might send off to seize his boats and men. While Perez and the others were absent on this errand, it drew far into the night; and not choosing to go off till he learnt what success Perez had met with, he at length agreed to stay all night. Having placed De Gama in the house of a Moor for the night, the kutwal pretended that he would go in search of the three mariners who were absent; but he did not return till next morning. The general then required to have an almadia to carry him and his people on board. Before answering, the kutwal spoke some words to his nayres in their own language, and then desired the general to give orders to have the ships brought near the shore on which he should have leave to depart. On this the general became still more afraid that some treachery was intended; yet answered boldly, that he would give no such order while he remained on shore, as that would make his brother believe he was a prisoner and had issued this order under restraint, on which he would immediately depart for Portugal without him. The kutwal then threatened stoutly that he should never be allowed to go off, unless he complied with this demand. The general, in return, declared he should immediately return to Calicut if not allowed to go on board, and make a complaint of his conduct to the king. The kutwal even dared him to do this, yet took care it should not be in his power, as he had ordered the doors to be kept shut and guarded by armed nayres, to prevent any of the Portuguese from going out. Yet it was the will of God that the kutwal dared not to kill the general or any of his men, although the Moors had bribed him with a great sum of money, and notwithstanding his great credit with the zamorin. His anxiety to have the ships brought near the shore was, that the Moors might be able to board them and kill all their

people;

people; and, seeing it in this light, the general was equally determined to prevent their nearer approach. Finding he could not prevail on the general to command the ships to be brought near the shore, and having no pretence to justify either keeping him prisoner or offering him any wrong, the kutwal next endeavoured to persuade him to order the sails and rudders on shore; at which the general only laughed, saying the king had given full permission to go on board without any such conditions, and assured him the king should be fully informed of all his unjust proceedings.

The general and his people now pretended to be in want of necessaries from the ships, and requested leave to send some of his people on board, while he should remain on shore; but this the kutwal refused, and our people began to be seriously alarmed. At this time Gonzalo Perez returned, supposing the general at liberty and that he waited for him and his companions. Perez informed De Gama that he had seen Coello, who waited for him with the boats near the shore. The admiral was exceedingly anxious that the kutwal should not know of this circumstance, lest he might send out a number of armed almadias to capture them; and therefore urged Perez to return secretly to give Coello warning to return to the ships and keep constantly on the alert for fear of an attack. When Coello got this intelligence, he immediately set off, and the kutwal caused him to be pursued by several almadias full of armed men, but he made his escape. The kutwal made another attempt to induce the general to order his brother to bring the ships near the shore, but in vain; for the general told him, his brother, even if he were to write such an order, would not obey, or, were he disposed to do so, the other officers in the ship would prevent him. The kutwal observed that he could not give credit to this, as he was sure any thing he commanded would be obeyed. But no arguments could prevail on the general to this measure, which he was satisfied was meant for facilitating the destruction of the fleet to gratify the Moors.

The whole of this day was spent in this manner, and in the night our people were confined in a large paved yard surrounded with walls, and under even a stronger guard than attended them during the day; and even the general began to fear as well as the men, that they would be separated from one another. Yet he trusted, when the zamorin should come to know the usage they had received, he would give orders

orders for their release. That night, the kutwal came to sup with the general and sent a supply of fowls and rice. Finding that he could not prevail over the constancy of De Gama, he determined at last to set him at liberty. Next day, therefore, being Saturday the second of June, he desired the general, since he had promised to the king to bring his merchandize on shore, that he ought to do so; as it was the usage of all merchants who came to Calicut to land their goods and crews, and not to return to their ships till all was sold; and he promised, when this was done, to give him free liberty to depart. Although the general gave very little credit to his fair words, he yet said, if the kutwal would provide almadias for the purpose, he would order his goods on shore; but was certain his brother would not allow the boats to leave the ships while he was detained on shore. The kutwal was now content to get the goods into his power, as he understood from the general they were of great value, and allowed the general to send off a message to his brother. He therefore sent off a letter by two of his men, in which he gave his brother an account of his situation, confined to his lodging but otherwise well used, and desiring him to send some of the merchandize on shore to satisfy the kutwal; but, directing him, in case he was much longer detained, to believe that he was kept prisoner by order of the zamorin; whose only object was to get the Portuguese ships into his power, not having time to arm his own ships for that purpose. For this reason, if not set at liberty immediately after the goods were landed, he required his brother to return without delay to Portugal, and inform the king of all that had happened, that the trade of so fine a country might not be lost to his country. And farther, to inform the king in what state he remained, trusting that his royal master would send such an armament as would enforce his restoration to liberty.

On receiving this letter, and a circumstantial relation from the messenger of all that had happened on shore, Paulo de Gama immediately sent the goods; but said in answer to the general, that he could not answer to his honour to return to Portugal without him, and he trusted God would enable the small force he had still in the fleet, with the aid of his ordnance, to compel the kutwal to liberate him. On the merchandize being landed, the general delivered it over into the custody of Diego Diaz as factor, with Alvora de Braga as his clerk, whom he left in a house provided for them by the kutwal;

kutwal; after which he went on board the ships. He then refused to send any more goods on shore, till those already there were sold and paid for, and determined not to run himself again into danger by venturing on shore after what had already past. At this the Moors were grievously vexed, as they thought it more easy for them to have destroyed him on land than on board the ships. On purpose to entice him to land once more, the Moors made a mock of his goods, pretending they were good for nothing, and did all in their power to prevent them from selling. Thinking that the zamorin knew nothing of all these transactions, he sent him an account of the whole five days afterwards, by his factor, of all that had happened, and of the injurious conduct of the Moors respecting the sale of the goods. The king seemed much offended by these proceedings, sending the general word that he would punish all those who had used him ill, yet the kutwal remained unpunished. The king likewise sent seven or eight merchants of Guzerate, who were idolaters, to buy the goods, accompanied by an honest nayre, to remain with Diaz at the factory to defend him against the Moors. Yet all this was only done colourably, that the Moors might not appear to suborn the merchants; for these men bought nothing, and even beat down the price of the commodities, to the great satisfaction of the Moors; who now boasted that no person would buy our goods any more than they. Yet none of the Moors durst venture to our factory, after they heard a nayre was stationed there by the kings order. If they did not love us before, they hated us ten times worse now, and when any of our men landed, they used to spit on the ground in contempt, calling out Portugal! Portugal! But by the especial order of the general, our people took no other notice than merely laughing at their insolence.

As none of the merchants would buy our goods, the general supposed that this was occasioned by their being lodged at Pandarane, where none of the merchants of Calicut resided; and requested leave, by a messenger, from the zamorin, to have the goods removed to the city. This permission was immediately granted, and the king issued orders to the kutwal to see them removed, and even to pay the persons who carried them, that nothing belonging to the king of Portugal might be subject to any charges in his country. The general would not trust himself any more on shore, although Bontaybo, who frequently came off to visit him, advised him to wait

wait on the king, lest the great credit of the Moors might again prevail over his mind. But considering this man as a Moor, the general never put much trust in him, nor informed him of his intentions; yet always received him kindly, and gave him money and other gifts, that he might bring him intelligence of what was passing on shore.

After the Portuguese merchandize was removed to Calicut, the general permitted one man daily from each of the ships to go on shore, to see the city and to purchase any thing they had a mind for; always taking especial care that one party returned on board before another landed. Our people were courteously received and entertained by the natives, and were even lodged in their houses occasionally. They bartered several things on shore, such as bracelets of brass and copper, pewter, and other European articles, for the productions of the country, as freely and quietly as if they had been in Lisbon. Fishermen, and others of the idolaters came off to the ships, selling fish, cocoa-nuts, and poultry, for biscuit or money; while others came off with their children, merely to have a sight of our ships. On all these occasions, the general commanded them to be well treated and to have food given them, to conciliate the people and to secure the friendship of the zamorin. This continued till the tenth of August, during which time the ships had always some of the natives on board.

Seeing the quietness of the people, and their familiarity with his men, who never met with any injury from the Moors or nayres, the general believed the zamorin was willing to preserve friendship and peace with the subjects of Portugal, and determined upon establishing a factory in Calicut for the sale of his commodities, although very little of what was landed had as yet been sold. By this means, he hoped to lay a sure foundation for the establishment of trade, against the next expedition which the king his master might send, if God pleased to send him home with the intelligence of the discovery. Accordingly, with the advice and concurrence of the captains and other principal officers of the fleet, he sent a present by Diego Diaz to the zamorin, consisting of scarfs of different colours, silks, corals, and various other articles. Diaz was desired to say to the king, that the general begged his highness to excuse his presumption in sending such a present in token of his entire devotion to his service, having nothing worthy of the acceptance of so great a prince.

That

That the time now drew near when it would be necessary to depart on his return to Portugal; and therefore, if his highness meant to send an ambassador to the king of Portugal, he had better give orders that he might soon be ready to embark. Presuming upon what his highness had already agreed to, and on the kindness hitherto shewn to him and his people by his highness, he requested permission to leave a factor and clerk in Calicut along with his merchandize, as a memorial of peace and amity between his highness and the king of Portugal, as a testimony of the truth of the embassy with which he had been entrusted, and in pledge of farther embassy from the king his master as soon as the discovery was made known. He likewise prayed his highness to send on board as a full confirmation of his having actually made the voyage to India, a *bahar* of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of some other spices, which should be paid for by the factor out of the first sales of the goods in his possession. It was four days after Diaz received this order before he could get access to the zamorin, though he went every day to the palace for this purpose. At length he was admitted to audience; and on seeing Diaz with his present, the king asked him what he wanted in so stern a manner that he was afraid of being killed. After delivering the message from the general and wishing to deliver the present, the king refused to see it, and commanded that it should be delivered to his factor. The answer he gave to the message was, that since the general wished to depart he might do so, but must first pay him 600 *serasynes* [63], according to the custom of the country.

Diaz, on his return to the factory with the present intended for the king, was accompanied by many of the nayres, which he thought was from respect: but immediately on entering the house, the nayres remained at the door, forbidding him or any other person to go out After this, a proclamation was made through the city, forbidding any boat or almadia to go on board our fleet on pain of death. Yet Bontaybo went off secretly, and gave warning to the general not to venture on shore or to permit any of the people to land; as he had learned from the Moors that any who might do so would surely lose their lives. Bontaybo said farther, that all the fair words of the king proceeded from dissimulation, that he might

63 Called in Astley *sharafins*.—Astl. I. 36.

might entice the general and his people on shore to kill them all, all which evil intentions were occasioned by the Moors, who made the king believe that the Portuguese were thieves and pirates, who had come to Calicut to steal such merchandize as should be brought there; and who had come to spy out the land, that they might return with a great armament to invade his dominions. All this was confirmed by two Malabar idolaters, and the general was in great uncertainty how best to proceed on the present emergency. That same night, after dark, a Negro slave belonging to Diaz came off, with the information that Diaz and Braga were made prisoners, and with an account of the answer which the king had given to his message, what he had ordered to be done with the present, and of the proclamations which were made through the city. Diego Diaz, being anxious to have these things communicated to the general, had bribed a fisherman to carry this man on board, as he could not well be recognized in the night owing to his colour. The general, though much offended at these injurious proceedings, was unwilling to depart till he might see the end of these things, and therefore waited to see whether any one might come off to the ships. Next day, being Wednesday the 15th of August, only one almadia came off, in which there were four boys, who brought fine precious stones for sale. Although the general believed they were spies, he received them kindly, and gave no hints of having heard that Diaz was made a prisoner; expecting that others of more importance might come on board through whom he might procure the enlargement of Diaz and Braga. By these boys he wrote to Diaz, but couched in such a manner that it might not be understood if it fell into any other hands. The letter was delivered according to its direction, and the boys told the king of their reception on board, by which he believed that the general knew not of the imprisonment of his people. On this he sent off other persons to the ships, who were strictly enjoined not to disclose the treatment which the factor had experienced. This was done out of policy to deceive the general and to detain our ships, till the king might be able to send his own fleet to set upon him, or till the ships might arrive from Mecca to take him prisoner.

Some of the Malabars continued to come off daily, all of whom the general commanded to be well entertained, as he saw none of sufficient importance to be detained. But, on the

the Sunday, six principal Malabars came on board, attended by fifteen men in another pinnace. Believing that the king would liberate Diaz and Braga in return for these men, he made them all prisoners; and sent a letter in the Malabar language, by two of the native boatmen, to the kings factors, demanding his factor and clerk in return for those men he had detained on board. On perusal of this letter, the kings factor communicated the same to the king, who commanded him to take the Portuguese to his own house, that he might not appear to have had any hand in their detention; and then to restore them to the general in return for the Malabars, whose wives had made a great clamour about the detention of their husbands.

Seeing that his people were not sent on board, the general weighed anchor on Wednesday the 23d of August and set sail, meaning to try if this shew of going away would have the effect of recovering Diaz and Braga, in return for these Malabars whom he had detained. The wind being contrary, he came to anchor in an open road, four leagues from Calicut, where the ships remained till the Saturday. As there was no appearance of getting back his people, De Gama again set sail; but for want of wind had to come again to anchor, almost out of the sight of land. An almadia now came to the ships with certain Malabars, who said that Diaz and the others were in the kings palace, and would be assuredly sent on board next day. Not seeing the detained Malabars, these people believed they had been all put to death. This affected delay proceeded entirely from craft, that they might gain time to fit out the Calicut fleet, and for the arrival of the ships from Mecca, when their combined force might environ and destroy the Portuguese. The general ordered these messengers to go back to Calicut, and not to return without his men or letters from them, as otherwise he should sink them; and that if a satisfactory answer was not sent him without delay, he would cut off the heads of all the Malabars whom he had detained. The Malabars returned to Calicut with this message; and a wind springing up, the general made sail, and came to anchor off Calicut about sunset.

Next day, seven almadias came off to the fleet, in one of which were Diego Diaz and Alvora Braga, the others being filled with many of the natives. These people, however, were afraid to come on board, and put Diaz and Braga

into

into the boat which was astern of the generals ship, and then put off to a little distance, waiting for the generals answer. Diego told the general, that when the king learnt of his having sailed, he sent for him to the palace, assuming a pleasant countenance as pretending to be ignorant of his imprisonment, and asked him why the general had kept his subjects as prisoners on board. On being told the reason, he said the general was in the right. He then asked if his own factor, who was present, had extorted any presents; for he well knew that one of his predecessors had been put to death not long before, for taking bribes from merchant strangers. After this, the king desired Diaz to request the general to send him the stone pillar having the cross and the arms of Portugal, which he had promised to set up; and to know whether he would leave Diaz as factor in Calicut. Diaz likewise presented a letter for the king of Portugal, which was written on a palm leaf by Diaz, and signed by the zamorin, to the following effect:

"Vasco de la Gama, a gentleman of thy house, came to my country, of whose arrival I was very glad. In my country there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. The commodities I wish to procure from your country are, silver, gold, coral, and scarlet."

Convinced of the duplicity of the zamorin, De Gama made no answer to the message; but sent back all the nayres whom he had detained, desired them to tell the king he shonld return the others who were in custody, on receiving back his merchandize. He sent however the stone pillar which had been required. On the next day Bontaybo came on board, saying that the kutwal, by order of the zamorin, had seized all his property, alleging that he was a Christian who had come overland to Calicut as a spy from the king of Portugal. Bontaybo said, he was sure this bad treatment had proceeded from the suggestion of the Moors; and, as they had seized his goods, he was sure they meant personal violence, on which account he had made his escape. The general gave him a kind reception, offering to carry him to Portugal, promising that he should recover double the value of his goods, besides, that he might expect to be well rewarded by the king of Portugal. To this arrangement Bontaybo gladly consented, and had a good cabin assigned him by order of the general. About ten o'clock the same day, three almadias full of men came off to the ships, having some scarfs laid on their benches,

as

as being part of our goods; and these were followed by four other almadias, one after the other. The Malabars pretended that they had brought off all the goods, which they offered to put into his boat, and required him in return to deliver up the rest of the prisoners. But convinced this was a mere deception, the general desired them to go away, as he would have none of their merchândize, and was resolved to carry the Malabars to Portugal as witnesses of his discovery. He added, if God spared his life, he should convince them whether the Christians were thieves, as the Moors had made the king of Calicut believe, who had therefore treated him with so much injustice. He now commanded several cannon to be fired, on which they were afraid and made off.

It was certain, if the kings ships had been afloat that they would have been sent to attack our ships; but they were all hauled upon shore on account of the winter season. Wherefore we may attribute it to Providence that our ships happened to arrive here at this season, that thereby they might escape and carry home news of having discovered the Indies, to the great advancement of the Catholic faith.

Although greatly rejoiced at having made the discovery of the route to Calicut and the Indies, he was much distressed at the behaviour of the zamorin, believing that the next expedition that might be sent out would be subject to great danger; but as he was unable to do any thing more at this time, he consoled himself with the knowledge he had thus acquired of the safe navigation, and that he had procured specimens of the spices, drugs, precious stones, and other commodities which were to be procured at this place. Having now nothing to detain him here, he departed from Calicut, carrying with him the Malabars whom he had made prisoners; as he hoped by their means a good agreement might be entered into with the zamorin on sending out the next fleet from Portugal. On the Thursday after his departure, being becalmed about a league from Calicut, about sixty *tonys*, or boats of the country, came off to the fleet filled with soldiers expecting to have taken all our ships. But the general kept them off by frequent discharges of his artillery, though they followed him an hour and a half. At length there fell a heavy shower of rain attended with some wind, by which the fleet was enabled to make sail, and the enemies returned to the land. He now proposed to direct his course for Melinda; but made little way along the coast, by reason

of

of calms. At this time, having in mind the good of the next ships which might come to Calicut, he thought fit to send a soothing letter to the zamorin, which was written in Arabic by Bontaybo; in which he apologized for having carried off the Malabars, as evidences of his having been at Calicut. He said he was sorry that he had left no factor, lest the Moors might put him to death; and that he had been deterred by the same cause from having frequently landed himself. That, notwithstanding all that had happened, the king his master would be glad to have the friendship of the zamorin, and would assuredly send him abundance of all those commodities he might need; and that the trade of the Portuguese to his city would henceforth redound to his great profit. This letter was entrusted to one of the Malabars, who was set on shore and ordered to deliver it to the zamorin.

Continuing his course along the coast, the fleet came on the ensuing Thursday among certain rocky islands, from one of which that was inhabited there came off several almadias, having fish and other victuals for sale. The general treated these people kindly, giving them shirts and other articles to their great contentment; and, with their approbation, set up a cross on the island, which was named *El padron de Sancta Maria.* As soon as night approached, and the wind began to blow from the shore, the fleet made sail, always keeping near the land. On the Thursday after, being the 19th of September, they came in sight of a pleasant high land, off which lay six little islands, where he came to anchor. Going here on shore in search of fresh water, a young man was met with, who was or pretended to be a Christian. This person carried our men to a river, where they found a spring of excellent water issuing out of a rock; and for his services they gave him a red nightcap. Next morning four natives came off in a small boat, with many gourds and cucumbers for sale. These people said that their country produced cinnamon, and two of our people were sent on shore to see whether this were true, who brought with them two green boughs which were said to be cinnamon, of which they had seen a large grove, but it turned out only to be the wild kind. At their return, these men were accompanied by more than twenty natives, who brought hens, gourds, and cows milk for sale, and who said, if the general would send some of his men on shore, he might have abundance of dried cinnamon, hogs, and poultry:

But he dreaded treachery, and would not allow any of his people to go on shore. Next forenoon, when some of our men went to a part of the shore at some distance from the ships to cut wood, they suddenly came in sight of two boats lying close to the land, and returned with intelligence of what they had seen; but the general would not send to inquire what these might be until after dinner. In the mean time, one of the men in the top gave notice that he saw eight large ships out at sea, which were then becalmed. The general gave immediate orders to have every thing in readiness in case of an attack, and as the wind served both fleets, they soon came within two leagues of each other. The enemies perceiving our fleet approaching, fled towards the shore; but one of their rudders breaking, the men belonging to that ship escaped in their boats, and Coello immediately took possession, expecting to find it laden with rich commodities. Nothing was found however, except cocoa-nuts and a kind of sugar called *melasus*, which is prepared from palms or date trees. He also found on board many bows and arrows, swords, spears, and targets. The other seven ships were run aground, so that our ships could not get near them, as drawing too much water; but our people followed in their boats, and drove them out of their vessels by firing upon them with their ordnance. Next day, while our fleet was at anchor, seven men came off from the land in an almadia, who reported that these eight ships had been sent by the zamorin from Calicut to capture our fleet, as they had been informed by some of the fugitives [64].

From this place the general removed to the island of *Ansandina*, at a short distance, where he was told he might procure good water. This island is very small, and only a league from the continent. It contains several woods, and two cisterns, or conduits, built of freestone, one of which is six feet deep, supplied with excellent water from certain springs; and the sea around has great quantities of fish. Before the Moors traded with India, this island was well inhabited by the native idolaters, having many goodly buildings, and especially some fine pagodas. But when the Moors resorted to this coast from the Red Sea, they used to take in their

64 De Faria says that this fleet belonged to a pirate named Timoja, of whom frequent mention will be made hereafter; and that the eight ships were so linked together, and covered over with boughs of trees, that they resembled a floating island.—Astl. I. 38. a.

their wood and water at this place, and abused the inhabitants so intolerably that they abandoned the place, and pulled down most of their pagodas and all their other buildings. These Gentiles were natives of that part of the continent which belongs to the king of *Narsingas*, and used often to repair thither to perform their devotions to three black stones which were in a chapel of one of the pagodas, which still remains. This island is called *Ansandina* [65] in the Malabar language, which signifies the Five Islands, and is so named because there are other four islands round about.

Coming to anchor here, the general sent Coello on shore with an armed escort, to examine the country, and to see if there were any convenient place for new-graving their ships bottoms, as they had been long at sea and had a long run before them. Every thing being found convenient, and the measure approved of by all the captains, it was determined to lay their ships successively aground for this purpose. The ship called the Berrio was first laid on shore; and while occupied in repairing and cleaning her bottom, many of the natives came off from the continent to sell victuals to our people. While this was going forwards two small brigandines were seen rowing towards our ships, ornamented with flags and streamers on their masts, beating drums and sounding trumpets, and filled with men who plied their oars. At the same time, five similar vessels were seen creeping along shore, as if lying by to help the others if needful. The Malabars who supplied our people with provisions, warned the general to beware of these vessels, which belonged to pirates who roamed about in these seas, robbing all they met under pretence of peace [66]. The general believed he might have taken these two vessels, if he had allowed them to come close up with his ships, but did not choose to run any risk; wherefore, as soon as they came within gun-shot, he ordered all the cannon belonging to the two ships which remained afloat to be fired at them; on which, calling out in a loud voice, *Tambarane! Tambarane!* which is their name for God, they fled away. Nicholas Coello, who was in his boat, followed after them, firing off his ordnance; but the general, fearful of any mischance, called him back by signal.

Next

65 More probably Anche-diva, or Ange-diva.—Astl. I. 38. b.

66 These vessels seem more probably to have been the squadron of Timoja.—Astl. I. 38. c.

Next day, when the general and all his men were on shore at work upon the Berrio, twelve natives, who appeared to be men of some consequence, came to the island in two small *paraos*, and presented a bundle of sugar canes. These people asked permission to go on board the ships, as they had never seen any such before; but the general was much offended with this, fearing they might be spies. While engaged in conversation with these men, other two *paraos* made their appearance, having as many men. But those who came first, seeing the general displeased, advised these new comers not to land. When the Berrio was repaired, the generals ship was brought aground to receive the same attentions.

While the general and the other captains were on shore, busied in the repairs of the San Michael, there came one day a man in a little *parao*, seemingly about forty years old, and not of that country, as he was dressed in a *sabaco*, or gown of fine cotton reaching to his heels, his head covered with a kerchief or towel, which partly covered his face, and wearing a faulchion or crooked cymeter at his girdle. Immediately on landing, he went up and embraced the general, as if he had seen or known him before, and treated the other captains with the same politeness. He told them he was a Christian, born in Italy, and had been brought when a child into the Indies. That he now dwelt with a Moorish lord named *Sabayo*, who ruled a certain island called Goa, about twelve leagues from thence, and who had 40,000 horsemen on that island. That, as his dwelling was now among the Moors, he conformed externally to their worship, though in his heart a Christian. That learning certain men had come in ships to Calicut, such as had never been seen before in the Indies, and that no one understood their language, he immediately understood that they must be *Frangnes* [67], for so the Christians are named in the Indies. That he was desirous of seeing them, and had asked leave of *Sabayo* to come and visit them; which, if he had not obtained, he would have died of vexation. That Sabayo had not only granted him leave for this purpose; but desired, if he found the strangers to be from his country, to offer them any thing they might stand in need of which his country produced, particularly spices and

67 Frangnes, Franghis, or Feringays, a common name all over the East for Europeans; assuredly derived from the Francs or French, long known as the great enemy of the Mahometans, by their exploits in the crusades.—E.

and provisions. And besides, if they would come and live with him, Sabayo would entertain them honourably, and give them sufficient to live on. The general asked many questions concerning the country of Sabayo and other things, to which he made answer. After which he requested to have a cheese from the general, to send on shore to a companion, as a token of having been well received. The general suspected some mystery in this man, yet ordered a cheese and two new loaves to be given him, which he sent away to his companion. He continued talking with great volubility, and sometimes so unguardedly as to raise suspicions of his being a spy. On this Paulo de la Gama, who particularly suspected him, inquired of some of the natives if they knew who this man was; they immediately told him he was a pirate, who had boarded many other ships while laid aground. On receiving this information, the general ordered him to be carried on board his ship, then aground, and to be whipped well till he should confess whether all that he had said was true or false; also, what was his purpose in coming thither, and whether he were actually a Moor or a Christian. He still insisted that he was a Christian, and that all he said was true, declaring the information given by the natives to be entirely groundless. The general now ordered a more cruel torment to be inflicted to extort confession, causing him to be hoisted up and down by the members: when at length he declared he would tell the truth. He then acknowledged himself a spy, sent to discover how many men the general had, and what were their weapons, as he was much hated on all that coast for being a Christian; and that many *atalayas* or foists were placed in all the bays and creeks of the coast to assail him, but dared not till they were joined by forty large armed vessels that were getting ready to fall upon him. But he said he knew not certainly when these vessels might be ready. The general now ordered him to be confined under hatches, intending to carry him into Portugal, as a fit person to give the king his master intelligence respecting the Indies, and ordered him to get refreshing victuals, and that his cure should be looked well after.

On receiving this information of the designs of his enemies, the general would stay no longer than was necessary for completing the repairs of his own ship, which was got ready in ten days. About this time, the general was offered 1000 *fanons*

fanons for the ship which had been taken by Coello; but he refused to sell any thing to his enemies, and ordered her to be burnt. When the generals ship was ready, and the fleet had taken in a supply of water, they departed from the island of *Ansandina*, or Anchediva, on the 5th of October 1498, steering directly out to sea on their course for Melinda. After sailing about 200 leagues from that island, the Moor [68] whom they had taken prisoner, seeing no prospect of escape, now made a full and true confession. He acknowledged that he lived with Sabayo, the lord of Goa, to whom word was brought that the general was wandering about in those seas, like one who knew not where he was, upon which orders were given to fit out a powerful fleet to make him prisoner. In the mean time, learning that the general was at the isle of Anchediva, Sabayo commanded him to go thither to visit him, to get intelligence of his strength and intentions, and to endeavour to entice him to Goa; where it was Sabayos intentions to make him and all his people prisoners, and to employ them in his wars against the neighbouring princes, as they were reported to be valiant men. After this confession, the general gave this man better treatment, allowing him both clothes and money. Some time afterwards he became a Christian, by the name of Gaspar de la Gama, taking his name of Gaspar from one of the three kings of the Magi [69], and his surname from the general, who stood god-father at his baptism.

The general pursued his course for Melinda, where he proposed to take on board an ambassador from the xeque of that place. In the early part of this voyage he endured severe storms and contrary winds, which were succeeded by calms, during which the heat of the sun was quite insufferable, and the voyage much delayed, insomuch, that water began to grow scarce, and the people had to be put on short allowance. Owing to these circumstances, the people were afflicted with the same disease in their gums, from which they had formerly suffered such great distress in the river of Good Signs [70], on the outward voyage. Their arms and legs also swelled, and many tumours broke out over their bodies, proceeding from a pestilent stinking humour, which

68 De Faria says this person was a Jew, and that he made the sign of the cross from the shore to be taken on board.—Astl. I. 39. b.

69 Or rather one of the three kings of Collen.—Astl. I. 39.

70 Since called Cuama.—Astl. I. 39. c.

which threw them into a flux, of which thirty persons died. From the continuance of calms and contrary winds, and the mortality among the people, the whole company became amazed, and believed they should never be able to get out from their present distressing situation; insomuch, that they solicited the general to return to Calicut, or some other part of India, and submit to what God might appoint, rather than to die on the sea of these terrible diseases, for which there was no remedy, especially as both provisions and water began to fail. De Gama reasoned with them to little purpose, as they had been now four months at sea, and there hardly remained sixteen persons in each ship able to do duty, some of whom even were afflicted with the diseases of which the others had died. It is even said that Paulo de la Gama and Nicholas Coello had agreed to return to India, if any wind should spring up that would have served for the voyage.

At length a favourable wind sprung up unexpectedly, and in sixteen days they came in sight of land on Wednesday the 2d of February 1499, at which the mariners were much rejoiced, and soon forgot all their past troubles and dangers. As they came near the land towards evening, the general gave orders to keep their heads out to sea during the night, to avoid rocks or shoals. As there were no person on board who knew where they were, a Moor alleged they had steered direct for Mozambique; saying there were certain islands 300 leagues from the shore, and directly over against that place, where the natives were continually subject to the disease which had been so fatal to our men. When morning came, they stood towards the land, when they came before a large and goodly city, surrounded with walls, having fair and lofty houses, and a large palace on a height in the middle of the city, seeming to be a magnificent building. This city is called Magadoxo, and stands on one side of the Gulf of India on the coast of Ethiopia[71], an hundred and thirteen leagues from Melinda, the situation of which I shall explain hereafter. Knowing this to be a city of the Moors, he would not stop at this place, but commanded many shots of ordnance to be fired as he sailed past. Not being sure how far it was to Melinda, and fearing to overshoot that port, he lay too every night; and on Saturday the 5th of February, lying over

71 Magadoxo is in lat. 2° 20' N. and about 45° 40' E. long.—E.

over against a village of the Moors, named Pate[72], 103 leagues from Magadoxo, there came off eight *terradas*, or boats of that country, filled with soldiers, and making direct for our fleet, from whence we shot off so many pieces of ordnance, that they soon fled back to the shore, and our people could not follow for want of wind. Next Monday, being the 7th of February, the fleet arrived at Melinda. The king immediately sent off his congratulations to the general on his arrival, with a present of fresh provisions. De Gama sent Fernan Martinez on shore to return the compliments of the king, to whom he sent a present. On account of the great number of sick on board, the fleet stopped here for ten days, during which time he caused a land-mark to be erected on shore, with leave of the king, as a token of friendship. Having provided provisions and water for the ships at this place, he departed on the morning of Wednesday the 17th of February, taking with him an ambassador from the king of Melinda, to negociate a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship with the king of Portugal.

Considering that there were not sufficient men remaining for navigating all the ships, the general and the other captains agreed to burn one of them, and the San Rafael was chosen to be sacrificed, because she was all open, and had not been brought aground at Anchediva when the other two were repaired. Accordingly, after taking out all her stores and merchandize, which employed them during five days, she was burnt at certain shoals, called the Shoals of St Raphael[73]. During these five days, the fleet procured a considerable quantity of hens from a village on the coast called *Tangata*. Leaving this place, the two remaining ships came on the 20th February to the island of Zenziber, which is in six degrees of S. latitude, at ten leagues distance from the continent. This is a considerable island, having other two in its neighbourhood, one called *Pemba*, and the other *Moyfa*. These islands are very fertile, having abundance of provisions, and great quantities of oranges. The inhabitants are Moors, who are by no means warlike and have few weapons, but are well clothed in silk and cotton vestments, which they purchase

72 Pate stands on the coast of Zanguebar, on the Rio Grande, one of the mouths of the river Zebee, in lat. 1° 50′ S. and about 41° 20′ E. long. —E.

73 De Faria says this ship was lost on the shoals called after her name but the men were saved.—Astl. I. 40. a.

chase at Mombaza from the merchants of Cambaya. The women are ornamented with jewels of gold and silver, the former being procured at Sofala, and the latter from the island of St Lawrence, or Madagascar. Each of these three islands has a separate king, who, with all their subjects, are of the Mahometan religion.

When the king of the island of Zenziber was informed of the arrival of our ships, he sent immediately to compliment the general, accompanied with great presents of the fruits and other productions of the country, and requested his friendship, to which the general gladly agreed and sent suitable answers. After remaining here eight days for refreshments, the general departed on the 1st of March, and came to anchor beside the isle of St George in the bay of Mozambique. Next day he caused a mark to be erected on this island, where he went on shore and heard mass; and departed thence without any intercourse with the inhabitants of Mozambique. On the 3d of March, he came to the island of St Blas, where the ships remained for some time to take in water, and to provide a stock of sea wolves, and *solitarios*, which were salted to serve as provision for the remainder of the voyage, and for which they were most thankful to God. Departing from thence, they were driven back by a westerly wind right contrary; but Providence sent them a fair wind, by means of which they doubled the Cape of Good Hope with infinite pleasure on the 20th of March, all the remainder of the crews being now strong and in good health, with the cheering prospect of speedily returning to Lisbon. They now had a fair wind, which lasted them twenty days, and sped them on towards St Jago. The fair wind now failed them and delayed their voyage. Trying the lead on Thursday the 25th of April, they found twenty-five fathom; and the least water they had all that day was twenty fathom, on which account the pilots concluded they were on the shoals of the Rio Grande.

Of the rest of this voyage, till the arrival of the general at the island of St Jago, I have found no account; except that, when approaching that place, Nicholas Coello parted company one night with the general, and made direct for Portugal, that he might carry the first intelligence to the king of the discovery of India; and arrived at *Cascais* on the 10th of July

July 1499[74]. He went immediately to the king, whom he informed of all that had befallen the general in his discovery of the Indies, and of the commodities which had been brought from thence; of which discovery, and of the prospect which it held out of a direct trade with India by sea, the king was as glad as when he had been proclaimed king of Portugal.

After the separation of Coello, De Gama pursued his voyage for the island of St Jago, both because his brother Paulo was sick with consumptive complaints, and because his ship was in very bad condition, all her seams being open. At that island, he freighted a caravel, in hope of being able to get his brother home to Portugal, and left John de Sala in charge of his own ship, to have her repaired and new rigged before proceeding for Lisbon. The general and his brother left St Jago in the hired caravel for Lisbon; but the disease of Paulo de Gama increased so rapidly, that he was forced to put in at the island of Tercera, where Paulo de Gama departed this life like a good Christian and a worthy gentleman. When he had buried his brother, Vasco de Gama set sail for Portugal, and arrived at Belem in September 1499; having been two years and two months absent on this voyage. Of 108 men whom he had taken with him, only fifty[75] came home alive; which was a large proportion, considering the great and numerous dangers they had gone through.

When the general had returned thanks to God for his preservation and success, he sent notice of his arrival to the king, who sent Diego de Sylva y Menesis, Lord of Portugalete, and many other gentlemen, to conduct him honourably to court, which they did through a prodigious concourse of people, eager to see the man who had made so wonderful a voyage, and whom they had long thought dead. Being come into the presence, the king honoured him as one who, by the discovery of the Indies had done so much for the glory of God, for the honour and profit of the king of Portugal, and for the perpetual fame of the Portuguese name in the world. The king made him afterwards a knight, and gave him and his heirs permission to bear the royal arms of Portugal,

74 De Faria alleges that Coello was separated by a storm near Cape Verd, and arrived at Lisbon, thinking De Gama had got home before him.--Astl. I. 40. b.

75 De Faria says fifty-five, and that they were all rewarded by the king.--Astl. I. 40. c.

Portugal, as also to set at the foot of the escutcheon two does, which are called gamas in the Portuguese language. He also gave him a perpetual pension or rent-charge of 300,000 rees [76] yearly, out of the tythe fish in the village of *Sinis*, in which he was born, and a promise of being made lord of that village; and till these grants were executed in form, he allowed him 1000 crowns a-year; which, after the royal grants were made, reverted to the house of the *Contratation* of the Indies. It was also granted, that when the trade with India should be established, he might bring home spices to the value of 200 ducats yearly, without paying any duty. He also gave him other possessions and rents, and a note of remembrance or promise to make him a lord [77]. Nicholas Coello was promoted to be a gentleman of the royal household, and received possessions and rents to bear his charges [78]. The king himself, in consequence of these discoveries, assumed the new title, of *Lord of the conquest and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies.*

Section III.

Voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral to India in 1500; *being the second made by the Portuguese to India, and in the course of which Brasil was Discovered.*

The certainty of a navigable communication with India, and the vast riches that were to be had in that country, being now ascertained, the king resolved to prosecute the discovery, on purpose to spread the gospel among the idolaters, and to augment his own revenues and the riches and prosperity of his subjects. For these purposes, he determined to attempt the settlement of a factory in Calicut by gentle means; hopeful that they might be persuaded to a friendly intercourse, and might afterwards listen to the word of God. He

76 The translator values this pension at 200l. a-year, perhaps equal in present value to 2000l.—E.

77 This does not appear to have been actually done until his return from India the second time, as will be mentioned hereafter.—E.

78 According to Astley, but without quoting any particular authority, De Gama had a grant from the king of the title of Don for himself and his descendants, and a pension of 3000 ducats: Coello was raised to the rank of Fidalgo, or gentleman, and had an appointment of 100 ducats yearly.—Astl. I. 40.

He therefore commanded that a fleet of ten ships and two caravels should be got ready against next year, to be well laden with all the commodities which De Gama had reported to have current sale in Calicut. There went others also to Sofala and Quiloa, where also he commanded factories to be established, both on account of the gold which was to be found there, and that the ships might have a place to touch and refresh at in their way to and from India. Over the fleet intended for Calicut, he appointed Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a gentleman of an honourable house, to be captain-general, Sancho de Toar being captain of his ship. The names of the other captains, so far as have come to my knowledge, were Nicholas Coello, Don Luis Continho, Simon de Myseranda, Simon Leyton, Bartholomew Diaz, who discovered the Cape of Good Hope, and his brother Diego Diaz, who had been purser to Vasco de Gama in the former voyage. Of the caravels, Pedro de Tayde [1] and Vasco de Silviera, were captains. Arias Correa was appointed supercargo of the whole fleet, and was ordered to remain as factor in Calicut, having Gonsalo Gil Barboso and Pedro Vas Caninon as his clerks. Two ships were to remain with the merchandize at Sofala, where Loriso Hurtado was to be factor. In the whole of this fleet there embarked 1500 men [2].

The general was instructed, besides settling the factories, that if the zamorin would not quietly consent or give sufficient lading to the ships, he should make cruel war upon him for his injurious conduct to Vasco de Gama. If the zamorin consented to the establishment of a factory and trade, the general was secretly to request him not to allow any of the Moors of Mecca to remain or to trade in Calicut, or any other harbour in his dominions, and to promise that the Portuguese should hereafter supply all such commodities as used to be brought by the Moors, of better quality and cheaper than theirs. That he should touch at Melinda, to land the ambassador who had been brought from thence by De Gama, together with a present for the king of that place. Along with this fleet, the king sent five friars of the order of St Francis, of whom Fra Henrique was

1 It will appear in the sequel that there was another captain named Vasco de Tayde.—E.

2 Astley says only 1200,—Astl. I. 40.

Vasco de Tayde and Pedro de Silviera

was vicar, who was afterwards bishop of *Siebta*, and who was to remain in the factory to preach the Catholic faith to the Malabars [3].

The fleet being in full readiness, the king went in procession, on Sunday the 7th of March 1500, to hear mass at the monastery of Belem, accompanied by the captain-general, whom he took along with himself behind the curtain in the royal seat, to do him the more honour. After mass, Don Diego Ortis, bishop of Viseu, preached a sermon, in which he gave high praise to Cabral for undertaking the command of this expedition, as serving not only the king his temporal master, but the eternal GOD his spiritual Lord, drawing many comparisons in his favour from the Grecian and Roman histories. Mass being ended, a banner of the royal arms of Portugal was delivered to the bishop, who solemnly blessed it, and returned it to the king, who delivered it to Cabral, that it might be displayed at his main-top. The bishop then gave a bonnet to the general, which had been blessed by the pope, and placed a rich jewel with his own hands on his head, and gave him his blessing. When these ceremonies were ended, the king accompanied the captain-general to the water side, where he and the other captains of the fleet took leave of the king, kissing his hands, the king giving them Gods blessing and his own; after which all went on board, and the whole fleet saluted the king by discharging all the ordnance of all the ships: But the wind being foul, the fleet could not depart that day, and the king returned to Lisbon.

Next day, being the 9th of May, 1500, having a fair wind, the fleet weighed by signal from the general, and set sail at eight in the morning [4]. "*The whole fleete having wayed, did then begin to cut and spread their sayles with great pleasure and crie, saieng altogether,* Buen viage, *that is to say, a luckie and prosperous voyage. After all this, they beganne all to be joyfull, every man to use his severall office: The*

3 According to Astley, there were eight Franciscan friars besides the vicar, eight chaplains, and a chaplain-major; and that their orders were to begin with preaching, and in case that failed, to enforce the gospel by the sword. In other words, to establish the accursed tribunal of the inquisition in India, to the eternal disgrace of Portugal, and of the pretended followers of the ever-blessed Prince of Peace.—E.

4 The remainder of this paragraph is given in the precise words and orthography of the original translator, Nicholas Lichefild, as a curious specimen of the nautical language of Britain in 1582.—E.

The gunners in the midst of the ship, haling the maine sheets with the capsteine: The mariners and ship boys, some in the forecastell haling bollings, braces, and martnets: Others belying the sheets both great and small, and also serving in trimming the sayles, and others the nettings and foretop sayles: Other some vering the trusses, and also beleying brases and toppe sayle sheets, and coyling every sort of ropes. It was wonderful to see such a number of diversities of offices in so small a roome, as is the bredth and length of a ship."

Going on their voyage with a quarter wind, they came in sight of the Canaries on the 14th of March, and passed St Jago on the 22d. On the 24th of the same month, the caravel commanded by Vasco de Tayde parted company, and was never seen afterwards [5]. After waiting two days for the missing ship, the fleet proceeded on its voyage, and on the 24th of April came in sight of land. This was cause of much joy, as it was supposed to be a country which had not been discovered by De Gama, because it lay to the west [6] of their course. Cabral immediately sent off the master of his ship in a small boat to examine the country, who reported that it appeared pleasant and fertile, with extensive woods and many inhabitants. The fleet was brought to anchor, and the master sent again on shore to examine more narrowly into the state of the country and its inhabitants. His account was that the natives were well proportioned, and of a swarthy colour, armed with bows and arrows, and all naked. A storm arising at night, the fleet weighed anchor and stood along the coast, till they found a good harbour, in which they all came to anchor, naming it *Puerto Seguro*, or the Safe Port, as it was quite secure in all weathers. Our men took two of the natives in an almadia or canoe, who were brought to the admiral, but no one could understand their language. They had therefore apparel given them, and were set on shore much pleased. This encouraged the rest of the natives to mix with our people in a friendly manner; but finding nothing to detain him here, the general determined to take in a supply of water, not knowing when he might have another opportunity. Next day, being in Easter week, a solemn mass

Brazil 24th Apl 1500

5 According to De Faria, this vessel parted in a storm near Cape Verd, and returned to Portugal.—Astl. I. 41. a.

6 By some unaccountable mistake, the translation of Castaneda by Lichefild says to the *east*.—E.

mass was said on shore under a pavilion, and a sermon was preached by Fra Henrique. During service, many of the natives gathered around, who seemed very merry, playing and leaping about, and sounding cornets, horns, and other instruments. After mass, the natives followed the general to his boat, singing and making merry. In the afternoon our men were allowed to go on shore, where they bartered cloth and paper with the natives for parrots and other beautiful birds, which are very numerous in that country, and with whose feathers the natives make very shewy hats and caps. Some of our men went into the country to see the towns or dwellings of the natives, and reported that the land was very fertile, and full of woods and waters, with plenty of fruits of various kinds, and much cotton.

As this was the country now so well known by the name of Brasil, I shall not say any more about it in this place, except that the fleet remained here for eight days; during which a great fish was thrown ashore by the sea, greater than any *tonel*, and as broad as two. It was of a round form, having eyes like those of a hog, and ears like an elephant, but no teeth; having two vents under its belly, and a tail three quarters of a yard broad, and as much in length. The skin was like that of a hog, and a finger in thickness. The general ordered a high stone cross to be erected at this place, and named his new discovery *La tierra de Santa Cruz*, or the Land of the Holy Cross. From hence he sent home a caravel, with letters to the king, giving an account of his voyage hitherto, and that he had left two exiles[7] in this place, to examine the country; and particularly to ascertain if it were a continent, as appeared from the length of coast he had passed. He sent likewise one of the natives, to shew what kind of people inhabited the land. Considering the great length of the voyage he had to perform, Cabral did not deem it proper to spend any more time in examining this new country, but departed from Puerto Seguro[8] on the 2d of May, steering his course for the Cape of Good Hope, which was estimated to be 1200 leagues distant, and having a great and fearful gulf to cross, rendered dangerous by the great

7 It appears that Cabral had twenty malefactors on board for such purposes, who had received pardon on condition of submitting to be landed on occasions of danger.—E.

8 Puerto Seguro is in lat. 16° S. and about long. 39° 40′ W. This country of Brasil derived its name from the dye-wood so called.—E.

great winds which prevail in these seas during most part of the year.

On the 12th of May a great comet appeared in the heavens, coming from the east, and was visible during ten days and nights, always increasing in splendour. On Saturday the 23d of May, there arose a great storm from the north-east, attended with a high sea and heavy rain, which forced the whole fleet to take in their sails. On its abatement they again spread their foresails; and falling calm towards night, the ships astern spread out all their sprit-sails to overtake the rest. On Sunday the 24th the wind again increased, and all the sails were furled. Between ten and eleven o'clock of that day a water-spout was seen in the north-west, and the wind lulled. This deceived the pilots as a sign of good weather, wherefore they still carried sail: But it was succeeded by a furious tempest, which came on so suddenly that they had not time to furl their sails, and four ships were sunk with all their men, one of which was commanded by Bartholomew Diaz, the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope. The other *seven* [9] were half filled with water, and had been all lost if a part of their sails had not given way to the tempest. Soon afterwards the storm veered to the south-west, but still continued so violent that they had to drive all that day and the next under bare poles, and the fleet much separated. On the third day the wind became more moderate, coming round to the east and north-east, attended by a heavy swell, and the waves run higher than had ever been seen before, yet the fleet joined again to their great joy. This wind and high sea continued for twenty days, during all which time the ships had to lie to, and were so tossed that no one thought it possible to escape being swallowed up. During day, the sea was black as pitch, and at night it appeared like fire. The general, with Simon de Myranda and Pedro de Tayde, bore up to windward during this long continued gale, while all the rest submitted to the wind and went at Gods mercy.

When the storm abated, the general found that, with only two other ships in company, he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope without having seen it. On the 16th of July they

9 Originally, according to Castaneda, there were only ten ships and two caravels: Both the caravels have been already accounted for as having left the fleet; and after the loss of four ships, six only ought to have remained. Astley makes the whole fleet originally to have consisted of thirteen vessels, which will allow of seven now remaining.—E.

they fell close in with the coast of Africa, in lat. 27° S. but the pilots did not know the coast, and the general would not allow any one to go on shore. They could see great numbers of people on the land, yet none came down to the shore to view the ships. Having no hope of procuring provisions from the natives, the seamen caught great plenty of fish at this place; after which the general pursued his course close along shore, where he constantly saw many people, and great numbers of cattle feeding along the banks of a river which fell into the sea in that neighbourhood [10]. Proceeding in this manner, the general came to Sofala, with which the pilots were unacquainted, near which lay two islands [11], close by one of which two vessels lay at anchor. These immediately made for the shore on seeing the Portuguese ships, and being pursued were taken without resistance. The principal person belonging to these vessels was a near relation [12] of the king of Melinda, and was going from Sofala to Melinda with gold. The people were so much afraid on seeing our ships, that they threw a great part of the gold into the sea, and most of them escaped on shore. The general was much concerned at his loss, especially that it should have fallen on the subject and relation of a prince who was in friendship with the king his master; and after shewing him every civility, restored the two vessels with all the remaining gold. The Moor asked Cabral if he had any witches on board, who could conjure up his gold from the bottom of the sea? Cabral answered, that the Christians believe in the true God, and do not practice or give credit to witchcraft.

Learning from this Moor that he had overshot Sofala, and not being inclined to turn back, the general continued his voyage to Mozambique, where he arrived on the 20th of July and took in a supply of water, and procured a pilot to carry him to the island of Quiloa, towards which he directed his

10 This part of the voyage is very indistinctly described. From the lat. of 27° S. where Cabral is said to have fallen in with the eastern coast of Africa, to Sofala, in lat. 19° S. the coast stretches out nearly five degrees to the east, to Capes Corientes and St Sebastian, with many rivers, the great bays of Delogoa and Asnea, and the islands of Bocica or Bozarnio, all of which must have been seen by Cabral during the slow navigation close along shore, but all of which are omitted in the text.—E.

11 Named Inhazato. Sofala is in lat. 19° S. and almost 36° E. from Greenwich.—E.

12 According to De Faria, this person was uncle to the king of Melinda, and was named Sheikh Foteyma.— Astl. I. 41, b.

his course. In this part of the voyage he saw several fertile islands, belonging to the king of Quiloa, who is a powerful prince; his dominions extending from Cape Corientes almost to Mombaza, along nearly 400 leagues of coast, including the two islands near Sofala, that city itself and several others to Mozambique, many more all the way to Mombaza, with a great number of islands; from all which he derives large revenues [13]. Yet he has few soldiers, and lives in no great state. His constant residence is in an island named Quiloa, near the continent of Ethiopia, an hundred leagues from Mozambique. This island is full of gardens and orchards, with plenty of various kinds of fruits, and excellent water, and the country produces abundance of *miso* [14] and other grain, and breeds great numbers of small cattle; and the sea affords great plenty of excellent fish. The city of Quiloa is in lat. 9° 25′ S. and long. 40° 20′ E. handsomely built of stone and lime, and pleasantly situated between fine gardens and the sea, having abundance of provisions from its own island and from other places on the continent. The king and the inhabitants of the city are Moors of a fair colour using the Arabic language, but the original natives of the country are Negroes. The Moors of Quiloa are richly dressed, especially the women, who wear many golden ornaments. They are great merchants, enjoying the principal trade in gold at Sofala, whence it is distributed over Arabia Felix, and other countries; and many merchants resort thither from other places. Hence there are always many ships in this port, which are all hauled upon the beach when not in use. These ships [15] have no nails, but are sewed together by rope made of *cairo*, and have their bottoms payed with wild frankincense, as the country produces no pitch. The winter here begins in April and ends in May.

On

13 In modern maps this extensive line of coast is divided into the following separate territories, Inhambane, Sabia, Sofala, Mocaranga, Mozambico, and Querimba; which will be illustrated in future portions of this work. —E.

14 This word *miso* is probably an error of the press for mylyo, by which the African grain named millet is distinguished in other parts of Castaneda. The *small cattle* of the text are probably meant for sheep, as they are frequently thus contradistinguished in other parts of the original from *great cattle*, not here mentioned.—E.

15 These vessels were probably precisely similar to the Arab *dows* of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, which will be afterwards more particularly described.—E.

On arriving at Quiloa, and receiving a safe-conduct for that purpose, the general sent Alonso Hurtado, attended by seven of the principal officers, to wait upon the king, signifying that Cabral had come here with the fleet of the king of Portugal to settle a trade in the city, and had great store of merchandize fit for that purpose; and to say that he was desirous to confer with his highness on this subject, but had been forbidden by the king his master to go on shore. The king agreed to give Cabral an audience afloat; and, on the following day Cabral waited for the king in his boat, which was covered over with flags, and attended by all the other captains in their boats; as now Sancho de Toar and other two ships had joined company again. The king came in an almadia, accompanied by many principal Moors in other boats, all decked with flags, and with many trumpets, cornets, and sackbuts, making a great noise. On the arrival of the king, the whole Portuguese ordnance was fired off, by which the king and his train were much alarmed, not having been accustomed to such a salute. After mutual civilities, the letter from the king of Portugal was read, proposing the settlement of trade between the two nations, to which the king of Quiloa assented, and agreed that Alonso Hurtado should wait upon him next day with an account of the kinds of merchandize the Portuguese had to dispose of, for which he promised to give gold in exchange. But when Hurtado went next day on shore, the king made many excuses for not performing his promise, pretending to have no need of the commodities, and believing that the general came to conquer his country. The true reason was because he was a Moor and we were Christians, and he was unwilling to have any trade or intercourse with us. After this the general remained three or four days, to see if the king would change his mind; but he continued inflexible, and strengthened himself with armed men, as jealous of being attacked.

Finding that nothing could be done here, the general went on his voyage, and arrived at Melinda on the 2d of August. At this port he found three ships at anchor belonging to Moorish merchants of Cambaya; but, though laden with great riches, he would not meddle with them, out of respect for the king of Melinda. On coming to anchor the general saluted the king with all his ordnance; on which the king sent a complimentary message of welcome, with a present of many sheep, hens, and ducks, and great quantities

quantities of fruits. The general sent a message in return, intimating that he had come here by orders of the king of Portugal, to know if his highness had any service which the fleet could perform for him, and to deliver a letter and a rich present from the king of Portugal, which he would send whenever his highness pleased to give his commands. The king was much pleased with this message, and detained the messenger all night, most part of which he spent in making inquiries respecting the kingdom of Portugal. As soon as it was day, the king sent two principal Moors to wait upon the general, declaring his joy at his arrival, and desiring, if he had need of any thing in the country, to command all there as his own. The general then sent Aries Correa, the factor-general of the fleet, on shore to deliver the letter and presents, accompanied by most of the principal officers, and having all the trumpeters of the fleet sounding before him The present consisted of the rich caparison of a riding-horse, of the most splendid and shewy fashion. The king sent the nobles of his court to receive Correa in great state, and several women who had censers or perfuming pans which filled the air with a delightful odour. The king received Correa in his palace, which was very near the water side, sitting in his chair of state, and accompanied by many noblemen and gentlemen. The letter, which was written in Portuguese on one side and Arabic on the other, being read, and the present laid before the king, he and his nobles all in one voice gave thanks to God and Mahomet for granting them the friendship of so great a prince. During the three days which the fleet continued here, Correa remained on shore at the kings particular request, in which he constantly employed himself in inquiries concerning the customs of the king of Portugal and the conduct of his government.

The king of Melinda was very anxious to have Cabral to come on shore to the palace, but he excused himself as having been ordered by his master not to land at any port, with which the king was satisfied, yet desired to have an interview on the water. On this occasion, though the palace was very near the sea, he went on horseback to the shore, having his horse decorated with the rich caparisons sent him by the king of Portugal, which were obliged to be put on by one of our men as none of the natives knew their use. On coming to the shore, certain principal natives waited at the foot of the stair, having a live sheep, which they opened alive, taking

taking out the bowels, and the king rode over the carcase of the sheep. *This is a kind of ceremony that the witches there do use* [16]. After this he went to the water side, with all his train on foot, saying in a loud voice certain words of incantation. The interview with the general took place on the water in great ceremony, and the king gave him a pilot to carry the fleet to Calicut. Cabral left two banished men at Melinda to inform themselves of all the circumstances of the country to the best of their abilities. One of these, called *Machado*, when he had learned the Arabic language, went afterwards by land to the straits of the Red Sea, and from thence by Cambaya to *Balagarte*, and settled with the *sabayo* or lord of Goa, passing always for a Moor. This man was afterwards very serviceable to Albuquerque, as will be seen hereafter.

Leaving Melinda on the 7th of August, he came to Ansandina or Anche-diva, on the 20th of that month, where he waited some days for the fleet of Mecca, which he meant to have attacked. While there, the whole of the crews confessed and received the sacrament. No ships appearing, the fleet left Anchediva and sailed for Calicut, coming to anchor within a league of that place on the 13th of September. Several almadias came off immediately to sell victuals: And some of the principal nayres, with a Guzurat merchant, brought a message from the zamorin [17], declaring his satisfaction at the arrival of the general at his city, in which every thing he might need was at his command. The general made a polite answer to the king, with thanks for his civility, and gave orders to bring the fleet nearer to the city, in doing which all the ordnance was fired as a salute, to the great astonishment of the natives, the idolaters among them saying that it was impossible to resist us. Next day one Gaspar [18] was sent on shore to the zamorin, desiring to have a safe-conduct for a deputation from the general to wait on his highness; and along with Gaspar the four Malabars who had been carried away from Calicut by Don Vasco de la Ga-

ma

16 Thus the translation of Castaneda by Lichefild. It was more probably a superstitious ceremony to guard against witches.—E.

17 In an account of this voyage by a Portuguese pilot, inserted in the collection of Ramusio, the name of the reigning zamorin is said to have been Gnaffer.—Ramus. I. 125.

18 Probably the person who was carried prisoner from Anchediva by De Gama, in the former voyage.—E.

ma were sent on shore. These men were all finely dressed in Portuguese habits, and the whole inhabitants of the city came out to see them, rejoiced to find they had been well treated. Though the zamorin was well pleased with the safe return of his subjects, he refused allowing them to come into his presence as they were only fishermen, or of a low cast; but he sent for Gaspar, whom he received with civility, and whom he assured that our people might come on shore in perfect safety. On receiving this intelligence, Cabral sent Alonso Hurtado to the zamorin, intimating that the Portuguese fleet had come on purpose to settle trade and friendship, and that the general wished for an audience in which to arrange these matters with his highness. But had orders from the king his master not to go on shore without sufficient pledges for his security; among whom he demanded the kutwal of Calicut and Araxamenoca one of the chiefs of the nayres [19]. On this occasion Hurtado was accompanied by a person who could speak the language, to act as his interpreter.

The zamorin was unwilling to send the hostages required, alleging that they were old and sickly, and offered to send others who were better able to endure the hardships of living on board. Yet he afterwards, at the instigation of the Moors, was against sending any hostages; as they made him believe that the general shewed little confidence in his promise, which was derogatory to his honour and dignity. This negociation lasted three days, as Hurtado insisted on this as a necessary preliminary. At length, desirous of having trade settled with us, owing to the advantages which would accrue to his revenue, the zamorin agreed to give the hostages required. On which, leaving the command of the fleet in his absence to Sancho de Toar, Cabral directed that the hostages should be well treated, but on no account to deliver them to any one even although demanded in his name. On the 28th of December, Cabral went on shore magnificently dressed and attended by thirty of his principal officers and others, the kings servants, in as much state as if he had been king

19 According to De Faria, the hostages demanded on this occasion were six principal men of the Bramin cast, whose names were brought from Portugal by Cabral, by the advice of Bontaybo or Moncayde, the Moor who went off with De Gama.—Astl. I. 43. b.

king of Portugal; carrying with him rich furniture for his apartments, with a cupboard of plate containing many rich pieces of gilt silver. He was met by many principal nayres, sent by the zamorin to wait upon him, and attended by a numerous train, among whom were many persons sounding trumpets sackbuts and other musical instruments. The zamorin waited for him in a gallery close by the shore, which had been erected on purpose; and while the general went towards the shore, accompanied by all the boats of the fleet, dressed out with flags and streamers, the hostages were carried on board his ship, where they were loath to enter till they should see the general on shore, lest he might return and detain them; but were at last reassured of their safety by Aries Correa. On landing, Cabral was received in great state by several *caymals*, *pinakals*, and other principal nayres; by whose directions he was placed in an *andor* or chair, in which he was carried to the *scrame* or hall of audience, where the king waited his arrival.

The serame or gallery, was all hung round with rich carpets, called *alcatifas*; and at the farther end the zamorin sat in an alcove or recess resembling a small chapel, with a canopy of unshorn crimson velvet over his head, and having twenty silk cushions under him and about him. The zamorin was almost naked, having only a piece of white cotton round his waist, wrought with gold. On his head he wore a cap of cloth of gold resembling a helmet. In his ears he had rich jewels of diamonds, sapphires, and pearls, two of the latter being as large as walnuts. His arms, from the elbows to the wrists, were covered with golden bracelets, set with numberless precious stones of great value; and his legs, from the knees to the ankles, were similarly adorned. His fingers and toes had numerous rings, and on one of his great toes he wore a ruby of great size and wonderful brilliancy. One of his diamonds was bigger than a large bean. All these were greatly surpassed by his girdle of gold and jewels, which was altogether inestimable, and was so brilliant that it dazzled the eyes of the beholders. Beside the zamorin was a rich throne or state chair, all of gold and jewels; and his *andor*, in which he had been carried from the palace was of similar richness, and stood near him. He was attended by twenty trumpeters, seventeen of whom had silver trumpets, and three of them gold, all the mouth-pieces being finely wrought and set with jewels. Although in full day, the hall was light-

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ed by many silver lamps, in the fashion of the Moors. Close by the king there stood a spitting basin of gold, and several silver perfuming-pans, which produced an excellent odour. Six paces from the king, he was attended on by his two brothers, who were the nearest heirs to the kingdom; and a little farther off were many noblemen, all standing.

On entering the hall, and seeing the splendid state of the zamorin, Cabral would have kissed his hand, as is the custom of Europe; but was informed that this was not customary among them, and therefore sat down in a chair near the king, which was appointed for him as an especial honour. He then delivered his letter of credit from the king of Portugal, written in Arabic, and then said, that the king his master, willing to cultivate trade and friendship with the zamorin and his subjects, had given him orders to require permission to establish a factory or house of trade in Calicut, which should always be supplied with every kind of merchandize that was in demand; and requested the zamorin to supply a sufficient loading of spices for the ships under his command, which he was ready to pay for, either by means of the commodities he had on board, or in ready money. The zamorin seemed or affected to be pleased with the embassy, and said that the king of Portugal was welcome to every thing in his city of which he was in need. At this time the present from the king of Portugal to the zamorin was brought forwards; which, among other things, contained, a richly wrought basin and ewer of silver gilt; a gilt silver flaggon and cover of similar workmanship; two silver maces; four cushions, two of which were cloth of gold, and the other two of unshorn crimson velvet; a state canopy of cloth of gold, bound and fringed with gold; a carpet of rich crimson velvet; two very rich arras hangings, one ornamented with human figures, and the other with representations of trees and flowers. The zamorin was much satisfied with this present, and said the general might either retire to his lodgings for rest and refreshment, or might return to his ships as he thought best; but, as the hostages were men of high cast and could not endure the sea, who could neither eat or drink while on board consistent with their customs, it became necessary that they should come on shore. Wherefore, if the general would return to his ship and send these men on shore, and inclined to come back next day to conclude all matters relative to the trade of Calicut, the same hostages should be

again

again sent on board. As the general placed confidence in these assurances of the zamorin, he went on board, leaving Hurtado and other seven of his people in charge of his valuables that were left on shore. When at the water side and ready to embark, a servant of one of the hostages, who was dispatched by the comptroller of the zamorins household, went before in an almadia or small pinnace, and gave notice to the hostages that the general was coming on board. On which they leapt into the sea, meaning to escape to land in the almadia with the servant: But Aries Correa went immediately with some of the Portuguese mariners in a boat, and retook two of the hostages, with three or four of the Malabars belonging to the almadia: The rest of the hostages, among whom was the kutwal, got to the city.

When Cabral came on board and learnt what had happened, he ordered the two remaining hostages to be secured below deck, and sent a complaint to the zamorin against the conduct of the hostages, laying all the blame on the comptroller. He desired the messenger to inform the zamorin of the situation of the two remaining hostages, and to say that they should be liberated whenever the Portuguese and the goods on shore were sent back to the ships. Next day the zamorin came to the shore accompanied by 12,000 men, and sent off the Portuguese people and their commodities to the ships in thirty almadias, with orders to bring back the hostages. But none of the Malabars in the almadias dared to approach the ships, being afraid of the Portuguese, and returned therefore to the land without delivering our people and commodities. Next day, the general sent some of his own boats to land the pledges, but at some distance from the almadias; on which occasion Araxamenoca, one of the hostages, leapt into the sea with an intention to escape, but was retaken; and while our people were busied in securing him, the other hostage made his escape. The general was astonished at the want of truth and honour in these people, and gave orders to keep Araxamenoca in strict custody; but finding at the end of three days that the zamorin did not send for him, and that during all this period he refused all sustenance, Cabral took compassion on him and sent him to the zamorin, requesting that two of our men who remained on shore might be sent on board, which was complied with.

After waiting three days without any message from the zamorin, the general sent one Francisco Correa to inquire if he

he inclined to confirm the agreement between them, in which case he would send Aries Correa on shore to treat with his highness, for whose safety he required hostages. The zamorin answered that he was pefectly willing to have the trade established, and that the general might send Aries Correa or any other person on shore for that purpose, and transmitted two grandsons of a rich merchant of Guzerate as hostages. Aries Correa went accordingly on shore, and was accommodated by the orders of the zamorin with a convenient house for himself and his goods, which belonged to the Guzerate merchant, who was likewise commanded to assist Correa in regard to the prices of his merchandize and all other things relating to the trade and customs of the place. But this man being a friend to the Moors of Mecca, thwarted him in all things instead of giving him assistance. The Moors were determined enemies to our people, both for being Christians, and lest their credit and advantageous traffic in Calicut might suffer by the establishment of our trade in that port. Wherefore, by means of their confederacy with the Guzerate merchant, they took our goods at any price they pleased, and intimidated the Malabars from trading with us. The Moors concluded that the establishment of our factory would lower the price of such commodities as they had to sell, and would inhance the value of the spiceries, drugs, and jewels which they took in exchange. On this account they thwarted Correa in all his transactions, offering higher prices than ordinary for every article, by which he was constrained to buy every thing at a very dear rate. If at any time he wished an audience of the zamorin, the Moors always contrived to be present, that some of them might speak against him. In this conduct they were assisted by *Samicide* [20], a Moor, who was admiral of Calicut; who likewise hindered any of our people of the factory from going on board the fleet, and detained any of our boats that approached the shore, pretending to do this by command of the zamorin.

On learning this sinister conduct of the Moorish admiral of Calicut, and suspecting some intended treachery, the general gave orders to the fleet to weigh their anchors, and to remove out of the harbour, lest they might be attacked by the zamorins fleet, and that he might take counsel with the other captains for the safety of the expedition. On learning this,

20 Named by De Faria, Coje Cimireci.—Astl. I. 44, a.

this, the zamorin inquired the reason from Correa, who urged the injurious behaviour of the Moors, and told him all that they had done. The zamorin immediately gave orders that the Moors should discontinue their villanous conduct towards us, and even removed the Guzerate merchant from our factory, appointing one *Cosebequin*[21] in his place, who, though a Moor, was a very honest man and behaved to us in a friendly manner. This man was of great credit in Calicut, being the head of all the native Moors of that country, who are always at variance with the Moors of Cairo and of the Red Sea, of whom the admiral Samicide was the chief. The zamorin gave farther orders, that our factory should be removed to a house close to the shore which belonged to Cosebequin, that our merchants might have greater freedom to buy and sell, without any interruption from the Moors. For the greater security, a deed of gift was made of this house by the zamorin to the king of Portugal and his successors for ever, a copy of which, signed and sealed by the zamorin, was enclosed in a casket of gold that it might be conveyed to Portugal; and permission was given to display a flag of the royal arms of Portugal from the top of the factory[22]. On receiving intelligence of these favourable measures, Cabral brought back the fleet into the harbour of Calicut, and sent his compliments of thanks to the zamorin for his gracious and favourable dispositions. After this, our factory had tolerably good fortune in conducting its trade by the assistance of Cosebequin: and the natives, finding our factory favoured by the zamorin, behaved so very civilly to our people that they could go about wherever they pleased, with as much freedom and safety as in Lisbon.

During the subsistence of this friendly intercourse, a large Moorish ship was descried from Calicut on its voyage from Cochin for Cambaya; and the zamorin requested our general to make prize of the ship, alleging that it contained a peculiarly fine elephant which he wished to possess, and which had been refused to him although he had offered more than its value. The general answered that he would do this willingly

21 Called Coje Bequi by De Faria; or rather Khojah Beki, or Beghi: But most of the foreign names are so corruptly given that it is difficult to rectify them.—Astl. I. 44. b.

22 According to De Faria, this house was granted not without great difficulty, and was taken possession of by Correa with sixty men.—Astl. I. 45, a.

lingly to gratify his highness; but, as he was informed the ship was large and well manned, both with mariners and soldiers, it could not be expected to surrender without resistance, in which some men might be slain on both sides, and it was therefore necessary he should have the sanction of his highness to kill these people in case of resistance, which was accordingly granted. Upon which the general sent Pedro de Tayde in his caravel, accompanied by a valiant young gentleman named Duarte, or Edward Pacheco, and by sixty fighting men, with orders to take this ship. Along with them the zamorin sent certain Moors, that they might witness the manner of fighting used by the Portuguése. The caravel gave chase to the Moorish ship till night, and then lost sight of her; but in sailing along shore by moon-light, they saw her riding at anchor, ready for defence, judging her to be about 600 tons burthen, and to contain 300 fighting men. Pacheco, according to his orders, did not think proper to lay the Moorish ship on board, but commanded his ship to be brought to, intending to sink the Moorish ship by means of his ordnance, in case of necessity. The Moors made light of our small force, which they greeted with loud cries and the sound of musical instruments, after which they played their ordnance against our caravel. They were bravely answered by our men, and one of our balls struck them between wind and water, so that the Moorish ship took in much water; and many of their men being killed and wounded by our shot, they bore away for the bay of Cananor, which was very near, and came there to anchor beside other four Moorish ships. Pacheco followed them and continued to batter them with his guns, and had assuredly taken them had not certain *paroas* belonging to the Moors come from the port of Cananor to their assistance. The night growing very dark, Pacheco quitted the bay lest his caravel might be set on fire by the Moors, and came to anchor close to an island at a short distance, having had nine of his men wounded by arrows during the engagement.

Next morning Pacheco again attacked the Moorish ship, which at last yielded, to the great displeasure of the natives of Cananor, who had flocked to the seaside intending to have succoured the Moors; but, on Pacheco sending a few shots among them, they all dispersed. Pacheco came next day to Calicut with his prize, where the zamorin came down to the water side to see the Moorish ship, giving great praise to our

people

people for their prowess, being much astonished that so great a ship should be taken by one so much inferior in size and number of men. The general commanded this ship to be delivered to the zamorin, together with the seven elephants that were on board, which were worth in Calicut 30,000 crowns. He also sent a message to the zamorin, saying that he need not be astonished at this action as he would perform much greater actions to serve his highness. The zamorin returned thanks for what had been done, and desired the brave men who had performed this gallant action to be sent him, that he might do them honour and reward them as they deserved; and he bestowed large presents upon Pacheco in particular. Some affirm that the performance of this gallant feat by so small a number of our men against such great odds, raised fear and jealousy of the Portuguese in the mind of the zamorin, and made him anxious to get them away from his country; for which cause he gave his consent to the treachery which was used against them, as I mean to shew in the sequel [23].

The Moors of Calicut were more terrified than ever at the Portuguese in consequence of the capture of this ship, and were much offended by the favour bestowed by the zamorin upon our men for their gallantry on this occasion. They believed that all this was done out of revenge against themselves, for the injuries they had done us, and was intended to induce them to retire from Calicut; especially as our people brought there as great store of merchandize as they did, and bought as many spices. Taking all this into consideration, they procured an audience of the zamorin, to whom one of their number made the following oration in the name of all the Moors.

"*Emparather* [24] of all the Malabars, as great as the mightiest sovereign of the Indies, and most powerful among the princes of the earth. We are astonished that you should debase

23 According to De Faria, this event was occasioned by the Moorish admiral of Calicut, without the knowledge of the zamorin, who instigated Cabral to the attempt in hope of injuring the Portuguese, and sent information to the Moors to be on their guard. He adds that Cabral, having discovered the fraud, restored the ship and cargo to the owners, whom he satisfied for their damages, in order to gain the favour of the rajah of Cochin.—Astl. I. 45.

24 Perhaps meant by Lichefild instead of emperor; or it may be some native term of dignity.—E.

base yourself by receiving into your country these enemies of your law and strangers to the customs of your kingdom, who seem pirates rather than merchants. We should not wonder at your so doing were your city in want of the commodities they bring, or could not otherwise dispose of the spiceries they purchase: But we, whom you have long known and whose fidelity you are well assured of by experience, have always done both to the great increase of your revenue. You appear to forget all this, by receiving those whom you do not know into your favour, and employing them to revenge your injuries, as if your own numerous and faithful subjects were incompetent for the purpose. In this you dishonour yourself, and embolden these strangers to hold your power in contempt, and to act as we know they will hereafter, by robbing and plundering all merchant ships that frequent your port, to the ruin of your country, and who will at length take possession of your city. This is the true intent of their coming into these seas, and not to trade for spices as they pretend. Their country is almost 5000 leagues from hence, and the voyage out and home is attended by many dangers through unknown and stormy seas, besides the great cost of their large ships with so many men and guns. Hence at whatever prices they may dispose of their spices in Portugal, it is obvious such a trade must be carried on with great loss; which is a manifest proof that they are pirates, and not merchants, who come here to rob, and to take your city. The house you have given them for a factory, they will convert into a fort, from whence they will make war on you when you least expect it. All this we say more from the good will we owe you, than for any profit; for, if you do not listen to our advice, there are other cities in Malabar to which we will remove, and to which the spices will be conveyed for us."

To this harangue the zamorin gave a favourable answer, saying that he would give attention to all they had said, of which indeed he already had some suspicions. That he had employed the Portuguese to seize the ship to try their courage, and had allowed them to load their ships, that the money they had brought to purchase goods might remain in the country; and finally, that he would not forsake them in favour of the strangers. The Moors were by no means satisfied with all this, because the zamorin did not order us to depart from Calicut, and did not stop our trade, which was their chief purpose. Though disappointed in these views,

they

they continued to intermiddle in our affairs, particularly by buying up the spices and sending them elsewhere, in hope of irritating our people, and bringing on a quarrel, that they might have a pretext to attack us. This they were much inclined to bring about, as, being greatly more numerous than our men, they hoped the zamorin would take part with them against us. They likewise used all possible means to draw over the common people of Calicut to their side, and to excite them to enmity against us, by making them believe that our people had injured them.

Through those devices, our factor was unable to procure more spices than sufficed to load two ships in the course of three months, from which the general was convinced that the friendly assurances of the zamorin was little to be depended on; and if he had not been afraid of not being able to procure a sufficient supply elsewhere, he would have gone to another port: But, having already consumed a long time and been at heavy charges, he determined to remain at Calicut, and sent a message to the zamorin, complaining of the delays, which ill accorded with the promises of his highness, that the whole fleet should be loaded in twenty days, whereas three months were now elapsed and the loading of two ships only was procured. He urged the zamorins promise that the Portuguese ships were to be first loaded; whereas he had assured information that the Moors had bought up great quantities of spices at lower prices, and sent them to other places, and begged the zamorin to consider that it was now time for the ships to begin their voyage to Portugal, and that he anxiously wished for dispatch. On receiving this message, the zamorin pretended to be much surprised that our ships were still unprovided with a loading, and could not believe that the Moors had secretly bought up and removed the spices, contrary to his orders; and even gave permission to the general to take those ships belonging to the Moors which were laden with spices, paying the same prices for the spices which had been given by the Moors. This intelligence gave much satisfaction to the Moors, as a favourable opportunity for drawing on hostilities with the Portuguese; and accordingly, one of the principal Moorish merchants began immediately to load his ship openly with all kinds of drugs and spices, and suborned several Moors and Indians, who pretended to be the friends of our factor, to insinuate that he would never be able to find a sufficient loading

loading for our fleet, if he did not seize that ship. Correa listened to this insidious advice, which he communicated to the general, urging him to take that Moorish ship, as he had license from the zamorin to that effect. The general was exceedingly unwilling to proceed to this extremity, afraid of the influence of the Moors with the zamorin, and of producing hostilities with the natives. But Correa remonstrated against delay, protesting that the general should be responsible for all losses that might accrue to the king of Portugal through his neglect. Over-persuaded by this urgency of the factor, the general sent all the boats of the squadron on the 17th of December to take possession of the Moorish ship.

When this intelligence was received on shore, the Moors thought this a favourable opportunity of destroying our people, and immediately raised a great outcry against the Portuguese, incensing the people of the city to join with them in complaining to the zamorin; to whom they went in a tumultuous manner, representing that we had bought and shipped a much larger quantity of drugs and spices than the value of all our merchandize, and not contented with this, were for taking all like thieves and pirates; they blamed the zamorin for permitting us to trade in the city, and requested his license to revenge themselves upon us for the loss of their vessel. The faithless and inconstant king gave them the license they required; on which they immediately armed themselves, and ran furiously to our factory, which was surrounded by a wall eight or ten feet high, and contained at that time seventy Portuguese, among whom was Fra Henriques and his friars. Of our people in the factory, only eight were armed with crossbows, all the rest being only armed with swords, with nothing to defend them but their cloaks. On hearing the tumult, our people went to the gate of the factory, and seeing only a few assailants, they thought to defend themselves with their swords against a mischievous rabble, but the numbers of the Moors soon increased, and galled our people so severely with their spears and arrows, that they were forced to shut the gates, after killing seven of the enemy, hoping to be able to defend themselves by means of the wall. In this conflict four of our men were slain, and several wounded, and all the remainder mounted the wall to defend it by means of the crossbows, judging that the assailants were

at least four thousand men, among whom were several nayres.

Corea now found himself unable to defend the factory against so great a force, and therefore hoisted a flag as signal to the fleet. The general was at this time sick in bed, having been just blooded, and was not therefore able to go in person to relieve the people in the factory; but immediately sent all the boats of the fleet, well manned, under the command of Sancho de Toar. But he was afraid to venture on land with so small a force against so great a multitude, or even to approach too near the shore, lest the enemies might assail him in their almadias and tonis. He lay off, therefore, at a considerable distance, where he remained a spectator of the valiant defence made by our people at the factory, whence they killed great numbers of the assailants. But their enemies always increased in numbers, and they at length brought up certain engines to beat down part of the wall, in which they at length succeeded. On this, our men issued out by a door which led towards the sea side, in hopes of being able to fight their way to the boats, in which attempt Corea was slain, and fifty more of our men were either killed or made prisoners, twenty only escaping who swam to the boats, most of whom were much wounded. Among these were Fra Henriques, and Antonio, the son of Aries Corea, then only eleven years old; who hath since done many noble feats of arms in the Indies and other places, as I shall afterwards declare in the *Fourth* Book of this history.

The general was much concerned at this event, not only for the loss of his men, but on seeing how little confidence could be reposed on the promises of the zamorin after all the presents he had received, and the services which had been performed for him. He had now spent three months at Calicut, during which he had only loaded two of his ships, and knew not how to procure loading for the rest; especially as he could not expect a favourable reception at Cochin, on account of having captured the ship with the elephant as before related. Considering the treason which had been practised on our men, the general determined upon taking a signal revenge, if the zamorin did not make an ample excuse for what had taken place, and make a full reparation by immediately providing the rest of the ships with lading. The zamorin, however, had no such intentions, being much pleased with what the Moors had done, and even ordered all the goods in

our factory to be seized, to the value of 4000 ducats. He likewise ordered all of our people who had been taken on shore to be made captives, four of whom died of their wounds. Seeing that no message or excuse was sent by the zamorin all that day, the general held a council with his officers as to the proper steps to be taken on the present emergency; when it was determined to take immediate and ample revenge, without giving time to the zamorin to arm his fleet. On this, orders were issued to take possession of ten large ships which lay in the road or harbour of Calicut, which was done after some resistance, many of their crews being killed or drowned, and others made prisoners who were reserved to serve as mariners on board our fleet. Some spices and other merchandize were taken in these ships, and three elephants, which were killed and salted as provisions for the voyage; and it appeared that 600 Moors were slain in defending these ships. After every thing of value was taken from the Moorish ships, they were all burnt in sight of the city. Many of the Moors embarked in their almadias to attempt succouring their ships, but our men soon put them to flight by means of their ordnance.

The zamorin and the whole city of Calicut were much mortified to see so many ships destroyed, and them unable to help, but their astonishment and terror were much increased by the events of the ensuing day. During the night, the general ordered all the ships of the fleet to be towed as near as possible to the shore by means of the boats, and spread out at some distance from each other, that they might be able to reach the city with their ordnance; which, as soon as day broke, was directed to play upon the city in every direction, doing vast damage among the houses. The natives brought down to the shore such small pieces of ordnance as they possessed, which they fired off against us, but without being able to do us any injury; whereas not a shot of ours missed taking effect, either among the multitude of our enemies which flocked to the shore, or on the buildings of the city, both the houses of the inhabitants and the temples of their deities receiving incredible damage. So great was the consternation, that the zamorin fled from his palace, and one of his chief nayres was killed by a ball close beside him. Part even of the palace was destroyed by the cannonade. Towards afternoon two ships were seen approaching the harbour, which immediately changed their course on seeing how our

our fleet was employed; on which the general ceased firing against Calicut, and made all sail after these two ships to *Pandarane*, where they took shelter among other seven ships lying at anchor close to the shore and filled with Moors. Finding that our fleet could not get near enough to attack them, owing to shallow water, and considering that it was now late in the season for his voyage back to Lisbon, the general resolved to be contented with the revenge he had already taken upon Calicut, and made sail for Cochin, where he was informed there was more pepper to be had than even at Calicut, and where he hoped to enter into a treaty with the rajah of that place.

On his way towards Cochin, Cabral took two ships belonging to the Moors, which he set on fire, after taking out of them some rice which they had on board. On the 20th of December the fleet arrived at Cochin, which is nineteen leagues to the south of Calicut, and is in nine degrees towards the north [25]. Cochin is in the province of Malabar, on a river close to the sea, and is almost an island, so that it is very strong and difficult of access, having a large and safe harbour. The land in its neighbourhood is low and intersected by branches of the river into many islands. The city itself is built much after the same manner with Calicut, and is inhabited by idolaters, with a good many Moorish strangers, who come hither to trade from many countries, two of whom were so rich as to have each fifty ships employed. This country does not abound in provisions, but produces large store of pepper, even Calicut being mostly supplied from hence: But as Calicut is greatly more resorted to by merchants, it is therefore much richer than Cochin. The king is an idolater, of the same manners and customs with him of Calicut; but his country being small he is very poor, and has not even the right to coin money, being in many respects subordinate to the zamorin; who, on his accession to the throne always goes to Cochin, and takes possession of that kingdom, either retaining it in his own hands, or restoring the rajah as he may think proper. The rajah of Cochin, consequently, is bound to assist the zamorin in all his wars, and must always be of the same religion with his paramount.

Having

25 The latitude of Cochin is almost 10° N. while Calicut is about 11° 10'.—E

Having come to anchor in the harbour of Cochin, the general sent one Michael Jogue [26] on shore with a message to the rajah, as he feared to send Gaspar on shore, lest he might run away. This person, though an idolater and a stranger, had come aboard our fleet with the intention of becoming a Christian, and of going into Portugal, and our general had him baptised by the name of Michael. He was ordered to give the rajah of Cochin an account of all that had happened at Calicut, and that Cabral had brought great store of merchandize to barter for the commodities of Cochin; or if the rajah were not satisfied with these, he was willing to give ready money for what he wanted; requesting to be furnished with loading for four of his ships in either way, as most agreeable to the rajah. To this message the rajah [27] made answer, that he was exceedingly glad of the arrival of the Portuguese, of whose power and valour he had already heard, for which he esteemed them highly, and that they were welcome to purchase what spices his country afforded, either in barter for their goods, or for money, as they thought proper. He added, that the general might freely send any agents he pleased on shore to make purchases and sales, and sent two principal nayres as hostages for their safety; conditioning only, that they might be changed daily for others, because any of that cast who chanced to eat even once on shipboard could never appear again in the rajahs presence. Cabral was well pleased with this promising beginning, and immediately appointed Gonzalo Gil Barbosa as factor, who had been assistant to Aries Correa, giving him Laurenço Morena as clerk, and Madera de Alcusia as interpreter, with four of the banished men as servants.

On receiving notice of the landing of Barbosa, the rajah sent the register [28] of the city to meet him, accompanied by many of the nayres or principal men of the court, who brought him to visit the rajah, who was much inferior in dress and appearance of state to the zamorin, even the hall of audience

26 This Michael Jougue or Joghi, is said to have been a bramin, or Malabar priest; one of these devotees who wander about the country, girt with chains and daubed with filth. Those wanderers, if idolaters, are named Jogues; and Calandars if Mahometans.—Astl. I. 47. a.

27 The rajah who then reigned at Cochin is named Triumpara, or Trimumpara, by De Faria, De Barros, and other early writers.—Astl. I. 47. b.

28 In other parts of Castaneda, this officer is called the kutwal.—E.

dience having only bare walls, seated around like a theatre, in which the rajah sat with very few attendants. Barbosa presented to the rajah, in name of our general, a basin of silver filled with saffron, a large silver ewer filled with rose water, and some branches of coral, which the rajah received with much satisfaction, desiring his thanks to be returned to the general; and after some conversation with the factor and interpreter, he gave orders for them to be properly lodged in the city. The general gave especial orders that no more than the seven persons already mentioned should remain on shore, thinking it imprudent to risk a greater number, in case of experiencing a similar misfortune with what had lately happened at Calicut. But there was here no cause for distrust, as the rajah of Cochin was a person of truth and honour, as appeared by his good usage of our men, the quick dispatch that was used in loading our ships with spices, and the orders he gave to his people to afford every assistance, which they did with much alacrity and zeal: so that it seemed ordained of God, that the trade should be transferred from Calicut to Cochin, for the advancement of the Catholic faith in the Indies, and the enrichment of the crown of Portugal [29].

After the ships were laden, two Indians came to wait upon the general, who said that they were brothers, and Christians, born in Cranganore near Cochin, who were desirous of going to Portugal, and thence to visit the Pope at Rome, and the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem [30]. Being asked by the general what kind of a city Cranganore was, whether it was entirely inhabited by Christians, and whether these Christians followed the order of the Greek or Roman church, one of them gave the following answers.

Cranganore

29 According to De Barros, the rajah of Cochin was offended by the conduct of the zamorin, on several accounts, and among the rest for monopolising the trade on the Malabar coast.—Astl. I. 48. a.

We may easily conceive that one strong ground of favour to the Portuguese at Cochin, was in hopes by their means to throw off the yoke of the zamorin.—E.

30 One of these Christians died during the voyage, but the other, named Joseph, arrived in Portugal. This is the *Josephus Indus*, or Joseph the Indian, under whose name there is a short voyage in Grynæus: which properly speaking is only an account of Cranganore and its inhabitants, particularly the Christians and their ceremonies, with some account of Calicut, Kambaya, Guzerat, Ormuz, and Narsinga, very short and unsatisfactory.—Astl. I. 48. b.

Cranganore is a large city in the province of Malabar on the mainland, standing near the mouth of a river, by which likewise it is encompassed, inhabited both by idolaters and Christians, and by some Jews who are held in small esteem. It is much frequented by strangers, among whom are merchants from Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, who come thither to purchase pepper, a great deal of which commodity is gathered in its territories. It has a king of its own, to whom all the Christian inhabitants pay a certain tribute, and have a quarter of their own in the city, where they have a church resembling ours, in which there were crosses, but no images of the saints, and no bells, being summoned to prayers by the priests as in the Greek church. These Christians had their popes, with twelve cardinals, two patriarchs, and many bishops and archbishops, all of whom reside in Armenia, to which country their bishops always went for consecration. He had been there himself along with a bishop, where he was ordained a priest. That this rule was observed by all the clergy of the Indies and of Cathay, who have to go to the pope or Catholicos of Armenia for consecration. Of their two patriarchs, one resides in the Indies, and the other in Cathay [31]; their bishops residing in different cities as it may seem convenient. Their tonsure is made in form of a cross.

The cause of their having a pope is said to have been on the following account: When St Peter was residing at Antioch, there happened a great schism, occasioned by Simon Magus, on which Peter was called to Rome to assist the Christians in overthrowing that heresy; and, that he might not leave the eastern church without a shepherd, he appointed a vicar to govern at Antioch, who should become pope after the death of Peter, and should always assist the pope of Armenia.. But, after the Moors entered into Syria and Asia Minor, as Armenia remained always in the Christian faith, they came to be governed by twelve cardinals. Marco Polo, in writing concerning Armenia, mentions this pope or Catholicos, and says there are two sects of Christians, the Nestorians and Jacobites, their pope being named Jacobus, whom this Joseph named their Catholicos. The priests of Cranganore are not shaven in the same manner with ours, but

31 Called Caitaio in the original, but obviously Cathay, or Northern China, in which we have formerly seen that there were Nestorian Christians.—E.

but shave the whole head, leaving a few hairs on the crown; and they have both deacons and subdeacons. In consecrating the elements, they use leavened bread and wine made of raisins, having no other in the country. Their children are not baptized till they are eleven days old, unless they happen to be sickly. They confess as we do, and bury their dead after a similar manner. They do not use the holy oil to the dying, but only bless them; and when any one dies, they gather a large company and feast for eight days, after which the obsequies are celebrated. If any person dies without making a testament, their lands and goods go to the nearest heir; but the widow is entitled to her dower if she remain a year unmarried. On going into church they use holy water. They hold the writings of the four Evangelists in great veneration. They fast during Lent and Advent with much solemnity, and on Easter Eve they neither eat nor drink the whole day. They have regularly sermons on the night of Holy Friday, and they observe the day of the Resurrection with great devotion. Likewise the two following days, and the ensuing Sunday, are particularly kept holy, because on that day St Thomas thrust his hand into the side of our Saviour. Ascension Day, Trinity Sunday, the Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Candlemas Day, Christmas Day, all the days of the apostles, and all the Sundays throughout the year, are kept with much devotion. They sanctify in a particular manner the first day of July every year in honour of St Thomas, but they could give no reason why this was done. They have also native friars and nuns, who live with much regularity. Their priests also live chastely, as those who do otherwise are debarred from executing their functions. They allow of no divorce between married people, who must live together till death. They receive the sacrament regularly three times in every year. They have among them certain learned men, or great doctors, who keep schools, in which they teach the Scriptures, and likewise some excellent interpretations which were left in old times by their ancient doctors. Their dress is similar to that of the Moors. Their day consists of forty hours; and, having no clocks, they judge of the time of the day by the sun, and in the night by the motion of the stars [32]. The general was very glad to receive

32 In Lichefilds translation, the account of the day of these Indian Christians

receive this Joseph and his brother, and gave orders to provide them with a good cabin in his ship.

While Cabral remained at Cochin, he received messages from the kings of Cananor and Coulan, both considerable princes in the province of Malabar, requesting him to come to their ports, where he should be supplied cheaper than at Cochin, and giving him many offers of friendship. He made answer, with his hearty thanks, that he could not now visit their ports, having already begun to take in his loading; but that he should certainly visit them on his return to India. Immediately after the Portuguese ships were laden, a fleet of twenty-five great ships and other small vessels was descried in the offing; and notice was sent by the rajah of Cochin to our general, that this fleet contained fifteen thousand fighting men, and had been fitted out on purpose to make him and all his people prisoners. At the same time the rajah offered to send men to his assistance, if he stood in need; but the general answered he had no need of any such aid at the present, as he trusted, with God's blessing, to convince his enemies they were ill advised in seeking now to attack him, having already given them a trial of his strength; alluding to what he had already done to them at Calicut. The enemy continued to hover off at sea, but did not venture to come nearer than a league, though they seemed in fighting order. Seeing this shyness, the general weighed anchor, and went out with all his fleet against them, having on board the two nayres who were hostages for the factory on shore, but his intentions were to have returned with them to Cochin. Soon after leaving the harbour, a great storm arose with a foul wind, so that he was forced to come to anchor without attaining to the enemy. Next morning, being the 10th January 1501, the wind came fair, and being desirous to attack the fleet of Calicut, the general made sail towards them; but missing the ship commanded by Sancho de Toar,

Christians runs thus, which we do not pretend to understand: "They have their day, which they do call *Intercalor,* which is of *forty* hours."

This account of the Christians found in India by the Portuguese, is exceedingly imperfect and unsatisfactory; but it would lead to a most inconvenient length to attempt supplying the deficiency. Those of our readers who are disposed to study this interesting subject, will find it discussed at some length in Mosheim, and there is a good abstract relative to these Oriental sects given by Gibbon, in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.---E.

Toar, who had parted from the fleet in the night, and that being the largest and best manned ship of the fleet, he deemed it prudent to avoid fighting with so large a force, especially as many of his men were sick. The wind, likewise, was now quite fair for beginning his voyage home, and was quite contrary for going back to Cochin to land the hostages. He determined, therefore, to commence his voyage, and stood out to sea; the enemy following him during the whole of that day, but returned towards Calicut when night drew on. Cabral now turned his attention to the forlorn nayres, who had been five days on board without eating, and by dint of much and kind entreaty, he at length prevailed on them to take food.

On the 15th of January, the fleet came in sight of Cananore, which lies on the coast of Malabar, thirty-one leagues north of Cochin. This is a large city with a fine bay, the houses being built of earth, and covered with flat stones or slates, and it contains many Moors who trade thither for many kinds of goods. The neighbourhood produces hardly any more pepper than is necessary for its own consumpt; but has plenty of ginger, cardamoms, tamarinds, mirabolans, cassia-fistula [33], and other drugs. In several pools of water near this city there are many very large alligators [34], similar to the crocodiles of the Nile, which devour men when they come in their way. They have very large heads with two rows of teeth, and their breath smells like musk, their bodies being covered all over with hard scales like shells. In the bushes near this city there are many large and very venomous serpents, which destroy men by means of their breath. There are bats likewise as large as kites, which have heads like a fox and similar teeth, and the natives often eat these animals. The city of Cananore abounds in fish, flesh, and fruits, but has to import rice from other places. The king or rajah is a bramin, being one of the three kings of Malabar, but is not so rich and powerful as the zamorin, or even as the rajah of Coulan. The general came to anchor at this port, both because he had been invited by the rajah, and because he wished to take on board some cinnamon, of which commodity he had not as yet any on board. He accordingly purchased 400 quintals, and might have had more if he would,

33 Named Canyfistola in Lichefilds translation.
34 Lagartos in the original.

would, but refused it; on which the people of the place concluded that he had no more money. On this coming to the knowledge of the rajah, he sent him word that he would trust him with any quantity he had a mind for of that or any other commodity, till his return from Portugal, or the arrival of any other in his stead. The rajah was induced to make this offer, from his knowledge of the just dealings of the Portuguese, and their faithful performance of their promises. The general sent his hearty thanks to the rajah for his liberality, promising to inform the king his master of his good will, and assuring his highness that he might depend on his constant friendship.

Cabral now took on board an ambassador from the rajah of Cananore for the king of Portugal, who was sent to conclude a treaty of amity between them. Departing from Cananore, and standing across the gulf, he took a great ship richly laden on the last of January: But on learning that it belonged to the king of Cambaya, he permitted it to proceed on its voyage uninjured; sending word to that sovereign, that the Portuguese did not come to the Indies to make war on any one, excepting indeed with the zamorin of Calicut, who had scandalously broken the peace which had been made between them. He therefore only took a pilot out of this ship, to conduct him through the gulf between India and Africa. While continuing their voyage, and approaching the African shore, a great storm arose on the 12th of February, by which in the night the ship of Sancho de Toar was driven on shore, and taking fire was entirely burnt, the men only being saved. As the tempest still continued, they were unable to stop at Melinda, or any other place till they came to Mozambique, where they cast anchor, in order to take in water and to refit their ships, the seams of which were all open. From this place, the general dispatched Sancho de Toar to discover Sofala, with orders to make the best of his way from that place to Portugal, with an account of its productions.

The ships being refitted, Cabral resumed the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, near which they again experienced a violent storm, in which one of the ships was separated from the fleet, after firing signals of distress, and was never seen again during the voyage. At length, after many great storms and dangers, which it were tedious to recount, Cabral doubled the Cape on Whitsunday the 22d of May; whence continuing his voyage with a fair wind, he came to anchor at Cape Verd, where he found Diego Diaz, who had separated

separated from the fleet on the outward bound voyage. Diaz had been driven into the Red Sea, where he wintered and lost his boat, and as most of his men died from sickness, his pilot could not venture to carry him to India. He endeavoured therefore to find his way back to Portugal; but after leaving the Red Sea, his men were so consumed with hunger, thirst, and sickness, that only seven of his crew remained. After remaining some time at Cape Verd waiting in vain for the missing ships, Cabral proceeded on his voyage, and arrived safe at Lisbon on the last day of July, in the year 1501. Soon after his arrival, the ship which had separated in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope, came in; and shortly after that, Sancho de Toar arrived from Sofala. He described Sofala as a small island close on the continent of Africa, inhabited by a black people called Caffres; and reported that much gold is brought to this place from certain mines on the adjacent continent; on which account Sofala is much frequented by Moors from India, who barter merchandize of small value for gold. He brought along with him to Lisbon a Moor whom he had received as an hostage or pledge for the safety of one of his own men, whom he had left there to acquire a knowledge of the country and its language; and from this Moor they got ample information respecting the people and trade of those parts of Africa, which I shall afterwards communicate. Including this last ship, there returned six to Portugal out of the twelve which had sailed on the voyage for India, the other six having been lost.

Note.—In the Novus Orbus of Simon Grynæus, p. 202—211, there is an article entitled, *Short Account of India, by Joseph, an Indian Christian, who accompanied Cabral * to Lisbon in* 1501. We were inclined to have inserted this account at this part of our collection as an ancient and original document: But, on an attentive perusal, it is so jejune, confused, and uninstructive as not to merit attention. It evidently appears to have been penned by some person in Cabral's ship during the voyage home, from repeated conferences with Joseph: But, as the writer of this article informs us himself, many particulars were unknown to Joseph, because he had little intercourse with the idolaters, or because the reporter could not understand the answers which Joseph made to his inquiries.—E.

* In Grynæus, Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, is named Peter Aliares.—E.

Section IV.

Voyage of John de Nueva, being the third made by the Portuguese to India.

In the same year 1501, supposing all differences to have been settled amicably at Calicut by Cabral, and that a regular trade was established both there and at Sofala and Quiloa, the king of Portugal dispatched three ships and a caravel from Lisbon, under the command of John de Neuva, a native of Galicia in Spain, who was accounted a valiant gentleman; having under his orders, Francisco de Navoys, Diego Barboso, and Hernando de la Pyna, as captains of three of the ships. Two ships of this fleet were destined to carry merchandize to Sofala [1], and the other two to Calicut, and all the four contained only eighty men [2]. The instructions given to Nueva were, that he was to touch at the island of St Blas, where he was to wait ten days if any of his ships had separated. He was then to proceed for Sofala, where, if a factory were settled he was to deliver the goods destined for that place before going to India. If a factory were not already settled there, he was to do every thing in his power for that purpose, leaving Alvaro de Braga there as factor, with the merchandize embarked in the caravel for that market. From Sofala, he was to proceed to Quiloa; and thence directly to Calicut. He was farther directed, in case of meeting with Cabral, to obey him as general, and desire him to settle a factory at Sofala, if his own attempt should fail.

Nueva left Lisbon on this voyage in March, four months before the return of Cabral, and arrived in safety at the isle of St Blas; where he found a letter in an old shoe suspended from the branch of a tree, written by Pedro de Tayde [3], informing him that the fleet of Cabral had passed this island on its way back to Portugal, and giving an account of what had happened at Calicut, of the good treatment the fleet had received at Cochin, where some of our men remained, and of

1 It afterwards appears that one vessel only was destined for this particular trade: Perhaps the second was meant for Quiloa.—E.

2 According to Astley, I. 49. the crews of these four vessels consisted in all of 400 men.—E.

3 Called de Atayde by Astley.—E.

of the friendly disposition of the king of Cananor [4]. On consulting with the other captains, it was judged improper to leave the caravel at Sofala, in these circumstances, as their whole force did not exceed eighty men; wherefore they proceeded directly for Quiloa, where they found one of the exiles who had been left there by Cabral, from whom they received a particular account of all that had happened at Calicut, and of the loss of several of his ships, all of which he had learnt from some Moors. From Quiloa Nueva sailed on to Melinda, where the king confirmed the intelligence he had received from the exile at Quiloa [5]. Thus fully instructed in the state of matters, Nueva deemed it prudent to keep all the ships of his small squadron, and sailed across from Melinda to Anchediva, where he came to anchor in November, intending to take in a supply of water at that place. While here, seven large ships belonging to Cambaya, which were bound for the Red Sea, appeared off the anchoring ground, and seemed at first disposed to attack our ships; but being afraid of the Portuguese ordnance, they continued their voyage. From Anchediva Nueva proceeded for Cananor, where he had an audience of the rajah, from whom he received particular notice of all that had happened in Calicut to Cabral, and of the offer which the rajah had made to load all his ships at Cananor. The rajah assured him of his earnest desire of doing every thing in his power to serve the king of Portugal, and pressed him to take in his loading at that port; but Nueva declined this offer for the present, until he had consulted with the factor at Cochin, for which port he took his departure from Cananor. On his way between Cananor and Cochin, Nueva took a ship belonging to some of the Moorish merchants at Calicut, after a vigorous resistance, and set it on fire.

On his arrival at Cochin, the factor who had been left there by Cabral came on board with the rest of his company, and acquainted him that the rajah was greatly offended with Cabral for leaving the port without seeing him, and for carrying away the hostages; yet had always kindly entertained him

4 According to Astley, I. 49. Nueva discovered in this outward voyage the Island of Conception, in lat. 8° S. But this circumstance does not occur in Castaneda.—E.

5 Before arriving at Melinda, Nueva gave chase to two large ships belonging to the Moors, one of which he took and burnt, but the other escaped.—Astl. I. 49.

him and the other members of the factory, lodging them every night in the palace for security, and always sending a guard of nayres along with any of them who had occasion to go out during the day, on purpose to defend them from the Moors who sought their destruction, and who had one night set fire to the house in which they lodged before their removal to the palace. He also informed Nueva that the Moors had persuaded the native merchants to depreciate the price of the Portuguese merchandize, and not to take these in exchange for pepper, so that unless he had brought money for his purchases he would have little chance of procuring a loading. On this intelligence, and considering that he had not brought money, Nueva immediately returned from Cochin to Cananor, expecting to procure his loading at that port, in consequence of the friendly dispositions of the rajah towards the king of Portugal [6]. On his return to Cananor, he found that money was as necessary there for his purchases as at Cochin: But, when the rajah was informed of his difficulties from want of money, he became his security to the native merchants for 1000 quintals or hundred weights of pepper, 450 quintals of cinnamon, and fifty quintals of ginger, besides some bales of linen cloth [7]. By this generous conduct of the rajah, Nueva procured a loading for his ships, and left his European merchandize for sale at Cananor under the management of a factor and two clerks.

On the 15th December, while waiting for a fair wind to begin his homeward voyage, the rajah sent notice to Nueva that eighty *paraws* were seen to the northward, which were past mount *Dely*, and that these vessels were from Calicut, sent expressly to attack the Portuguese ships; and the rajah advised him to land his men and ordnance for greater security: But the general was not of this mind, and sent word to the rajah that he hoped, with the assistance of God, to be able to defend himself. Next day, being the 16th of December, before dawn, about an hundred ships and paraws full of Moors came into the bay, sent on purpose by the zamorin, who

6 According to De Faria, Nueva took in a part of his loading at Cochin, with a view perhaps to preserve the credit of the Portuguese nation at that place.—Astl. I. 50. a.

7 In the original this linen cloth is said to have been made of *algadon*, a word left untranslated by Lichefild, probably *al-cotton*, or some such Arabic word for cotton: The linen cloth, therefore, was some kind of calico or muslin.—E.

who was in hopes to have taken all our ships and men. As soon as Nueva perceived this numerous armament, he hoisted anchor and removed his squadron to the middle of the bay, where he ordered all his ships to pour in their shot against the enemy without intermission. Doubtless, but for this, the enemy would have boarded his ships, and they were so numerous it would have been impossible for him to have escaped; but as the Moors had no ordnance, they could do our people no harm from a distance, and many of their ships and paraws were sunk, with the loss of a vast number of men, while they did not dare to approach for the purpose of boarding, and not a single person was killed or hurt on our side. The enemy towards evening hung out a flag for a parley; but as Nueva feared this might be intended as a lure, he continued firing, lest they might suppose he stopped from weariness or fear. But the Moors were really desirous of peace, owing to the prodigious loss they had sustained, and their inability to escape from the bay for want of a fair wind. At length, most of his ordnance being burst or rendered unserviceable by the long-continued firing, and seeing that the Moors still kept up their flag of truce, Nueva ceased firing and answered them by another flag [8]. Immediately on this, a Moor came to Neuva in a small boat, to demand a cessation of hostilities till next day. This was granted, on condition that they should quit the bay and put out to sea, which they did accordingly. Although the wind was very unfavourable, Nueva stood out to sea likewise, which the enemy could hardly do, as their ships and paraws can only make sail with a fair wind. Notwithstanding all that had happened, Nueva was constrained to come to anchor close to the fleet of the enemy, and gave orders to keep strict watch during the night. At one time they were heard rowing towards our fleet, and it was supposed they intended setting our ships on fire; on which Neuva ordered to veer out more cable, to get farther off. Perceiving that the boats of the enemy continued to follow, he commanded a gun to be fired at them, on which they made off; and the wind coming off shore and somewhat fair, they made sail for Calicut.

Nueva, after returning thanks to God for deliverance from his

8 According to De Faria, five great ships and nine paraws were sunk in this action. De Barros says ten merchant ships and nine paraws.—Astl. I. 30. c.

his enemies, took his leave of the rajah of Cananor, and departed for Portugal, where he arrived in safety with all his ships [9].

After the departure of Nueva from Cananor, one of his men named Gonsalo Pixoto, who had been made prisoner and carried to Calicut, came to Cananor with a message from the zamorin to Nueva, making excuses for all that had been done there to Cabral, and for the attempt against his own fleet at Cananor, and offering, if he would come to Calicut, to give him a full loading of spices, and sufficient hostages both for his safety and the performance of his promise.

Section V.

The Second Voyage of De Gama to India in 1502; being the Fourth made by the Portuguese to the East Indies.

As the king of Portugal felt it incumbent upon him to revenge the injurious and treacherous conduct of the zamorin, he gave orders to prepare a powerful fleet for that purpose; the command of which was at first confided to Pedro Alvares de Cabral, but, for certain just considerations was taken from him and bestowed on Don Vasco de la Gama. Every thing being ready, De Gama sailed from Lisbon on the 3d of March 1502, having the command of thirteen great ships and two caravels [1]. The captains of this fleet were, Pedro Alonso de Aguilar, Philip de Castro, Don Lewis Cotinho, Franco De Conya, Pedro de Tayde, Vasco Carvallo, Vincente Sodre, Blas Sodre, the two Sodres being cousins-german to the captain-general, Gil Hernand, cousin to Laurenço

9 On this part of the voyage, Astley remarks, on the authority of De Faria, that Nueva touched at the island of St Helena, which he found destitute of inhabitants; though it was found peopled by De Gama in his first voyage, only four years before. What is called the island of St Helena in De Gamas first voyage, is obviously one of the head-lands of St Elens bay on the western coast of Africa. The island of St Helena is at a vast distance from the land, in the middle of the Atlantic ocean.—E.

1 According to Astley, much difference of opinion took place in the council of Portugal, whether to continue the trade to India for which it was requisite to employ force, or to desist entirely from the attempt; but the profits expected from the trade, and the expectation of propagating the Romish religion and enlarging the royal titles, outweighed all considerations of danger, and it was resolved to persist in the enterprize.—Astl. I. 50.

renço de la Mina, Juan Lopes Perestrello, Rodrigo de Castaneda, and Rodrigo de Abreo; and of the two caravels Pedro Raphael and Diego Perez were commanders. In this powerful squadron they carried out the materials of a third caravel, which was directed to be put together at Mozambique, and of which Hernand Rodrigues Badarsas was appointed to be commander. Besides this first fleet of seventeen sail, a smaller squadron of five ships remained in preparation at Lisbon, which sailed on the 5th of May under the command of Stephen de la Gama[2].

When De Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and was arrived at *the farther end of the currents*[3], he went himself with four of the smallest vessels to Sofala, sending on the remainder of the fleet to wait his arrival at Mozambique. This visit to Sofala was in consequence of orders from the king, to examine the situation of the city and to endeavour to find a proper situation for a fort, that the Portuguese might monopolize the trade in gold at that place. He remained there twenty-five days, during which he settled a treaty of amity with the king, and had leave to establish a factory; after which mutual presents were interchanged, and De Gama departed for Mozambique. In going out of the river from Sofala, one of the ships was lost, but all the men were saved. At Mozambique he made friendship with the king, who had proved so unfriendly in the first voyage, and even obtained leave to settle a factor with several assistants,

 who

2 The distribution of this force is somewhat differently related by Astley. Ten ships only are said to have been placed under the immediate command of Vasco de Gama; five ships under Vincente Sodre, who had orders to scour the coast of Cochin and Cananor, and to watch the mouth of the Red Sea, on purpose to prevent the Moors, or Turks and Arabs, from trading to India; the third, as in the text, was under Stephen de Gama, but with no particular destination mentioned; and the whole were under the supreme command of Vasco de Gama, as captain-general.—Astl. I. 50.

3 Such is the expression in the translation by Lichefild; but which I suspect ought to have been, "and had passed Cape Corientes."—E.

In Astley, the following incident is mentioned: When off Cape Verd, Vasco de Gama met a caravel bound from La Mina, on the western coast of Africa, carrying much gold to Lisbon. He shewed some of this to the ambassadors whom Cabral had brought from Cananor, and who were now on their return to India. They expressed much surprize at this circumstance; as they had been told by the Venetian ambassador at Lisbon, that the Portuguese could not send their ships to sea without assistance from Venice. This insinuation proceeded from envy, as the Venetians were afraid of losing the lucrative trade with India which they had long enjoyed through Egypt.—Astl. I. 51.

who were left on purpose to provide victuals for such ships as might touch here on the voyage to or from India. Here likewise the caravel destined for that purpose was set up and provided with ordnance and a sufficient crew, and was left for the protection of the factory. On leaving Mozambique, De Gama sailed for Quiloa, having orders to reduce the king of that place to become tributary, as a punishment for his unfriendly conduct towards Cabral. On his arrival in that port, Ibrahim the king came on board to visit the admiral, afraid of being called to account for the injuries he had done to Cabral. De Gama, knowing that he was not to be trusted, threatened to make him a prisoner under the hatches, if he did not immediately agree to pay tribute to the king of Portugal[4]. The king from fear engaged to pay 2000 *miticals* of gold yearly, and gave one Mehemed Aleones, a principal man among the Moors whom he hated, as an hostage for the payment. The reason of his dislike to Mehemed was this: Ibrahim was himself an usurper, having seized the government in prejudice to the right heir, and was afraid that Mehemed intended to dethrone him. When the king found himself at liberty, in consequence of this arrangement, he refused to send the promised tribute, in hope that De Gama might put the hostage to death, by which means he might get rid of his enemy: But the Moor, on finding the tribute did not come, was fain to pay the same himself, by which means he procured his own liberty. While at Quiloa, the fleet was joined by the squadron of five ships under Stephen de Gama.

Leaving Quiloa, De Gama proceeded with the whole fleet for Melinda, where he took in water and visited the king[5]. Going from thence for India, and being arrived off Mount Dely, to the north of Cananor, he met a ship belonging to the Moors of Mecca, and bound for Calicut, which was taken by our men after a stout resistance[6]. When the ship surrendered,

4 According to De Faria, De Gama began by cannonading the city of Quiloa; but on the king consenting to become tributary, all was changed to peace and joy.—Astl. I. 51. a.

5 According to Astley, De Gama was forced beyond Melinda, and took in water at a bay eight leagues farther on; and going thence towards India, he spread out his fleet that no ship might escape him; in consequence of which he took several, but was most severe on those belonging to Calicut.—Astl. I. 51.

6 In Astley this ship is said to have belonged to the soldan of Egypt, and was

surrendered, De Gama went on board and commanded the owners and all the principal Moors to come before him, whom he ordered to produce all their goods on pain of being thrown overboard. They answered that they had nothing to produce, as all their goods were in Calicut; on which De Gama ordered one of them to be bound hand and foot and thrown into the sea. The rest were intimidated by this procedure, and immediately delivered up every thing belonging to them, which was very valuable; all of which was committed to the charge of Diego Hernando Correa, the factor appointed for conducting the trade at Cochin, by whose directions they were transported into one of the Portuguese ships. De Gama ordered all the children belonging to the Moors to be taken on board one of his own ships, and vowed to make them all friars in the church of our Lady at Belem, which he afterwards did [7]. All the ordinary merchandize belonging to the Moors was divided among his own men; and when all the goods were removed, he ordered Stephen de la Gama to confine the Moors under the hatches, and to set the ship on fire, to revenge the death of the Portuguese who were slain in the factory at Calicut. Soon after this was done, the Moors broke open the hatches, and quenched the fire; on which the admiral ordered Stephen de Gama to lay them aboard. The Moors rendered desperate by this inhuman treatment, defended themselves to the utmost, and even threw firebrands into our ship to set it on fire. Night coming on, Stephen had to desist, but was ordered to watch the Moorish ship carefully that it might not escape during the dark, and the Moors all night long were heard calling on Mahomet to deliver them out of the hands of the Christians. When day appeared, the admiral again ordered Stephen de la Gama to set the ship on fire, which he did accordingly, after forcing the Moors to retreat into the poop. Some of the Moors leapt into the sea with hatchets in their hands, and endeavoured to swim to our boats; but all of these were slain in the water by our people, and those that remained in the ship were all drowned, as the vessel sunk. Of 300 Moors,

was very richly laden, besides being full of Moors of quality, who were going on pilgrimage to Mecca.—Astl. I. 51.

7 De Faria says there were twenty of these children, whom De Gama caused to be made Christian friars, to make amends for one Portuguese who turned Mahometan.—Astl. I. 51. c.

Moors, of whom thirty were women, not one escaped alive; and some of our men were hurt.

De Gama came soon afterwards to Cananor, where he sent on shore the ambassadors, and gave them a message for the king, informing him of his arrival, and craving an audience. Upon this the rajah ordered a platform of timber to be constructed, which projected a considerable way into the water, covered over with carpets and other rich cloths, and having a wooden house or pavilion at the end next the land, which was likewise covered like the bridge, and was meant for the place of meeting between the rajah and the admiral. The rajah came first to the pavilion, attended by 10,000 nayres, and with many trumpets and other instruments playing before him; and a number of the principal nayres were arranged on the bridge or platform, to receive the admiral in an honourable manner. The admiral came in his boat, attended by all the boats of the fleet decked out with flags and streamers, carrying certain ordnance in their prows, and having many drums and trumpets making a very martial appearance. The admiral disembarked at the outer end of the platform, under a general salute from the ordnance of the boats, and was accompanied by all his captains and a number of men well armed. There were carried before him two great basins of silver gilt, filled with branches of coral and other fine things that are esteemed valuable in India. The admiral was received at the head of the platform by the nayres placed there on purpose, and was conducted to the rajah, who waited for him at the door of the pavilion, and welcomed him with an embrace. They then walked together into the pavilion, in which two chairs were placed out of compliment to the admiral, on one of which the rajah sat down, though contrary to his usual custom, and desired the admiral to be seated on the other. At this interview a treaty of friendship and commerce was settled, and a factory allowed to be established at Cananor. In consequence of this, the admiral gave orders for some of the ships to load here, while others were to do the same at Cochin [8].

Having settled all things to his mind at Cananor and Cochin, the admiral proceeded with his fleet to the harbour of

8 Castaneda, or rather his translator Lichefild, gets somewhat confused here, as if this factory were settled at Cochin, though the whole previous scene is described as at Cananor.—E.

of Calicut, where he took several paraws in which were about fifty Malabars who could not escape; but he forbore making any farther hostilities against the city, till he might see whether or not the zamorin would send him any message. Soon afterwards there came a boat with a flag to the admirals ship, in which was a person in the habit of a Franciscan friar, who was taken at first sight for one of those who had accompanied Ayres Correa, and who they supposed had remained a prisoner. On entering the ship, he saluted them, saying *Deo gratias;* but was immediately recognized as a Moor. He excused himself for coming in that disguise, to secure permission of getting on board, and said that he brought a message from the zamorin to the admiral, about settling a trade in Calicut. To this the admiral made answer, that he would by no means treat on this subject, unless the zamorin would previously satisfy him for all the goods which had been seized in the factory, when he consented to the death of Correa and the rest who were there slain. On this subject three days were spent ineffectually in messages between the zamorin and the admiral, as the Moors used every influence to prevent any friendly agreement. At length, perceiving that all these messages were only meant to gain time, the admiral sent notice to the zamorin that he would wait no longer than noon for his final answer, and if that were not perfectly satisfactory and in compliance with his just demands, he might be assured he would wage cruel war against him with fire and sword, and would begin with those of his subjects who were now prisoners in his hands. And, that the zamorin might not think these were only words of course, he called for an hour-glass, which he set down in presence of the Moorish messenger, saying that as soon as the sand had run out a certain number of times, he would infallibly put in execution all that he had threatened. All this, however, could not induce the zamorin to perform his promise; for he was of an inconstant and wavering disposition, and influenced by the counsels of the Moors. The outward shew he had made of peace was only feigned, or occasioned by the fear he had of seeing so great a fleet in his port, from which he dreaded to sustain great injury; but the Moors had now persuaded him into a contrary opinion, and had prevailed on him to break his word.

When the time appointed by the admiral was expired, he ordered a gun to be fired, as a signal to the captains of his ships

ships to hang up the poor Malabar prisoners, who had been distributed through the fleet. After they were dead, he ordered their hands and feet to be cut off and sent on shore in a paraw, accompanied by two boats well armed, and placed a letter in the paraw for the zamorin, written in Arabic, in which he signified that he proposed to reward him in this manner for his deceitful conduct and repeated breach of faith; and, in regard to the goods belonging to the king of Portugal which he detained, he would recover them an hundred fold [9]. After this, the admiral ordered three of his ships to be warped during the night as near as possible to the shore; and that these should fire next day incessantly on the city with all their cannon, by which vast injury was done, and the royal palace was entirely demolished, besides several other houses belonging to the principal inhabitants of the place. The admiral afterwards departed for Cochin, leaving Vincente Sodre with six well armed ships to command the coast, who was to remain in India when the rest of the fleet returned to Portugal, and was likewise directed to go upon a voyage of discovery to the straits of Mecca, and the coast of Cambaya [10].

From Calicut the admiral sailed for Cochin; and immediately on his anchoring in that port, the rajah [11] sent on board certain hostages to remain as his sureties; and when the admiral landed, the rajah went in person to meet him. At this interview, the rajah delivered up to the admiral Stephen Gyl and others who had remained in his country, and the admiral presented a letter from the king of Portugal to the rajah, returning thanks for the kindness he had shewn to Cabral, and declaring his satisfaction at the settlement of a factory for trade at Cochin. The admiral also delivered a present from the king of Portugal to the rajah, consisting of a rich golden crown set with jewels, a gold enamelled collar, two richly wrought silver fountains, two pieces of figured arras,

9 De Faria says the bodies of these unfortunate Malabars were thrown into the sea, to be carried on shore by the tide.—Astl. I. 52. a.

10 By the straits of Mecca are here meant the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, or the entrance from the Indian Ocean into the Red Sea; and by the coast of Cambaya, what is now called Guzerat.—E.

11 The rajah or king of Cochin has already been named Triumpara, or Trimumpara, on the authority of De Barros, De Faria, and other ancient authors; yet De Faria, in other instances, calls him Uniramacoul.—Astl. I. 52. b.

arras, a splendid tent or pavilion, a piece of crimson satin, and another of sendal [12]; all of which the rajah accepted with much satisfaction. Yet, not knowing the use of some of these things, the admiral endeavoured to explain them; and particularly, ordered the pavilion to be set up to shew its use, under which a new treaty of amity was settled. The rajah appointed a house for the use of the Portuguese factory, and a schedule of prices were agreed upon, at which the various spices, drugs, and other productions of the country were to be delivered to the Portuguese factors, all of which were set down in writing in form of a contract. The rajah likewise delivered a present for the king of Portugal, consisting of two gold bracelets set with precious stones, a sash or turban used by the Moors of cloth of silver two yards and a half long, two great pieces of fine Bengal cotton cloth, and a stone as large as a walnut taken from the head of an animal called *bulgoldolf*, which is exceedingly rare, and is said to be an antidote against all kinds of poison [13]. A convenient house being appointed for a factory, was immediately taken possession of by Diego Hernandez as factor, Lorenzo Moreno, and Alvaro Vas as clerks, and several other assistants.

While the ships were taking in their cargoes at Cochin, a message was brought to the admiral from the zamorin, engaging, if he would return to Calicut, to make a complete restitution of every thing that had been taken from the Portuguese, and that a treaty of friendship and commerce would be immediately arranged between them. After considering this message, the admiral ordered the messenger to prison, meaning to take revenge on him in case the zamorin should prove deceitful in this instance as he had already been in many others [14]. After this precaution, he went to Calicut, more for the purpose of endeavouring to recover the merchandize, than from any expectation of procuring the friendship of the zamorin.

12 It is difficult to say what may have been meant by this last article. In old French writings *Rouge comme Sendal* means very high red, or scarlet; from which circumstance, this may have been a piece of scarlet satin or velvet.—E.

13 Of the animal called bulgoldolf in the text we have no knowledge, nor of this stone of wonderful virtue; but it may possibly refer to the long famed bezoar, anciently much prized, but now deservedly neglected.—E.

14 According to De Faria, this messenger was a bramin, who left his son and nephew at Cochin as hostages, and accompanied De Gama to Calicut, where he carried various messages between the zamorin and the admiral.—Astl. I. 53. b.

zamorin. For this reason he took only his own ship [15], leaving Stephen de Gama in the command at Cochin in his absence. The captains of the fleet were much averse to this rashness, yet could not persuade him to take a larger force, as he said he would be sufficiently protected by the squadron of Vincente Sodre, which was cruizing on the coast, whom he could join on any emergency. On his arrival at Calicut, the zamorin immediately sent notice that he would satisfy him next day for all the goods which had been taken from Cabral, and would afterwards renew the trade and settle the factory on a proper footing. But as soon as he understood that the admiral had come with so small a force, he commanded thirty-four paraws to be got in readiness with all expedition, for the purpose of taking his ship. And so unexpectedly did these assail him, that the admiral was forced to cut one of his cables and make out to seaward, which he was fortunately enabled to do, as the wind came off from the land. Yet the paraws pursued him so closely, that he must infallibly have been taken, if it had not been for the squadron of Sodre making its appearance, on sight of which the paraws gave over the chase and retired to Calicut.

On his return to Cochin, the admiral immediately ordered the messenger of the zamorin to be hanged [16]. The failure of this treacherous attempt against De Gama gave much concern to the zamorin; who now resolved to try if he could induce the rajah of Cochin to refuse a loading to the Portuguese, and to send away their factory from his port. With this view he transmitted a letter to that prince, in the following terms:

"I am informed that you favour the Christians, whom you have admitted into your city and supplied with goods and provisions. It is possible you may not see the danger of this procedure, and may not know how displeasing it is to me. I request of you to remember the friendship which has hitherto subsisted between us, and that you now incur my displeasure for so small a matter in supporting these Christian robbers, who are in use to plunder the countries belonging to other nations. My desire is, therefore, that for the future you may neither receive them into your city, nor give them spices;

15 De Faria says he was accompanied by a caravel.—Astl. I. 53. b.

16 The son and nephew of the messenger, according to De Faria.—Astl. I. 53. c.

spices; by which you will both do me a great pleasure, and will bind me to requite your friendship in whatever way you may desire. I do not more earnestly urge these things at the present, being convinced you will comply without further entreaty, as I would do for you in any matter of importance."

The rajah of Cochin answered in the following terms: That he knew not how to expel the Christians from his city, whom he had received as friends, and to whom he had passed his word for trade and amity. He denied that his friendly reception of the Christians could be construed as any offence to the zamorin, as it was the custom in the ports of Malabar to favour all merchants who resorted thither for trade; and declared his resolution to maintain his engagements inviolate to the Portuguese, who had brought great sums of gold and silver, and large quantities of merchandize into his dominions in the course of their trade. The zamorin was much offended by this answer of the rajah of Cochin; to whom he wrote a second time, advising him earnestly to abandon the Portuguese if he had any respect for his own welfare. The rajah of Cochin was not to be moved, either by the persuasions or threatenings of the zamorin, and sent a reply to his second letter, in which he declared he should never be induced to commit a base or treacherous action by fear of the consequences, and was resolved to persist in maintaining his treaty of trade and amity with the Portuguese. Finding that he could not prevail on the rajah of Cochin to concur with him, he commanded twenty-nine large ships to be fitted out in order to assail the Portuguese fleet when on its return homewards, expecting that he should be able to destroy them with more ease when fully laden.

The rajah of Cochin gave no intimation to the admiral of the letters and messages which had been interchanged between him and the zamorin, until he went to take leave; at which time, he declared he would hazard the loss of his dominions to serve the king of Portugal. The admiral, after many expressions of gratitude for his friendly disposition and honourable regard for his engagements, assured him that the king his master would never forget the numerous demonstrations he had given of friendship, and would give him such assistance as should not only enable him to defend his own dominions, but to reduce other countries under his authority. He desired him not to be in fear of the zamorin, against

against whom there should henceforwards be carried on so fierce war, that he would have enough of employment in defending himself, instead of being able to attack others. In this the general alluded to the aid which the rajah might expect from the ships that were to remain in India under the command of Vincent Sodre. All this conversation took place in presence of many of the principal nayres, of which circumstance the rajah was much pleased, as he knew these people were in friendship with the Moors, and had opposed the grant of a factory to us at Cochin [17].

Having completed the loading of ten ships, the admiral sailed from Cochin on his homeward-bound voyage; and when about three leagues from Pandarane, he descried the Moorish fleet of twenty-nine large ships coming towards him. After consulting with the captains of his fleet, and the wind being favourable for the purpose, he immediately bore down to engage them. The ships commanded by Vincente Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Perez, being prime sailers, closed up first with the enemy, and immediately attacked two of the largest ships of the Moors. Sodre fought with one of these alone, and Raphael and Perez assailed the other. Almost on the first onset, great numbers of the enemies were so dismayed that they leapt into the sea to escape by swimming. On the coming up of De Gama with the rest of the fleet, all the enemies ships made off as fast as they could towards the shore, except those two which were beset at the first, and were unable to escape, which were accordingly taken possession of. De Gama, considering that all his ships were richly laden, would not pursue the flying enemy, being afraid he might lose some of his ships on the shoals; but our men went in their boats and slew about 300 of the Moors who had endeavoured to save themselves by swimming from the two captured ships. These vessels were accordingly discharged of their cargoes; which consisted

17 In addition to the narrative of Castaneda, De Barros, Maffi, and De Faria relate, that ambassadors came to De Gama while at Cochin from the Christian inhabitants in Cranganore and that neighbourhood, who they said amounted to 30,000. They represented, that they knew he was an officer of the most Catholic king in Europe, to whom they submitted themselves; in testimony of which, they delivered into his hands the rod of justice, of a red colour, tipped with silver at both ends, and about the length of a sceptre, having three bells at the top. They complained of being much oppressed by the idolaters; and were dismissed by De Gama with promises of a powerful and speedy assistance.—Astl. I. 53. d.

consisted of great quantities of rich merchandize, among which were six great jars of fine earthen ware, called porcelain, which is very rare and costly and much admired in Portugal; four large vessels of silver, and many silver perfuming pans; also many spitting basons of silver gilt: But what exceeded all the rest, was a golden idol of thirty pounds weight, with a monstrous face. The eyes of this image were two very fine emeralds. The vestments were of beaten gold, richly wrought and set with precious stones; and on the breast was a large carbuncle or ruby, as large as the coin called a *crusado*, which shone like fire.

The goods being taken out, the two ships were set on fire, and the admiral made sail for Cananor, where the rajah gave him a house for a factory, in which Gonzalo Gill Barbosa was settled as factor, having Sebastian Alvarez and Diego Godino as clerks, Duarte Barbosa as interpreter, and sundry others as assistants, in all to the number of twenty. The rajah undertook to protect these men and all that might be left in the factory, and bound himself to supply lading in spices to all the ships of the king of Portugal at certain fixed prices [18]. In return for these favourable conditions, the admiral engaged on behalf of the king of Portugal to defend the rajah in all wars that might arise from this agreement; conditioning for peace and friendship between the rajahs of Cochin and Cananor, and that the latter should give no aid to any one who might make war upon the former, under the pain of forfeiting the friendship of the Portuguese. After this, the admiral gave orders to Vincente Sodre to protect the coast with his squadron till the month of February; and if any war should break out or seem probable between the zamorin and Trimumpara, he was to winter in Cochin for the protection of that city; otherwise he was to sail for the straits of

18 De Faria alleges that the persons who were appointed to settle matters relative to trade at this port, differed much upon the price of spices: on which occasion many threatening messages were sent to the rajah, who at length through fear complied with all the demands of the Portuguese. He says that the rajahs of Cochin and Cananor were as refractory and adverse at first as the zamorin; and that when De Gama arrived at Cochin, the three princes combined to make him winter there by fraud, and joined their fleets to destroy him. That on the failure of this combination, a durable peace was made with Trimumpara; and the rajah of Cananor, fearing the Portuguese might not return to his port, sent word to De Gama that he was ready to comply with all his demands.—Astl. I. 54. a.

of the Red Sea, to make prize of all the ships belonging to Mecca that traded to the Indies.

All these matters being properly arranged, De Gama departed from Cananor for Portugal on the 20th December 1502 [19]; with thirteen ships richly laden, three of which had taken in their cargoes at Cananor, and the other ten at Cochin. The whole fleet arrived in safety at Mozambique, where the ship commanded by Stephen de Gama having sprung a great leak, was unladen and laid on shore to be repaired. Seven days after their departure from Mozambique, the ship commanded by Lewis Cotinho sprung a great leak, and they were forced to endeavour to return to Mozambique to repair her; but, the wind being contrary, they had to do this in a creek on the coast. Continuing their voyage, they were assailed by a sudden tempest off Cape Corientes, in which the ship commanded by Stephen de Gama had her sails all split by the storm, owing to which she was separated from the fleet, and no more seen till six days after the arrival of the admiral at Lisbon, when she came in with her mast broken. The storm having abated, during which the fleet took shelter under the lee of Cape Corientes, the admiral prosecuted his voyage to Lisbon, and arrived safe at Cascais on the 1st September 1503. All the noblemen of the court went to Cascais to receive him honourably, and to accompany him to the presence of the king. On his way to court, he was preceded by a page carrying a silver bason, in which was the tribute from the king of Quiloa. The king received him with great honour, as he justly merited for his services in discovering the Indies, and in settling factories at Cochin and Cananor, to the great profit of the kingdom; besides the great fame and honour which redounded to the king, as the first sovereign who had sent to discover the Indies, of which he might make a conquest if he were so inclined. In reward for these brilliant services, the king made him admiral of the Indies, and likewise gave him the title of Lord of Videgueyra, which was his own.

Note.—As De Gama did not return again to India till the year 1524, which is beyond the period contained in that part of Castaneda

19 In Castaneda this date is made 1503; but from an attentive consideration of other dates and circumstances in that author, this must have been a typographical error.—E.

Castaneda which has been translated by Lichefild, we shall have no occasion to notice him again in this part of our work. For this reason, it has been thought proper to give the following short supplementary account of his farther services in India.

"In 1524, Don Vasco De Gama, now Count of Videgueyra, was appointed viceroy of India by John III. king of Portugal, and sailed from Lisbon with fourteen ships, carrying 3000 fighting men. Three were lost during the voyage, with all the men belonging to two of them. While in the Gulf of Cambaya, in a dead calm, the ships were tossed about in so violent a manner that all on board believed themselves in imminent danger of perishing, and began to consider how they might escape. One man leapt over-board, thinking to escape by swimming, but was drowned; and such as lay sick of fevers were cured by the fright. The viceroy, who perceived that the commotion was occasioned by the effects of an earthquake, called aloud to his people, *courage my friends, for the sea trembles from fear of you who are on it.* To make some amends for the misfortunes of the voyage, Don George de Meneses, one of the captains, took a large ship belonging to Mecca, worth 60,000 crowns, a large sum in those days. After his arrival at Goa, the viceroy visited some forts, and issued the necessary orders for regulating the affairs of his government; but he had not time to put any of his great designs into execution, as he died on Christmas eve, having only held the government of Portuguese India for three months. De Gama is said to have been of middle stature, with a ruddy complexion, but somewhat gross. His character was bold, patient under fatigue, well fitted for great undertakings, speedy in executing justice, and terrible in anger. In fine, he was admirably fitted for all that was entrusted to his conduct, as a discoverer, a naval and military commander, and as viceroy. He is painted with a black cap, cloak, and breeches, edged with velvet, all slashed, through which appears the crimson lining. His doublet is of crimson satin, over which his armour is seen inlaid with gold. He was the sixth successive governor of India, and the second who had the rank of viceroy."—Astl. I. 54. b.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Transactions of the Portuguese in India, from the departure of De Gama, in December 1502, *to the arrival of Alonzo de Albuquerque in* 1503.

As soon as the zamorin was assured of the departure of De Gama for Europe, he determined on putting his threats in execution against the rajah of Cochin, for which purpose he gathered an army at the village of Panani, not far from Cochin [1]. This was soon known to the inhabitants of Cochin, who were exceedingly afraid of the great power of the zamorin, and were much dissatisfied with their sovereign for incurring the displeasure of that prince out of respect to the Christians, whom they inveighed against with much bitterness on all occasions, and openly insulted wherever they were seen. Some that were in high credit with the rajah said openly, that as the zamorin was much more powerful than their state, our men ought to be delivered up to him, as the war was entirely on our account, for whom the kingdom ought not to be put in hazard. But the rajah, much offended at these people, declared that he was resolved to defend the Portuguese against the zamorin, trusting that God would favour him in so just a cause. Yet many of his subjects were much inclined to have seized the Portuguese belonging to the factory, but durst not, as the rajah gave them a place of considerable strength to dwell in, and appointed a guard for their security.

At this time Vincente Sodre arrived with his squadron in the bay of Cochin, after having done much damage on the coast of Calicut, both by land and sea. The Portuguese head factor sent Laurenzo Moreno to inform Sodre of the preparations which were making by the zamorin for the attack of Cochin, and requiring him in the name of the king of Portugal to land with his men for its defence. But Sodre answered, that his orders were to defend the sea and not the land; for which reason, if the zamorin had prepared to attack Cochin by sea, he would certainly have defended it; but as the

1 This army is said to have amounted to 50,000 men. Panani is six leagues from Cochin.—Astl. I. 54.

the war was to be carried on by land, he could not interfere, and the rajah must defend himself. The factor sent a second message, entreating him, in the name of God and on his allegiance to the king of Portugal, not to abandon the factory in this state of danger, as the power of the rajah was inadequate to defend Cochin against the zamorin; and as the sole object of the war was for the destruction of the factory and the ruin of the Portuguese trade, it certainly was his duty, as captain-general for the king of Portugal in these seas, both to defend the factory and to give every assistance in his power to the rajah. But Sodre was immoveable, pretending that he had been ordered to discover the Red Sea, where he expected to make many rich prizes, and set sail from Cochin for Cape Guardafui, preferring the hope of riches to his duty in defending the factory of Cochin.

The zamorin collected his army, as already mentioned, at the village of Panani, where, besides his own subjects and allies, several of the principal subjects of the rajah of Cochin joined his standard, deserting their own sovereign, and carrying along with them all the power they were able to muster: Among these were the caimalls or governors of Chirapipil and Cambalane, and of the large island which is opposite to the city of Cochin. At this place, the zamorin made a long speech to his assembled chiefs, in which he endeavoured to justify his enmity to the Portuguese, whom he represented as thieves, robbers, and pirates, and as having first commenced hostilities against him without cause. He contrasted the quiet and friendly conduct of the Moors, who had traded for 600 years with Malabar, having never done injury to any in all that time, and had greatly enriched the country, and had raised his city of Calicut to be the greatest emporium in all the Indies: Whereas the Portuguese had taken and destroyed his ships, made his ambassadors prisoners, insisted on having their ships laden before those belonging to the Moors, had taken a ship of the Moors, burnt ten of his ships in his own harbour, had destroyed his city and forced him to escape for safety from his palace; taking law and vengeance for pretended grievances into their own hands, instead of applying regularly to him for redress. And, since the rajah of Cochin was fully informed of all these things, yet persisted in favouring the Portuguese in despite of all remonstrances, he had resolved to make war upon him, to deprive him of his dominions,

minions, and to drive these Christian intruders out of India.

This address gave much satisfaction to all the assembled chiefs, and most especially to the lord of Repelim, who entertained a rooted enmity sgainst the rajah of Cochin, who had dispossessed him of an island called Arraual. The only person who opposed the zamorin on this occasion was Nambeadarin [2], who was brother and next heir to the zamorin. He strongly urged the impolicy of driving the Christians from Malabar, to which merchants resorted from all places of the world, seeing that the Portuguese had made richer presents to the zamorin than he had ever received before, and had brought much gold and silver into the country for the purchase of commodities, which was not usually done by such as came to make war. He represented the attempt of the hostages to escape who had been given for the safety of the Portuguese chief, and whom the zamorin was pleased to call ambassadors, as the first cause of jealousy and distrust; yet they were afterwards reconciled, and took the large Moorish ship at the desire of the zamorin, to whom they presented the great elephant. He said their conduct in trade and otherwise while in Calicut was quite satisfactory to all except the Moors, who were envious against them for interfering in their trade, and accused them falsely of taking pepper against the will of the owners, which in fact they had done themselves to prevent the Christians from loading their ships; nay that this was so evident that even the zamorin had licensed the Portuguese to take the pepper from the Moorish vessels: After which the Moors had risen against them, slaying their men and seizing all their goods. Yet, after all these outrages, they had given the zamorin a whole day in which to offer reparation, and had not sought revenge of their injuries treacherously like the Moors. That he saw no cause of going to war against the rajah of Cochin for receiving the Portuguese into his city like any other merchants who might frequent his harbour, as had likewise been done by the rajahs of Cananor and Koulan, who would not have done so if they had been robbers and pirates. And if the zamorin meant to drive the Portuguese from the Indies, besides making war on

2 This person is named Naubea Daring by Astley, and is said to have been nephew to the zamorin.—Astl. I. 56.

on Cochin, it would be necessary for him to do the same against Cananor and all the other princes on the coast.

The zamorin was a good deal staggered by the discourse of Nambeadarin, who had much credit and authority with him; insomuch, that it is thought he would have desisted from prosecuting the war, if it had not been for the Moors and the caymals, who represented that it would be a great disgrace to his character to recede after the assemblage of so great an army, and that it was to be expected the rajah of Cochin might now agree from fear to do what the zamorin had desired him. The zamorin then desired his sorcerers to point out a fortunate day for marching forward with his army, which they did accordingly, and promised him an assured victory. With this assurance, on which he placed great reliance, the zamorin departed from Panani, and took possession of Repelim, which is four leagues from Cochin.

The rajah of Cochin had regular intelligence of all that passed in the camp of the zamorin by means of spies, and was in great trouble respecting the event, not having sufficient force for his defence, as many on whom he most relied had gone over to the enemy. Even those who remained served against their inclination, more especially the inhabitants of Cochin, who abhorred our people, and said openly that it were proper the rajah should either deliver them up to the zamorin or send them away from Cochin, to avoid the impending war. Many of the inhabitants of Cochin deserted the place for fear of the consequences. The members of the Portuguese factory were much alarmed by all these circumstances, and requested permission from the rajah to withdraw to Cananor, where they might remain in safety till the arrival of the next fleet from Portugal; hoping by this means to remove the cause of war, and to satisfy the subjects of the rajah. Trimumpara was displeased at this request, as not reposing sufficient confidence in his word, and declared he would rather forfeit his kingdom, and even his life, than deliver them up to the zamorin or any other who sought to injure them; and that, although he might lose Cochin in the war, there still were places of sufficient strength in which to keep them safe till reinforcements should arrive from Portugal. That although the zamorin had a great army, yet victory did not always follow numbers, as a few valiant men were often victorious

over great odds, especially having justice on their side. He therefore desired the factory to remain, and to pray God to give him the victory. The Portuguese now offered to give him such aid as their small number would allow; but he declined allowing them to expose themselves to any danger on the present occasion, as his credit depended upon the preservation of their lives, that they might witness for his faithful adherence to the treaty of amity which he had formed with their nation. Upon this he placed them under the safeguard of certain naires in whom he had confidence. After this, the rajah called all his nobles into his presence, together with the chief naires, who were the cause of all the murmurs against the Portuguese, and addressed the assemblage to the following effect:

"I am much concerned to find that truth and loyalty should be wanting among men of your quality. I do not wonder at the present misconduct of the lower orders, who are often constrained by their poverty and wretchedness to commit all manner of wickedness. But that naires, who have always been noted for fidelity, should desire me to forfeit the promise which I have made to the captain-general in behalf of the Portuguese, to defend them to the utmost of my power against all violence as my own subjects, astonishes and distresses me beyond measure. Under these assurances of protection, which were given with your consent, these men were left in my city; and yet, because you see the zamorin coming against me with more men than I have, you would have me to break my promise. Were I so unjust, you of all men ought to abhor me. If you dwelt with any sovereign on the assurance of his word, how would you conceive of him, if he were to treat you as you would now have me to act by these Christians? Is it because you are afraid of the great power of the zamorin? Be assured it were better for us all to die in the discharge of our duty, and the preservation of our promise, than to live dishonoured. To me no evil can be greater than to break my word, nor can there be a greater dishonour to yourselves than to be the subjects of a false and treacherous king. These Christians have brought much profit to me and my country, and the zamorin might have kept them in his own city, if he had permitted their factory to settle there in peace. Were it his intention to drive the Christians out of India, and to make war on all who receive them into their dominions, he ought to have begun this war with the

the rajah of Cananor: But his cause of war is the envy he has conceived at seeing me benefited by the trade which he has lost through his own misconduct, and because he believes in his pride that I am unable to withstand. But I trust in God and the justness of my cause, that with your assistance, I shall obtain the victory, and shall be able to protect the Christians, and preserve my honour inviolate." This speech had great effect upon the assembled naires, who were astonished at the constancy and resolution of the rajah. They all therefore craved pardon for the fears they had entertained, and promised to live and die in his service. The rajah immediately called the factor and the rest of the Portuguese into his presence, to whom he gave an account of all that had taken place between him and the naires; and named before them the prince *Naramuhin* [3], his brother and next heir, as general of the army which was destined to act against the forces of the zamorin, commanding every one to obey him in every respect as if he were himself present. Naramuhin accordingly marched with 5500 naires, and entrenched himself at the ford which forms the only entry by land into the island of Cochin, and which is only knee-deep at low water.

When the zamorin received notice of the army of Cochin having taken post at this ford, he was somewhat afraid, more especially as he knew Naramuhin was considered to be the bravest and most fortunate warrior in Malabar. He therefore made a fresh attempt to induce the rajah of Cochin to accede to his demands, of delivering up the Portuguese and their goods, otherwise threatening to conquer his dominions, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. Although the rajah of Cochin was quite sensible of the inferiority of his military force, and was convinced what the zamorin threatened might readily happen, he yet determined to remain firm to his engagements, and sent the following answer:

"If you had required with civility what you have proudly commanded me, I should not have esteemed your valour lessened by your courtesy: For with men of wisdom and power there is no need for insolent vaunts. I have not as yet so sinned against God, that I should humble myself to vain boasting, or think that he should grant you the victory over me

3 In Astley this prince is called the nephew of the rajah of Cochin.—Astl. I. 55.

me and those brave men who fight on my side. In spite of all your pride, I trust even with the small number I have to defend me in my just quarrel, that I shall be enabled to overcome you and all my enemies. However much you may have practised deceit and injustice, it has ever been my rule to avoid shame and dishonour, and I will never consent to deliver up the Christians or their goods, which I have engaged to defend."

The zamorin was much offended by this answer from the rajah of Cochin, and vowed to destroy his whole country in revenge: Leaving, therefore, the isle of Repelim on the last day of March, he entered on the territories of Cochin, yet refrained from doing any injury, as he now occupied those parts which belonged to the chieftains who had joined him against their own sovereign. On the 2d of March, the army of the zamorin made an attempt to force a passage by the ford which was defended by prince Naramuhin; yet, in spite of all his prodigious superiority of numbers, he was forced to retire with considerable loss. Disappointed in this first essay, the zamorin encamped close by the ford, and sent the lord of Repelim next day with a still stronger force than had been employed in the first assault, to attempt forcing the passage. He even joined several armed paraws in this attack; but Naramuhin made a resolute defence, in which he was bravely seconded by Laurenzo Moreno and several other Portuguese, and effectually resisted every effort of the zamorins troops, who were obliged to retreat with much loss. Several such assaults were made on the ford, in all of which the zamorin lost many men, and was constantly repulsed, insomuch that he became fearful of a sinister end to his unjust enterprise, and even repented of having begun the war. He sent, however, a fresh message to the rajah, requiring him to deliver up the Christians as a preliminary of peace. But the rajah replied, that as he had refused to do so unjust an action when he had some reason to dread the superior power of the zamorin, it was absurd to expect any such thing now, when the advantage in the war was evidently of his side. He then advised the zamorin to beware of continuing the war, as he would not now satisfy himself with defence, but even hoped to give him a signal overthrow. And this certainly had been the case, if the subjects of the rajah had not shamefully deserted him in this war and given assistance to the enemy. The zamorin almost despaired of success, and would

would have given over the enterprize, if he had not been advised by some of his chiefs to assail several other towns belonging to the dominions of Cochin, so as to distract the attention of Naramuhin, and to weaken his force by obliging him to send detachments for their defence. But that brave prince provided against every emergency, and made so judicious a disposition of his forces, that he repulsed every effort of the enemy, and slew many of their men.

Foiled in every attempt with severe loss, by the bravery and excellent dispositions of Prince Naramuhin, the zamorin corrupted the paymaster of the troops of Cochin, who changed the usual order of payment which had been daily made in the camp, and obliged the soldiers to come up to Cochin for that purpose. Naramuhin was obliged to submit to this arrangement, by giving leave to the naires to go for their wages, yet charged them punctually to return to the camp before day. But the treacherous paymaster kept them waiting till after day-light, by which means the prince was left with very few troops to defend the ford. Taking advantage of this concerted stratagem, the zamorin made an assault upon the ford with his whole force by sea and land, and constrained Naramuhin to retire with his small band into a grove of palm trees, where he was surrounded by the whole army of Calicut, yet fought the whole day against such terrible odds with the utmost resolution, several times throwing his enemies into disorder, of whom many were slain. But at length, overpowered by numbers, he and two of his cousins who fought along with him were slain, together with most of his faithful followers.

When this melancholy event was announced to the rajah of Cochin, he fainted from extreme grief, and was for some time thought to have actually expired. At this time, the naires were much exasperated against our men, to whom they attributed the overthrow and death of prince Naramuhin, and the desperate situation of their country, and seemed much inclined to have put the Portuguese to death, or to have delivered them up to the zamorin. On the recovery of the rajah, and learning the designs of his people against our men, he called the Portuguese into his presence; he gave them assurance that even this reverse of his affairs should not alter his resolution of protecting them, both against the zamorin and his own subjects. He then addressed his assembled naires, urging them not to stain his honour and their

own

own by injuring the Portuguese, whom he and they had sworn to protect. He exhorted them to persevere honourably and bravely in defending their country and preserving their honour inviolate to the Christians, and comforted them with the assurance that the Portuguese fleet would soon arrive with sufficient reinforcements to drive out the zamorin and to restore him to his dominions. In the meantime, he proposed that they should retire with what force remained, into the isle of Vaipi, which was of difficult access; and where they could defend themselves till the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, more especially as the winter was at hand, which would stop the progress of the war for some time. The naires were astonished at the resolution of their sovereign, and promised faithfully to obey his commands in all things.

The zamorin made a new attempt to shake the resolution of the rajah in his present adversity, by offering peace on condition of delivering up the Portuguese and their goods; which the rajah rejected with disdain as he had done all his former overtures. On this the zamorin gave orders to destroy the whole country with fire and sword, on which intelligence most of the inhabitants of Cochin withdrew to other places. There were at this time in Cochin two Milanese lapidaries belonging to the factory, named John Maria and Pedro Antonio, who had been brought to India by Vasco de Gama. These men deserted to the zamorin, to whom they conveyed intelligence of the consternation which reigned among the inhabitants of Cochin, and of the small number of men that remained with the rajah. These men also made offer to the zamorin to make ordnance for him resembling those of the Portuguese, which they afterwards did as will appear in the sequel of this history, and for which service they were highly rewarded. The zamorin now moved forwards with his army to take possession of Cochin, and was resisted for some time by the rajah, who was himself slightly wounded. But finding it impossible any farther to resist against such prodigious odds, he withdrew to the strong island of Vaipi, carrying all our men along with him and every thing belonging to our factory. The zamorin, on taking possession of the deserted city of Cochin, ordered it to be set on fire. He then sent a part of his army against the isle of Vaipi, which was valiantly defended by the rajah and his men, and in which defence the members of our factory

tory contributed to the best of their ability. But the winter coming on, and bad weather setting in, the zamorin was obliged to desist for the present season, and withdrew his army to Cranganor with a determination to renew the war in the ensuing spring, leaving a strong detachment in the island of Cochin, which he ordered to throw up entrenchments for their defence.

After his shameful desertion of Cochin, Vincente Sodre went with his fleet towards the kingdom of Cambaya, meaning to capture the rich ships of the Moors which trade to India from the Red Sea. He there took five ships, in which in ready money only was found to the value of 200,000 *perdaos*. Most of the Moors were slain in the battle, and the ships burnt. From Cambaya he sailed for Cape Guardafu; and as his ships were foul, he proposed to lay them aground to be careened at the islands of *Curia Muria* [4]. Sodre arrived there with his squadron on the 20th April 1503; and though these islands were well inhabited by Moors, he resolved to venture on land, considering that these islanders were by no means warlike, and stood in fear of our men. The islanders accordingly behaved in a peaceable manner, and sold our people such provisions as they had to spare. Sodre laid one of his caravels aground for repair, on which he was informed by the Moors that their coast was subject to violent storms in the month of May, during which no ships were able to keep the sea, but were unavoidably driven on shore and wrecked. Wherefore they advised him strenuously to remove to the other side of the island, which would then be a sure defence against the storm, after which had blown over he might return to their part of the coast. Sodre made light of their advice, conceiving they meant him some harm; and told them that the ships of the Moors having only wooden anchors, might be easily driven ashore, whereas his anchors were of iron and would hold fast. Pedro Raphael, Hernan Rodriguez Badarsas, and Diego Perez were convinced of the council of the Moors being good, and therefore quitted these islands on the last day of April; but Sodre would not listen to their advice and remained with his brother at Curia Muria. According to the prediction of the Moors, a violent storm came on early in May, by which the two remaining

4 These are a cluster of islands, otherwise called Chartan and Martan, on the coast of Yemen, between the latitudes of 17° and 18° north.—E.

maining ships were driven from their anchors and dashed to pieces. Vincente Sodre and his brother, with many others lost their lives, and nothing whatever was saved out of these two ships. The loss of these two brothers was considered as a punishment of Providence, for basely abandoning the rajah of Cochin and the factory in their imminent danger.

Those who were saved returned towards Cochin to succour our people, and chose Pedro de Tayde[5] as their general. In their passage from Curia Muria towards Cochin, they encountered several severe storms, and were often in great danger of perishing. Being unable to reach Cochin on account of the winds, they were forced to take refuge in the island of Anchediva. A few days after their arrival, a ship came there from Portugal, commanded by Antonio del Campo, who had left Lisbon alone some time after Vasco de Gama, and had been much delayed on his voyage in consequence of the death of his pilot. He had encountered severe weather on the coast, and was forced after much trouble and danger to take refuge in Anchediva. The united squadron wintered in this island, where they suffered severe hardships from scarcity of provisions.

Section VII.

Voyage of Alonso and Francisco de Albuquerque to India in 1503; being the fifth of the Portuguese Expeditions to the East Indies.

In the year 1503, supposing that the admiral Don Vasco de Gama had quietly settled factories in Cochin and Cananor, the king of Portugal did not consider it necessary to send any great fleet to India. He therefore determined to send only six ships in two separate squadrons, under separate generals. Alonso de Albuquerque, who was afterwards governor-general or viceroy of India, commanded one of these squadrons, having under him as captains, Duarte Pacheco and Hernan Martinez Mascarennas, who is said to have died during the voyage. The other squadron, likewise of three ships, was under the command of Francisco de Albuquerque, cousin

5 Of the four officers mentioned in the text, three are enumerated at the commencement of the former voyage of De Gama as commanders of separate vessels. The fourth, Badarsas, is not in that list of captains, and may have been appointed captain of Vincente Sodres flag-ship.—E.

cousin to Alonso, having as captains Nicholas Coello and Pedro Vas de la Vega, the former of whom sailed under De Gama in the first discovery of India. This latter squadron sailed from Lisbon fifteen days after the other, yet arrived first in India. Both squadrons encountered severe storms during the voyage, in which the ship commanded by De la Vega was lost. Francisco de Albuquerque, and Nicholas Coello, arrived at Anchediva in the month of August, where they found De Tayde and the other captains who had wintered there, as related in the former section. They here received notice of the war between the zamorin and the rajah of Cochin, and of the sinister events which had occurred at that place; for which reason Francisco stood over with the whole fleet, now consisting of six sail, to Cananor, where he expected to receive more exact intelligence of the state of affairs in Cochin. They were here received with great joy by the Portuguese factory; and even the rajah of Cananor came on board the generals ship in person, and gave him a distinct recital of what had happened at Cochin, and of the present situation of Triumpara.

Alonso de Albuquerque lost no time in going to Cochin, where he arrived on the night of Saturday the 2d of September 1503. Immediately on his approach, the troops of Calicut who guarded the entrenchments thrown up by the zamorin, abandoned their posts in the island of Cochin and fled to Cranganor, according to orders to that effect from the zamorin, who had received notice of the arrival of our fleet at Cananor. On Sunday morning Francisco came to anchor close to Cochin, when he was joyfully received by the inhabitants, playing on various instruments of music, and was soon afterwards visited by the Portuguese factor, who brought him a message from the rajah. On the Monday morning, leaving his ships in good order, Francisco took several boats well armed, and went to the island of Vaipi to visit the rajah, ordering two caravels to follow for security, in case of any of the Calicut paraws making their appearance. The rajah received our general with infinite satisfaction, greeting them with the exclamation, Portugal! Portugal! as soon as our boats were within hail; which was answered by our people shouting out, Cochin! Cochin! and down with the zamorin! On landing, the rajah embraced Francisco de Albuquerque with tears in his eyes, saying he only desired to live till restored to his dominions, that his subjects might be satisfied

tisfied of his just conduct in suffering so much for the service of the king of Portugal. In the name of that sovereign, Francisco gave hearty thanks to Triumpara for his fidelity, and promised him ample revenge on his enemies. And as his finances were much reduced, he made him a present of 10,000 crowns from the chest belonging to the expedition, to serve his present necessities, until he might be again able to draw the rents of his own dominions. This gift was exceedingly acceptable to the rajah, whose affairs were then at a very low ebb; and gave much satisfaction to the natives, who were by it greatly reconciled to the protection which their rajah had given to our men.

The rajah was immediately brought back in triumph to Cochin, amid the joyful acclamations of his subjects, who henceforwards treated our men with esteem and respect. The news of the rajahs return to Cochin, and of the money which had been given him by our general, was speedily communicated to the zamorin; who, in expectation of the renewal of the war, sent orders to his caymals or governors on the frontiers towards Cochin to make every preparation for defence. On the very day on which the rajah returned to Cochin, Francisco de Albuquerque resolved to commence hostilities by an attack on the island directly over against Cochin, where he found the inhabitants quite unprepared and off their guard, as they had no idea of being so soon attacked: In this unprepared state, a great number of the Calicut troops were slain, and several of the towns on the island destroyed, after which the Portuguese returned to their ships without loss. Next day Francisco made a fresh assault on the same island with six hundred men, and was opposed by the caymal or governor for the zamorin, with a force of two thousand nayres, part of whom were spearmen, but the greater number armed with bows and arrows, and some with swords and targets. After some resistance, but in which none of them were hurt, our people made good their landing, and galled the Indians so sore with their cross-bows, that they soon fled. The Portuguese pursued quite across the island, and forced their enemies to continue their flight across the water, leaving many of their men behind both killed and wounded. Having now no enemy to oppose them in the island, the Portuguese laid it entirely waste, and burnt all the towns and villages it contained.

Adjoining

Adjoining to this island there lay another, named *Charanaipin*[1], which belonged to a caymal who was subject to the rajah of Cochin, but had revolted to the zamorin at the commencement of the war. From some spies employed by the rajah of Cochin, it was understood that this caymal had a force of three thousand nayres, seven hundred of whom were archers, and forty were armed with matchlocks[2]; besides which all their towns were well fortified with trenches. He had likewise several paraws provided with ordnance, with which he was supplied by the zamorin, and these were stationed in one of the harbours of the island, to defend it against the Portuguese. Notwithstanding all these preparations, of which he was well informed, Francisco Albuquerque went against this island the day after he had reduced the former, and commenced his attack against the harbour in which the paraws were stationed. The enemy were soon driven by our ordnance from their boats, yet many of them continued in the water up to their girdles to resist the landing of our troops, annoying them as much as possible with stones, spears, and arrows. They were at length driven from the water by our ordnance, but rallied again on the shore, and bravely resisted our people in landing for a long time. They were at length driven to take shelter in a grove of palm trees, in which they defended themselves for a short space, and were at the last driven to seek for safety in a disorderly flight, in which they were pursued by our men. In the pursuit, Pedro de Lares, who was constable to Francisco de Albuquerque, being separated from the rest, was attacked by three nayres all at once. One of these let fly an arrow which hit Pedro on his breast-plate, but without hurting him; on which Pedro levelled his piece and shot him dead. The second nayre he likewise slew by another shot. The third nayre wounded him in the leg with a weapon called a *gomya*, and then endeavoured to run away, but Pedro killed him with his sword. On the enemy being put to flight, Francisco divided his forces into three bodies, two of them Portuguese, and the third composed of nayres in the service of the rajah of Cochin, and marched all over the island plundering and burning the towns and villages without resistance.

While

1 This seems to be the island named Chirapipil on a former occasion.—E.

2 Thus I understand the expression in Lichefilds translation of Castaneda, "Forty were armed with shot."—E.

While thus employed, a considerable number of paraws arrived with reinforcements from Calicut, from which a powerful body of nayres landed in that part of the island where Duarte Pacheco happened to be posted with a very inferior force, and had assuredly destroyed him and his men, but that Francisco de Albuquerque came very opportunely to his aid. Finding greater resistance than he expected, and fearing lest the caymal might attack him in the rear, while engaged in front with the nayres of Calicut, Francisco detached a part of his troops under Nicholas Coello, assisted by Antonio del Campo and Pedro de Tayde, to assault the residence of the caymal, who was slain bravely fighting in its defence. At this place one of our men was slain and eighteen wounded. In the mean time, Francisco de Albuquerque and Duarte Pacheco defeated the reinforcements from Calicut, and forced them to take refuge on board their paraws, leaving many of their men slain and wounded on the shore. After this signal victory, by which the greater part of the three thousand nayres belonging to the caymal and many of those from Calicut were slain, Francisco de Albuquerque conferred the honour of knighthood on several of his officers who had signalized themselves on the occasion. He then wasted the whole island with fire and sword.

Francisco determined in the next place, to attack the country of the lord of Repelim, for which purpose he departed with his troops by water from Cochin, and reached a town in that territory, four leagues from Cochin, about eight o'clock next morning. Near two thousand nayres, five hundred of whom were armed with bows and arrows, were stationed on the beach of the isle of Repelim to repel this attack; but were soon forced by our ordnance to retire into a grove of palms, on which Francisco landed with his troops, the van being led by Nicholas Coello. The enemy resisted for some time under the shelter of the trees, and wounded some of our people; but were at length forced to take to flight, after losing a good many of their men, who were shot by our cross-bows and *calivers* [3]. Our troops followed the nayres, who took refuge in the towns of the island, in which much greater slaughter was made of the enemy than in the field, as they were crowded together and more exposed to our

3 Caliver is the old name of the matchlock or carabine, the precursor of the modern firelock or musket.—E.

our shot. On taking possession of the town, Francisco gave it up to be plundered by the nayres of Cochin, who assisted him on this expedition, that they might not consider the conduct of the Portuguese on this occasion proceeded from any inclination for plundering the country, but from a desire to revenge the injuries which had been done to their own rajah.

On his return from this victory, Francisco was joyfully received by the rajah of Cochin, who desired him to desist from any farther operations against the enemy, as he considered himself sufficiently revenged. But Francisco requested his permission to continue the war, as he was still unsatisfied till he had taken effectual vengeance on the zamorin, and accounted it no trouble to fight in the service of the rajah. He seized, however, the present opportunity of the high favour in which he stood with the rajah, to solicit permission for constructing a fort at Cochin, for the protection of the Portuguese factory during the absence of the ships. This request was immediately complied with; the rajah even offered to be at the sole charge, and Francisco lost no time in proceeding to construct the intended fort. As there were neither stones, lime, nor sand to be procured, it was necessary to build the castle of timber; which the rajah ordered to be immediately provided for the purpose, and brought to the spot appointed, which was close to the river side, as best adapted for resisting the assault of the Calicut fleet in any future attempt against Cochin. The rajah sent likewise a great number of his subjects to carry on the work; saying that our people had already had enough to do in the operations of the war: But Francisco commanded our people to work in constructing the fortifications, the foundations of which were laid on the 26th September 1503. The inhabitants of Cochin were astonished at the diligence with which our people laboured at this work, saying there were no such men in the world, as they were equally good at all things.

On the 30th September, four days after the commencement of the fort, Alonso de Albuquerque arrived with his ships at Cochin, having been delayed on his voyage by severe storms and contrary winds, yet brought all his men with him in excellent health. Francisco was much pleased at his arrival; and a portion of the fort being allotted to those newly arrived, it was soon finished. Though built of timber, this castle was as strong and handsome, as if it had been constructed of stone and lime. It was of a square form,

each

each face being eighteen yards, with bulwarks or bastions at each corner mounted with ordnance. The walls were made of two rows of palm trees and other strong timber, firmly set in the ground, and bound together with iron hoops and large nails, the space between the two rows of timber being rammed full of earth and sand, and the whole surrounded by a ditch always full of water [4]. The day after this fort was finished, which was named Manuel in honour of the king of Portugal, the captain-general with all his people made a solemn procession, in which the vicar of the fort bore the crucifix under a canopy carried by the captains of the fleet, preceded by trumpets and other instruments of music. The fort was solemnly blessed, and consecrated by the celebration of mass; after which friar Gaston preached a sermon, in which he exhorted his hearers to be thankful to God, who had permitted the inhabitants of the small western kingdom of Portugal to construct a fortress in this distant region, among so many enemies of the Catholic faith. He expressed a hope that this might be the forerunner of many other establishments of a similar nature, to the advancement of the true religion among the heathen, and the glory of Portugal. He likewise desired his hearers to keep always in mind the high obligations they owed to the rajah for the good service he had rendered to the king of Portugal on this occasion. A faithful report was carried to the rajah of this part of the discourse, who was much gratified, and gave thanks for the same to the two generals.

After completing the fort, the Portuguese renewed the war, and made an attack on two towns belonging to the lord of Repelim on the coast, about five leagues from Cochin, having learned from spies that they were but slightly garrisoned. On this expedition the generals took a body of seven hundred men, and departing from Cochin about two hours before day, they arrived at their destination about nine o'clock next morning. These towns had a population of six thousand people, besides children, and were only defended by three hundred nayres, all bowmen. Alonso de Albuquerque with part of the forces landed at the nearest town, and Francisco with the remainder of the forces at the other, which was

4 A very ordinary precaution in India, to guard the passage of the wet ditch in fortified places, both against desertion and surprise, is by keeping numbers of crocodiles in the water.—E.

was only about a cannon-shot distant from the former. In the first town the enemy was completely surprised and run away, and the place was set on fire without resistance. On seeing the people run away, our men pursued and slew many of the fugitives, and when wearied of the pursuit they plundered and destroyed the country. In the mean time the alarm was spread over the neighbourhood, and about 6000 nayres assembled, who made an attack upon our men as they were embarking, so that they were in great danger: In particular, Duarte Pacheco, not being able to find his boat in the place where he had left it, was closely pursued; and though he and his company defended themselves valiantly, and killed many of the enemy, eight of his men were wounded with arrows. So superior was the number of the enemy on this occasion, that Pacheco and his men had assuredly been all slain, if the rest of the troops had not again landed to his rescue; on which the enemy lost heart and run away, leaving the field of battle strewed over with their slain. After the defeat of the nayres, our men set fire to fifteen paraws, which were drawn up on the beach, and carried away seven which were afloat.

The lord of Repelim was much grieved at the destruction of his towns; and being afraid of our people making an attack on another about a league farther up the river, he sent a strong detachment of his nayres for its security. The generals, however, resolved to follow up their victory, and to do all the evil in their power to the territories of this lord. For this purpose, after allowing their men some time for rest, they departed about midnight, while it was still so dark that they could not see each other in the boats, expecting to come upon their enemies by surprise by dawn of next morning. The boats in which Alonso de Albuquerque and his party were embarked got considerably a-head of the rest, and arrived at the town which it was intended to attack a good while before day. Weary of waiting for the rest, he landed his men, and gave orders to set the town on fire. At first they were successful in this rash enterprise, as the ordinary inhabitants were a cowardly unarmed people. But the garrison of above two thousand nayres, having assembled on the alarm, attacked Alonso and his men with great fury and forced them to retreat to their boats, after killing one man and wounding several others of the party, which only consisted originally of forty men. Alonso and his soldiers would not

not have been able to make good their retreat, if the sailors who remained in charge of the boats had not fired off a falcon [5], or small piece of ordnance, on which the nayres gave over the pursuit. By this time day broke, and Francisco de Albuquerque approached with the rest of the boats; and seeing the perilous situation of Alonso, he commanded the ordnance in the boats to be played off against the enemy, on which they fled from the shore. At this time Pacheco, who was somewhat astern of the rest, observed a great number of armed nayres marching along a narrow passage to reinforce the others at the town; and brought his boat so near the pass, that he completely stopt their passage that way. The whole of our men were now landed, and soon constrained the enemy to take flight with considerable loss; after which they set the town on fire, but did not think it prudent to pursue the runaways, as they were not acquainted with the country.

After this exploit, Duarte Pacheco and Pedro de Tayde went with their divisions to destroy another town at some distance, in their way towards which they fought and defeated eighteen parawhs belonging to the zamorin, and then set the town on fire. From thence they stood over to the island of

5 A falcon or faulcon is described as a small cannon of two pound shot. The following enumeration of the ancient English ordnance, from Sir William Monsons Naval Tracts, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, is given in Churchills Collection, Vol. III. p. 303. I suspect the weight of the basilisk, marked 400 pounds in this list, may be a typographical error for 4000.—E.

Names.	Bore. inches.	Weight. libs.	Shot. libs.	Powder. libs.	Random paces.
Cannon royal	$8\frac{1}{2}$	8000	66	30	1930
Cannon	8	6000	60	27	2000
Cannon-serpentine	7	5500	$53\frac{1}{2}$	25	2000
Bastard cannon	7	4500	41	20	1800
Demi-cannon	$6\frac{3}{4}$	4000	$30\frac{1}{2}$	18	1700
Cannon-petro	6	3000	$24\frac{1}{2}$	14	1600
Culverin	$5\frac{1}{2}$	4500	$17\frac{1}{2}$	12	2500
Basilisk	5	400*	15	10	3000
Demi-culverin	4	3400	$9\frac{1}{2}$	8	2500
Bastard culverin	4	3000	5	$5\frac{3}{4}$	1700
Sacar	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1400	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$	1700
Minion	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1000	4	4	1500
Faulcon	$2\frac{1}{2}$	660	2	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1500
Falconet	2	500	$1\frac{1}{4}$	3	1500
Serpentine	$1\frac{1}{2}$	400	$\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1400
Rabanet	1	300	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	1000

of *Cambalan*, the caymal of which was an enemy of the Cochin rajah, where they destroyed a large town. From that place, Pacheco went with five armed paraws of Cochin to burn another town, where he met with considerable resistance, and slew a great number of the enemy, seven of his own people being wounded. After setting the town on fire, he retired towards Cochin, and was forced to fight with thirteen armed paraws of Calicut, which he defeated with the assistance of Pedro de Tayde and Antonio del Campo, who fortunately joined him in this emergency. On their defeat, the Calicut paraws retired into a creek, where one of them ran aground and was taken by Pacheco; but our men being worn out with hard rowing, were unable to pursue the rest, and returned to Cochin. On receiving an account of these transactions, the rajah was much satisfied with the revenge which had been taken of his enemies, and requested of our generals to discontinue the war, to which, however, they were by no means inclined.

On account of the war, no pepper was brought from the country to sell at the factory in Cochin, neither dared the merchants to go out in search of that commodity, insomuch that the factory had only been able to procure 300 *bahars* [6], and the factor requested the generals to go in quest of some which was to be procured at a place about nine leagues from Cochin. For this purpose the two generals and all their captains set out from Cochin under night, that their intentions might not be discovered by the enemy. On the way Pacheco destroyed a whole island, in which he fought against six thousand of the enemy with his own company only, and the two generals put thirty-four paraws to flight. After this Pacheco and del Campo destroyed a town on the continent, where they defeated two thousand nayres, many of whom were slain, without any loss on their side. After this, the generals sent on the *tony* [7] for the pepper, which carried such

 merchandize

6 Two weights of that name are described as used in India for the sale of pepper and other commodities, the small and the large bahar; the former consisting of three, and the latter of four and a half peculs. The pecul is said to weigh $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds avoirdupois: Consequently the smaller bahar is equal to $16\frac{1}{2}$, and the larger to $24\frac{3}{4}$ English pounds. A little farther on in the present work of Castaneda, 4000 bahars are said to equal 1200 quintals; which would make the bahar of Cochin equal to thirty Portuguese pounds.—E.

7 This is a species of bark of some burthen, then used on the Malabar coast.--E.

merchandize as was meant to be given in exchange; and for its protection Pacheco and three other captains accompanied it with two hundred men, and five hundred Cochin paraws [8]. In passing a narrow strait or river, our people were assailed from the banks by a vast number of the natives armed with bows and arrows, but were defended by their targets, which were fixed on the gunwales of their boats. Leaving one of his captains with fifty Portuguese to protect the tony, Pacheco with the other two captains and the troops belonging to the rajah, made towards the shore, firing off his falcons against the enemy, whom he forced to quit the shore with much loss; after which he landed with his troops, most of whom were armed with hand-guns. The enemy, who were full two thousand strong, resisted for a quarter of an hour, but at length took to flight after having many slain. Pacheco pursued them to a village, where the fugitives rallied and were joined by many nayres, insomuch that they now amounted to six thousand men, and our people were in great jeopardy, as the enemy endeavoured to surround them, and to intercept their return to the boats. But our men defended themselves manfully, and fought their way back to the shore, where the natives divided on each hand, being afraid of the shot of the falcons, which slew great numbers of them, and our men re-embarked without having a single man killed or wounded.

The zamorin was much displeased at the successes of our people against his confederates, and by the loss of many of his paraws in these several actions, and was even afraid lest the Portuguese might eventually dispossess him of his dominions. He used every exertion therefore to prevent us from procuring pepper, being in hopes, if our ships were constrained to return to Portugal without loading, that they would come no more back to India. He used his influence therefore even with the merchants of Cochin to refuse supplying pepper to our ships, which they did so effectually, under pretence of the war, that, in spite of the influence of the rajah, and notwithstanding high offers of reward from Francisco de Albuquerque, the factory had only been able to procure 1200 quintals or 4000 bahars [9] of pepper; and even that

8 Such is the expression of Lichefild; which I suspect ought to have been 500 nayres of Cochin in paraws.—E.

9 The quantity in the text is probably exaggerated considerably, as only

that was got with hard fighting, some hurt to our own men, and infinite loss of lives to the enemy. Unable to procure any more pepper in Cochin, Alonso de Albuquerque went to Coulan in search of that commodity, accompanied by Pedro de Tayde and Antonio del Campo, knowing that the government of that state was desirous of having one of our factories established in their city, and had solicited both Pedro Alvares Cabral and the lord admiral De Gama to that effect; and Alonso was determined to go to war with the people of Coulan unless they gave him loading for his ships.

Coulan is twelve leagues from Cochin, and twenty-four from Cape Comorin. Before the building of Calicut, Coulan was the principal city of Malabar, and the port of greatest trade on that coast. Its buildings, more especially the temples and shrines of their idols, are larger and more splendid than those of Cochin. The haven is excellent, the country is well stored with provisions, and the condition of the people resembles in all things what has been formerly said of the inhabitants of Calicut. The inhabitants are idolatrous Malabars, having among them many rich Moorish merchants, more especially since the war broke out between us and the zamorin, as many of these merchants had left Calicut to reside at Coulan. They trade with Coromandel, Ceylon, the Maldive islands, Bengal, Pegu, Camatia, and Malava. The rajah or king of this state rules over an extensive kingdom, in which there are many rich cities and several good harbours; by which means he has a large revenue, and is able to maintain a great military force, but the men are mostly of a low stature: He entertains in his palace a guard of three hundred women, armed with bows and arrows, who are very expert archers, and they bind up their breasts very tight with bandages of silk and linen, that they may not stand in the way of using their bows. This rajah usually resides in a city named Calle, and is generally at war with the king of Narsinga [10].

In the city of Coulan, which is governed by certain officers or aldermen, there is a church which was built by the apostle

a few pages before, the factory at Cochin is said to have only been able to procure 300 quintals.—E.

10 In Astleys Collection, I. p. 55. Coulan or Koulan is said to have been governed at this time by a *queen* or rana. By Narsinga Bisnagar is to be understood, which was one of the sovereignties into which the Decan or southern peninsula of India was then divided.—E.

apostle St Thomas, who came here to preach the Catholic faith, and made many converts both among the idolaters and others, who have handed down the Christian belief from generation to generation, so that there are at least twelve thousand families of Christians scattered abroad in the country, in which they have churches in many places. The king who then ruled in Coulan, being much displeased at the numbers of his subjects who were converted to Christianty, banished St Thomas from his dominions, who then went to a city called Malapur or Meliapour, on the coast of the dominions of Narsinga, and was followed by the Christians of Coulan, and even by many of the idolaters. He is said to have retired into a solitude in the mountains, where he died, and whence his body was removed for interment in a vault of the church he had built at Coulan. This church is now deserted and entirely overgrown with trees and bushes, and is kept by a poor Moorish zealot, who subsists on alms which he receives from Christian pilgrims, and even some of the idolaters give alms at this tomb.

On the arrival of Alonso de Albuquerque at the harbour of Coulan, the governors of the city came on board to visit him, and settled a treaty with him, in which it was stipulated that we were to have a factory in the city, and that they should provide a loading with all possible dispatch for the three ships he had along with him. While one of his ships was taking in a lading in the harbour, the other two always kept out at sea watching all ships that passed, and obliging every one they could descry to come and give an account of themselves to Albuquerque as captain-general under the king of Portugal. He offered no injury to any of these, unless to such as belonged to the Moors of the Red Sea, all of which that fell in his way were first plundered and then burnt, in revenge for the injuries they had done to the Portuguese. When the house for the factory was finished, and the ships laden, Alonso left there Antonio de Sala as factor, with two clerks, Rodrigo Aranso and Lopo Rabelo, an interpreter named Medera, and two friars to serve as chaplains, together with other assistants, being twenty in all; after which he returned to Cochin.

About this time Francisco de Albuquerque received a message from *Cosebequin*, a friendly Moor of Calicut who has been formerly mentioned, giving him notice that the zamorin was determined to make another attack on Cochin so soon

soon as the Portuguese fleet had departed for Europe, and to fortify it in such a manner as should prevent them from having any farther intercourse with that country. With this view, the zamorin had entered into treaties with all the rajahs and leading nayres or nobles of Malabar, and it was even rumoured that those of Cananor and Coulan had secretly entered into terms with him against the Portuguese and the rajah of Cochin [11]. He said farther that the Moorish merchants had promised large assistance for carrying on the war, as they were exceedingly desirous to exclude the Christians from trading to India. About the same time a letter came from Rodrigo Reynel to the same effect, saying that the zamorin was levying troops, and had caused a great number of cannon to be prepared for the war: Reynel likewise said that the Moors of Cochin were decidedly in the interest of the zamorin, and were therefore to be looked to with much jealousy. The rajah likewise informed Albuquerque, that from certain bramins who had come from Calicut he was informed of the intentions and preparations of the zamorin for reducing Cochin; and as he had little reliance on his own subjects, he requested some Portuguese troops might be left for his defence. Francisco gave the rajah assurance of protection, and even that the Portuguese would add to his dominions at a future period, in reward for his fidelity and friendship to their nation, and as a compensation for the injuries he had suffered in their cause.

The rajah was much pleased with this assurance; and as Francisco found he could have no more pepper at Cochin, he determined upon returning to Portugal, when he had appointed a fit person to remain as captain-general in India. He found this matter difficult, as none of his captains were willing to remain with the small force which he was able to leave behind. At length Duarte Pacheco willingly accepted the charge, and the rajah was much pleased with his appointment, having already sufficient proof of his valour. Pacheco

11 The western coast of India below the Gauts, is divided into three portions, the Concan in the north, after this the coast of Canara, and in the south the country of Malabar, reaching from Mount Deli to Cape Comorin. At the present period, Malabar was divided into seven kingdoms or provinces: Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor, Cochin, Porka, Coulan, and Travancore; which last was subject to the kingdom of Narsinga or Bisnagar. Cananor, Calicut, and Coulan only were considered as independent rajahs, the others being less or more subjected to the authority of these three.—E.

co was accordingly left at Cochin with his own ship and two caravels commanded by Pedro Raphael and Diego Perez, and a pinnace, with ninety men in health besides others who were sick [12]. As much ordnance and ammunition was likewise given him as could possibly be spared from the homeward bound ships. All these things being settled, Francisco de Albuquerque sailed for Cananor, where he proposed to endeavour to procure the liberty of Rodrigo Reynel and the others who were at Calicut. But the zamorin sent him word that there was no necessity to take this person away, who was desirous of remaining in India; and if the captain-general would remain he should have the pepper which was promised [13]. At this time Alonso de Albuquerque returned from Coulan, and joined Francisco at Cananor; and a letter was brought from Rodrigo Reynel, giving information that the zamorin was certainly resolved to attempt the conquest of Cochin, as soon as the Portuguese ships should leave the coast; and that his only intention in making an offer of pepper was with a view to prevent them from burning the ships which were then in the harbour of Calicut.

All matters being arranged, the Portuguese fleet sailed from Cananor on the 31st of January 1504. Alonso de Albuquerque and Antonio del Campo came to Lisbon on the 23d of August, and presented to the king 400 weight of seed pearls, which are called *Alhofer or Ragges*, 144 pound weight of great pearls, and eight of the oysters from which the pearls are procured [14]. He gave likewise to the king a diamond as big as a large bean, and many other jewels; and two Persian horses of wonderful swiftness. Francisco de Albuquerque and Nicholas Coello, who left Cananor some time after Alonso, were cast away on the voyage and never more heard of. Pedro de Tayde was driven to Quiloa, where his ship was lost on the bar and most of his men drowned. From Quiloa he went to Mozambique in a *zambucco*,

bucco,

12 According to Astley, his whole force consisted of 110 men. Vol. I. p. 55.

13 This story of Reynel and the pepper promised by the zamorin, is so confusedly told in Lichefild's translation of Castaneda, as to be altogether unintelligible.—E.

14 In Astley the weight of the large pearls is reduced to 40 pounds. Even with that correction, the immense quantity of pearls in the text is quite incredible. There must be some error in the denomination, but which we are unable to correct.—E.

bucco, where he afterwards died; but left a letter in which he gave a particular account of the state of affairs in India, which he ordered to be delivered to the first captain who might put in there from Portugal [15].

Antonio de Saldanna, the last of the three commanders who were sent to cruise in the north of the Red Sea, having lost Diego Fernandez Peteira, came to anchor at a place called St Thomas, on the east side of the Cape of Good Hope, which was made famous by the name of *Aquada del Saldanna*, or Saldannas watering-place, on account of his having lost several of his men there in endeavouring to land. At this time Ruy Lorenzo was parted from him in a storm which drove him to Mozambique, whence he held on his course for Quiloa, where he took some small prizes. Being ambitious to distinguish himself, he went to the island of Zanzibar, twenty leagues short of Mombasa, where he took twenty small vessels. After this he appeared before the town of Mombasa, the king of which place sent out a number of armed almadias or paraws to take his ship: But Lorenzo armed his long boat with a crew of thirty men, which took four of the almadias and killed a great many of the Moors. The king sent an army of 4000 men to the shore under the command of his son, who was killed with some others at the first volley; on which one of the Moors ran out from the ranks with a flag of the Portuguese arms, craving a parley. Peace was soon concluded, by which the king agreed to pay 100 *meticals* of gold yearly as a tribute to the king of Portugal [16].

From Mombasa, Lorenzo sailed for Melinda, the king of which place was much oppressed by him of Mombasa, on account of his connection with the Portuguese. On his way he took two ships and three small vessels called *zambuccos*, in which were twelve magistrates of Brava, who submitted their city to the king of Portugal, and engaged to give 500 meticals of yearly tribute. On his arrival at Melinda, he found that

15 The remainder of this section is taken from Astley, I. 56, being there appended to the abridgement of the voyage of the Albuquerques. It is an isolated incident, having no apparent connection with the history in the text, yet seemed proper to be preserved in this place.—E.

16 Mombasa belonged to the Portuguese for near 200 years. In 1698 it was very easily taken by the Muskat Arabs, who put twenty Portuguese to the sword.—Astl. I. 56. a.

that a battle had been fought between the kings of Melinda and Mombasa, in which neither could claim the victory. Antonio de Saldanna likewise arrived at Melinda about this time, and by his mediation peace was restored between these princes. Saldanna and Lorenzo went thence to the mouth of the Red Sea, where they defeated some Moors at the islands of *Kanakani*[17] beyond Cape Guardafu. On the upper coast of Arabia, they burnt one ship belonging to the Moors which was laden with frankincense, and they drove another on shore which carried a number of pilgrims for Mecca.

SECTION VIII.

Transactions of the Portuguese in India under Duarte Pacheco, from the departure of Alonso and Francisco de Albuquerque in January 1504, *till the arrival of Lope Suarez de Menesis with succours in September of that year.*

AFTER the departure of the Albuquerques from Cananor, Duarte Pacheco, who was left with the command in India, remained there for some time to take in provisions, having along with him the caravel commanded by Pedro Raphael, while the other ship of his small squadron, under the command of Diego Perez, was repairing at Cochin. Pacheco anchored with his own ship off the harbour of Cananor, and dispatched Raphael along the coast to oblige all ships which passed that way to come to Cananor in acknowledgment of Pacheco as captain-general in the Indies. Several were brought in by Raphael, and were constrained to give a full account from whence they came, whither bound, and what they were laden with. In case of their containing any pepper, more especially if bound for Calicut, he used to take that commodity from them; and carried his command with so high a hand, that he became the terror of these seas. One night while thus at anchor, a fleet of twenty-five ships came suddenly to the anchoring-ground where he lay, which he

17 No islands of that name are to be found on our maps. The islands of Socotora, Abdul Kuria, and los dos Hermanas, are to the eastwards of Cape Guardafu: Chartan Martan, or the islands of Kuria Muria, are a considerable distance N. N. E. on the outer or oceanic coast of Yemen.—E.

he suspected to have been sent from Calicut on purpose to attack him. Considering himself in imminent danger, he immediately slipped his cables, not having time to weigh anchor, and made sail to gain the windward of this fleet, upon which he directly commenced firing. They were mostly small ships laden with rice, and made off with all the haste in their power, though some of them ran aground. One of the vessels of this fleet was a large ship belonging to the Moors of Cananor, having nearly 400 men on board, who resisted for some time, shooting off their arrows, and even endeavoured to take our ship. When day was near at hand, and after having nine men slain in the action, the Moorish captain at length submitted, and told Pacheco that he belonged to Cananor.

After some time spent in this manner, Pacheco made sail for Cochin, and in the passage fell in with several ships belonging to the Moors, taking some, and burning or sinking others. On landing at the fort of Cochin, he learnt from the factor that the reports of the zamorin making preparations for the renewal of the war, were perfectly true, and even that the Moorish inhabitants of Cochin were adverse to the rajah for having taken part with the Portuguese against the zamorin. Being informed likewise that the Cochin rajah was in great fear of this new war, he went next day to visit him, carrying all his boats well manned, and fenced with raised sides of boards to defend his men from the missile weapons of the enemy. They were likewise furnished with ordnance, and all decorated with flags and streamers in a gallant manner, hoping thereby to inspire confidence in Trimumpara, who was much dejected at the small force which had been left for his defence. In a conference between them, the rajah said to Pacheco, that the Moors asserted he was left in the Indies for the sole purpose of removing the merchandize belonging to the Portuguese in the factory at Cochin to Cananor and Coulan, and not to defend him against the power of the zamorin; which he was even disposed to think were true, in consideration of the smallness of the fleet under his command. Pacheco felt indignant at the suspicion which the rajah entertained, and endeavoured to convince him that he had been imposed upon by the Moors out of enmity to the Portuguese, assuring him that he would faithfully exert himself in his defence. He pointed out to him the strength of the natural defences of Cochin, which were all narrow, and

defensible therefore by a few valiant men against any number of assailants. The rajah was greatly relieved by these assurances, and Pacheco went to visit the different places by which the island of Cochin might be assailed, all of which he diligently fortified, more especially the ford, which he strengthened with a row of stakes, both to prevent the enemy from wading across, and to hinder any of their vessels from passing.

In the mean time he was informed by letter from Rodrigo Reynel, that a principal Moor in Cochin, in concert with several others, were contriving to quit that city; and had been twice secretly at Calicut to confer with the zamorin on this subject. Pacheco was a good deal concerned at this intelligence, and proposed to the rajah to have this Moor executed for his treasonable intercourse with the zamorin. But Trimumpara would by no means consent to this measure; saying that it would occasion a mutiny among the Moors, by whom the city was furnished with provisions in exchange for goods, and he thought it were better to dissemble with them all. Pacheco then said that he would have a conference with the Moors, meaning to use policy with them, since the rajah did not approve of violent measures; and to this the rajah consented, giving orders to his naires to obey the orders of Pacheco. In pursuance of this plan, Pacheco went to the dwelling of this chief Moor, named *Belinamacar*, close by the river, taking with him a guard of his own men well armed, and requested that person to send for some other leading men among the Moors, whom he named, saying that he wished to consult with them on a subject of great importance to them all. When they were all assembled, he made them a speech to the following effect.

"I sent for you, honest merchants, that I might inform you for what purpose I remain in the Indies. It is reported by some, that I mean only to remove the factory and the goods belonging to the Portuguese to Coulan and Cananor: But my sole purpose is to defend Cochin against the zamorin, and even if necessary I will die in your defence. I am resolved to meet him in Cambalan, by which way it is said he means to invade you; and, if he has the boldness to meet me, I hope to make him prisoner and to carry him with me into Portugal. I am informed that you intend to go away from Cochin, and to induce the rest of the inhabitants among whom you are the chiefs, to do the same; but I am astonish-

ed men of your wisdom should leave the country in which you were born, and where you have dwelt so many years, from fear of vain reports. Such conduct were even disgraceful for women, and is therefore much more so for you who are men of wisdom and experience. If you should be disposed to remove from hence when you shall actually be in danger, I should hardly blame you: But to do so before that danger is apparent, and even before a single battle has been fought, must proceed either from cowardice or treachery. You all well know, that only a very short while ago, a very small number of our Portuguese defeated thousands of those same enemies who now threaten to invade us. You may allege that we were then more in number than now, which was assuredly the case. But we then fought in the open field, where numbers were necessary; and we now propose only to fight in narrow passes, in which a small number will suffice as well as a multitude. You already know that I can fight, as it is I who have done the greatest injury to the enemy in the late war, which the rajah can well vouch. As for me I shall never yield, and I have more to lose, being overcome, than any of you. Put your trust therefore in me and my troops, and remain where you are till you see the event of our defence. Your sovereign remains in his port, and wherefore should you go away? I and the Portuguese who are with me, remain in this far distant country to defend your king, and you who are his natural born subjects: Should you then desert him and your country, you would disgrace yourselves and dishonour me, by refusing to repose confidence in my promise to defend you against the zamorin and all his power, were it even greater than it is. Wherefore, I strictly enjoin that none of you shall remove from Cochin, and I swear by all that is holy in our faith, that whoever is detected in the attempt shall be instantly hanged. It is my determined purpose to remain here, and to have the port strictly watched day and night that none of you may escape. Let every one of you, therefore, look well to his conduct, and be assured, if you do as I require, you shall have me for your friend; but if otherwise, I shall be your mortal enemy, and shall use you worse even than the zamorin."

The Moors endeavoured to clear themselves from what had been alleged against them, but Pacheco would not listen to their excuses, and departed from them in anger, and immediately

mediately brought his ship and one of the caravels with two boats, which he anchored directly opposite the city of Cochin, with strict charges to let no one leave the city by water. He likewise appointed a number of paraws to guard all the creeks and rivers around the city; and ordered every boat that could transport men or goods to be brought every night under the guns of his ships, and returned to their owners in the morning. In consequence of all these precautions, the people of Cochin were so much afraid of him, that not one of the Moors or Malabars dared to leave the city without his permission, and henceforwards continued quiet. Notwithstanding all these cares, Pacheco used to make nightly invasions into the island of Repelim, where he burnt the towns, slew the inhabitants, and carried away much cattle and many paraws; on which account the Moors of Cochin, astonished that he could endure so much fatigue, gave out that he was the devil.

Mean time the zamorin collected his forces in the island of Repelim, where he was joined by the lords of Tanor, Bespur, Kotugan, Korin, and many other Malabar chiefs, making altogether an army of 50,000 men. Four thousand of these were appointed to serve by water, in 280 vessels, called *paraws*, *katurs*, and *tonys*; with 382 pieces of cannon intended to batter the Portuguese fort at Cochin; and the rest of the troops were appointed to force a passage across the ford of the river, under the command of Naubea Daring, nephew and heir to the zamorin, and Elankol, the lord of Repelim [1].

Intelligence of all this was conveyed to Cochin, and that the zamorin proposed to invade that city by the straits of Cambalan. Rodrigo Reynel, who sent this intelligence by letter, lay then very sick and died soon after, on which the zamorin caused all his goods to be seized. On the approach of the zamorin, the Moors of Cochin would very willingly have induced the inhabitants to run away, but durst not venture to do so from the fear they were in of Pacheco. He, on the contrary, that all might know how little he esteemed the zamorin and all his power, made a descent one night on one of the towns of Repelim, to which he set fire. But on the coming up of a great number of armed naires, he was forced to

1 This paragraph, enumerating the forces of the zamorin, is added to the text of Castaneda from Astley, Vol. I. p. 56.

to retreat in great danger to his boats, having five of his men wounded, after killing and wounding a great number of the enemy. On their return to Cochin, the targets of our men were all stuck full of arrows, so great was the multitude of the enemies who had assailed them. The rajah came to visit Pacheco at the castle on his return from this enterprize, and expressed his satisfaction at his success, which he considered as a mighty affair, especially as the zamorin and so great an army was in the island. Pacheco made light of the zamorin and all his force, saying that he anxiously wished he would come and give battle, as he was not at all afraid of the consequences, trusting to the superior valour of his own men.

As the people of Cochin remained quiet, Pacheco now prepared for defending the pass of Cambalan. Leaving therefore a sufficient force to guard the castle, and twenty-five men in the caravel under the command of Diego Pereira to protect the city and watch the conduct of the Moors, taking with himself seventy-three men in one of the caravels and several armed boats, he departed for Cambalan on Friday the 16th of April 1504[2]. On passing the city, Pacheco landed to speak with the rajah, whom he found in evident anxiety; but making as if he did not observe his heaviness, Pacheco addressed him with a cheerful countenance, saying that he was just setting out to defend him against the zamorin, of whom he had no fear of giving a good account. After some conference, the rajah ordered 500 of his naires, out of 5000 who were in his service, to join Pacheco, under the command of *Gandagora* and *Frangera* the overseers of his household, and the caymal of *Palurta*, whom he directed to obey Pacheco in all things as if he were himself present. On taking leave of Pacheco, while he exhorted him to use his utmost efforts for defending Cochin against the zamorin, he desired him to be careful of his own safety, on which so much depended.

Pacheco arrived at the passage of Cambalan two hours before day, and seeing no appearance of the zamorins approach, he

2 The particular distribution of the force under Pacheco at this time is thus enumerated in Astleys Collection: In the fort thirty-nine men; in the ship left to defend Cochin twenty-five; in the caravel which accompanied him in the expedition to Cambalan twenty-six; into one boat twenty-three; and in the boat along with himself twenty-two: making his whole effective force 135 men; seventy-one only of which went along with him to defend the pass.—Astl. I. 56.

he made an attack on a town on the coast of the island about the dawn, which was defended by 800 naires, all archers, and a small number armed with calivers, or match-locks, all of whom were embarked in certain paraws, and endeavoured to defend the entrance of the harbour. They were soon constrained by the cannon of the Portuguese to push for the shore and quit their paraws, but resisted all attempts of the Portuguese to land for near an hour, when they were completely defeated after losing a great many of their number, killed or wounded, and our men set the town on fire. Having taken a considerable number of cattle at this place, which he carried off with him, Pacheco returned to defend the pass of Cambalan. At this time the zamorin sent a message to Pacheco, offering him a handsome present, and proposing a treaty for a peace between them: but Pacheco refused accepting the present, and declared he would never make peace with him while he continued at enmity with the rajah of Cochin. Next day, the zamorin sent a second message, proudly challenging him for daring to obstruct his passage into the island of Cochin, and offering him battle, declaring his resolution to make him a prisoner, if he were not slain in the battle. To this Pacheco made answer, that he hoped to do the same thing with the zamorin, in honour of the day which was a solemn festival among the Christians, and that the zamorin was much deceived by his sorcerers when they promised him the victory on such a day. Then one of the naires who accompanied the messenger, said smiling as if in contempt, that he had few men to perform so great an exploit; whereas the forces of the zamorin covered both the land and the water, and could not possibly be overcome by such a handful. Pacheco ordered this man to be well bastinadoed for his insolence, and bid him desire the zamorin to revenge his quarrel if he could.

That same evening, the rajah of Cochin sent a farther reinforcement to Pacheco of 500 naires, of whom he made no account, neither of these who were with him before, believing they would all run away; his sole reliance, under God, was on his own men, who feasted themselves that night, that the zamorin might learn how much they despised all his threats, and how eager they were for battle. Early next morning, Pacheco made a short speech to his men, exhorting them to behave valiantly for the glory of the Christian name and the honour of their country, and promising them an as-

sured victory with the assistance of God; by which their fame would be so established among the natives that they would be feared and respected ever after. He likewise set before them the rewards they might assuredly expect from their own sovereign, if they behaved gallantly on the present occasion. His men immediately answered him that they hoped in the ensuing battle to evince how well they remembered his exhortations. They all then knelt down and sung the *salve regina*, and afterwards an *Ave Maria*, with a loud voice. Just at this time, Laurenço Moreno joined Pacheco with four of his men armed with calivers, who were all anxious to be present in the battle, and of whose arrival the general was extremely glad, as he knew them to be valiant soldiers.

In the course of the night, by the advice of the Italian lapidaries who had deserted to the enemy, the zamorin caused a sconce or battery to be erected directly over against the place where Pacheco was stationed, on which five pieces of ordnance were placed, from which great service was expected in the ensuing battle, owing to the narrowness of the pass. On the morning of Palm Sunday, the zamorin marched forwards with 47,000 men, partly naires and part Moors, and accompanied by all the rajahs and caymals who had joined him in this war. Of these, the rajah of *Tanor* had 4000 naires; the rajahs of *Bybur* and *Curran*, whose countries lay near the mountains of Narsinga, had 12,000 naires; the rajah of *Cotogataco*, which is between Cochin and Cananor close beside the mountains, had 18,000 naires; the rajah of *Curia*, which is between Paniani and Cranganor, had 3000 naires. Naubea Daring, the prince of Calicut, and his brother Namboa, who were particularly attached to that part of the army composed of the zamorins immediate subjects, had a large body of men whose numbers I do not particularize. Their warlike instruments were many and of divers sorts, and made a noise as if heaven and earth were coming together.

Before day, the van of this prodigious army arrived at the sconce of the Italians, and began immediately to play off their ordnance against the caravel, which was so near that it was an absolute miracle that not a single shot did any harm. But our cannon were better served, and every shot did execution among the enemy: and so well did they ply their guns, that before sunrise above thirty discharges were made from our caravel. At day-break, the whole of the enemies fleet, consisting

consisting of 169 barks, came out of the rivers of the island of Repelim to attack our small force. Sixty-six of these were paraws, having their sides defended with bags of cotton by advice of the Italians, to ward off our shot; and each of these had twenty-five men and two pieces off ordnance, five of the men in each paraw being armed with calivers or matchlocks. Twenty of the foysts or large barks were chained together, as a floating battery to assault the caravel; besides which, there were fifty-three *catures* and thirty large barks, each of which carried sixteen men and one piece of ordnance, besides other weapons. Besides all these armed vessels, there were a great many more filled with soldiers, so that the whole river seemed entirely covered over. Of this numerous fleet, which contained near 10,000 men, Naubea Daring was admiral or commander in chief, and the lord of Repelim vice-admiral. All these advanced against the Portuguese, setting up terrible shouts, which was answered alternately by sounding all their military instruments of music. The whole of these people were almost naked, having targets of various colours, and made a very gallant appearance. On the approach of this prodigious fleet, our caravel and boats were hardly discernible, so completely did the enemy cover the face of the water. Terrified by so prodigious a multitude, the naires of Cochin all ran away, only Grandagora and Frangora remaining, who were on board the caravel, or they would have done like the rest. Indeed their presence was of no importance, except to serve as witnesses of the valour of our men.

Our people plied their ordnance and small arms so incessantly that the air was quite darkened with smoke, and as the boats of the enemy were very numerous and without order, they hindered each other, and our fire did prodigious execution among them, several of their paraws being torn to pieces and great numbers of their men killed and wounded, without any hurt on our side. The twenty-five paraws [3] which were chained together were now brought forwards, and gave much annoyance to our men, who were now likewise much fatigued, as the battle had continued a long time. The captain-general gave orders to fire off a *saker*,

3 A very short space before these are only stated as twenty; but the numbers and names in the text seem much corrupted.—E.

saker[4], which had not been hitherto used during the battle. By the time this had been twice fired, it did such terrible execution among the thick of the enemy as to sink four of their paraws, and all the others made the best of their way out of the battle, eighteen of the paraws being sunk in all, and vast numbers of the enemy slain and wounded. On the defeat of this squadron, which was commanded by Prince Naubea Daring, Elankol, the lord of Repelim, who was vice-admiral, came forward with a fresh squadron, and gave a proud onset, commanding his paraws to lay the caravel on board; but the Malabars had not resolution to put this order into execution, and held off at some distance. The zamorin also approached with the land army, doing his utmost to force the passage of the ford; but all their efforts were in vain, although this second battle was more fiercely urged than the first. Though the battle continued from daybreak to almost sunset, the enemy were able to make no impression, and were known to have lost 350 men slain outright, besides others, which were above 1000[5]. Some of our men were wounded, but none slain; for the balls of the enemy, though of cast iron, had no more effect than as many stones thrown by hand. Yet our barricades of defence were all torn to pieces, and one of our boats was very much damaged, which was entirely repaired during the night.

The rajahs and other chiefs who were allied with the zamorin, lost all hope of ever being able to get the victory over the Portuguese, and were sorry for having joined in the war so greatly to their own dishonour. Being afraid the captain-

4 In a former note we have given a list of the names and circumstances of the English ordnance near this period. In that list the saker is described as a light cannon of only $5\frac{1}{2}$ pound ball, now looked upon as one of very small importance; we may therefore conclude that the other cannon used on the present occasion could hardly exceed *falcons*, or two-pounders.—E.

5 Such is the unintelligible expression in Lichefilds translation. In the account of this war compiled by the editor of Astleys Collection from the Portuguese historians, the enemy are said to have lost in the former part of this battle, twenty paraws sunk, 180 persons of note, and above 1000 common men; while in the second attack, nineteen paraws were sunk, sixty-two fled, and 360 men were slain. In this account, a third naval engagement is mentioned, in which sixty-two paraws were sunk, and sixty fled; after which 15,000 men were defeated by land, and four towns were burnt by Pacheco.—Astl. I. 56.

captain-general might burn and destroy their towns and houses, which were all situated on the banks of rivers, they were anxious to leave the army of the zamorin, and to give over making war on the Portuguese. Some among them withdrew privately from the camp of the zamorin to the island of Vaipi with all their men, and reconciled themselves with the rajah of Cochin: These were *Maraguta*, *Muta* Caymal, his brother and cousins. The zamorin was exceedingly mortified by the discomfiture of his people, and severely reprimanded his chiefs for their pusillanimous conduct, in allowing themselves to be defeated by such a handful of men. The two Italian deserters, while they acknowledged the valour of the Portuguese in the late action, represented that it would be impossible for them to continue to bear up long against such vast odds without reinforcements, and recommended the frequent reiteration of assaults, under which they must necessarily be at last overthrown. All those rajahs and chiefs who were for continuing the war, joined in opinion with the Italians. The zamorin made a speech, in which he recapitulated the defeats they had sustained and the defection of some of his allies, who had entered into treaty with the rajah of Cochin. He stated how short a period of the summer now remained for continuing the operations of the war, which must soon be laid aside during the storms and rain of the winter season, when it was impossible to keep the field; and that, on the conclusion of winter, a new fleet would come from Portugal with powerful reinforcements to the enemy, who would then be able to carry the war as formerly into his dominions, to their utter loss and destruction. He concluded by giving his opinion that it was necessary for him to make peace with the Christians. Naubea Daring, the prince of Calicut, made a long speech, in which he defended the Portuguese against the imputation thrown upon them by the Moors of their being thieves and pirates. He recapitulated all their conduct since their first arrival in India, shewing that they had always conducted themselves with good faith, whereas they had been forced into war against Calicut by treachery and oppression. He concluded by strongly recommending to negociate peace with the Christians, as otherwise the city and trade of Calicut would be utterly destroyed, to the irreparable injury of the zamorins revenue, which was of more importance to him than the friendship of the Moors, whose only object was their own profit. The zamorin was greatly

greatly moved by this discourse, and recommended to the other chiefs that they should concur with the prince, in procuring the establishment of peace. This opinion was by no means relished by Elankol, the lord of Repelim, who had confederated with the Moors to urge a continuance of the war, and endeavoured to impress upon the zamorin that his reputation would be destroyed by proposing peace at this time, which would be imputed to him as an act of cowardice. The principal Moors, likewise, who were present in the council used all their art and influence to induce the zamorin to persevere; and it was at length determined to continue the war.

One *Cogeal*, a Moor of Repelim who had been a great traveller, and had seen many warlike devices, proposed a new invention for attacking the caravels at the ford, which was considered to be perfectly irresistible. Cogeal directed a floating castle to be built of timber on two boats or lighters, which were firmly secured by two beams at their heads and sterns. Over this the castle or square tower was strongly built of beams joined together by bars of iron and large nails, carried up to the height of a lance or spear, and so large that it was able to contain forty men with several pieces of ordnance. It was proposed that this castle should be brought up to grapple with the caravels, by which the Portuguese might be attacked on equal terms. On seeing this machine, the zamorin liberally rewarded Cogeal for his ingenuity, and gave orders to have other seven constructed of the same kind. By means of his spies, Pacheco got notice of the construction of these floating castles, and likewise that the enemy were preparing certain fireworks to set the caravels on fire [6]. To keep off the fireships and floating castles, he constructed a species of rafts, made of masts or spars eight fathoms long, and bound together with iron bolts and hoops. Several of these, which were likewise eight fathoms broad, were moored with anchors and cables, at the distance of a stones throw from the caravels. Likewise, to prevent the

6 Castaneda tells a long ridiculous story at this place, of a ceremonial defiance of the zamorin, not worth inserting. In Astley, I. 56. we are told that the Moors of Cochin were detected about this time communicating intelligence to the enemy, and that Trimumpara allowed Pacheco to punish them. On which he put five of their chief men into strict confinement, giving out that they were hanged; which gave much offence to the rajah and his people.—E.

the caravels from being overlooked by the floating castles, one Peter Raphael built certain turrets on the decks of the caravels of spars set upright, in each of which seven or eight men had room to handle their arms. At this time the rajah of Cochin visited Pacheco, whom he earnestly exhorted to provide well for defence against the zamorin; as he was well assured his own subjects would desert him, if Pacheco were defeated. Pacheco upbraided Trimumpara for his fears, desiring him to call in mind the victories which the Portuguese had already gained over the enemy; and requested of him to return to his capital shewing himself confident among his people, and to rest assured that he and the Portuguese would keep the pass against every force the zamorin might bring against it.

In expectation of an immediate attack, Lorenço Moreno returned to the caravels with as many of his people as could be spared from the factory. Pacheco made all his people take rest early in the night, that they might be able for the expected fatigues of the ensuing day, on which he had intelligence that the grand attack was to be made. About midnight, his small force was summoned under arms; when, after confession and absolution, he made a speech to his men, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully in the approaching conflict. They all answered, that they were resolved to conquer or die. About two in the morning, some of the most advanced vessels belonging to the Calicut fleet began to fire off their ordnance, as they approached towards the pass. The zamorin was himself along with the land army, which exceeded 30,000 men, accompanied with many field pieces. Elankol, the lord of Repelim, who commanded the vanguard, advanced to the point of *Arraul*, which in some measure commanded the ford, at which place he began to throw up some ramparts or defences of earth. Pacheco landed secretly at the point with a detachment of his troops, on purpose to prevent the enemy from throwing up entrenchments, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which many of the enemy were slain. On the appearance of day, Pacheco retired to his boats, though with no small difficulty, owing to the vast numbers of the enemy who thronged around; yet got off with all his people unhurt, having effectually hindered the proposed intrenchments.

The land army of the enemy now brought their ordnance to the point, where they began a furious cannonade upon the

the caravels, yet without doing us any harm, as our people were all effectually secured by means of high wooden defences on the gunwales of their vessels; whereas every shot of ours made prodigious havoc among the enemy, who were quite unsheltered. The zamorin sent orders to his fleet to come on with all expedition, to deliver him and his men from this imminent danger. The Calicut fleet now approached in most formidable order, having several fire rafts in front, intended for setting our caravels on fire. After them came 110 paraws, full of men, and every one of them having ordnance, many of these being fastened together by means of chains. After these came 100 *catures* and eighty *tonys*, each of which had a piece of ordnance and thirty men. In the rear of all came the eight castles, which kept close by the point of *Arraul*, as the *ebb was not yet altogether entered*[7]. The enemy came on with loud shouts and the sound of many instruments, as if to an assured victory, and immediately began a furious cannonade. Their fire rafts advanced burning in a most alarming manner, but were stopped by the *canizos*, or rafts of defence, formerly mentioned. By these likewise, the paraws and other vessels of the enemy were prevented from closing with our caravels and boats, which they seem to have intended. In this part of the battle many of the paraws and other vessels of the enemy were torn to pieces and sunk, and a great number of their men were killed and wounded. On the turn of the tide, the floating castles put off from the point, and were towed by boats towards the caravels. In the largest of these castles there were forty men, in others thirty-five, and the smallest had thirty, all armed with bows or matchlocks, besides ordnance; and they seemed quite an irresistible force in comparison of ours, which consisted only of two caravels and two armed boats.

When the largest castle came up to our floating defence, it immediately commenced a tremendous fire of all its ordnance upon our caravels; and at this time Pacheco ordered a *saker* to be shot off, which seemed to do very little harm even at a second discharge. The remainder of the castles now

7 Such are the words of Lichefild; which, perhaps may have been intended to imply that there was not yet sufficient depth of water to allow of their approach to the caravels; or it may mean that they waited for the tide of ebb, to carry them towards the Portuguese caravels, being too cumbrous for management by means of oars.—E.

now came into their stations, and the battle raged with the utmost fury. What with incessant flights of arrows, and the smoke of so many guns, our people could seldom see the vessels of the enemy. In this extremity, the saker was discharged a third time against the largest castle, which had been somewhat shaken by the two former discharges. By this shot its iron work was broken, some of its beams were forced from their places, and several of the men on board were slain. By two other discharges of the saker this castle was all torn in pieces, and was forced to retire out of the battle. Still however the rest of the castles, and the numerous fleet of small craft kept up the fight. Towards evening all the castles were much injured, many of the paraws were sunk and torn in pieces, and great numbers of the enemy slain; so that at length they were constrained to retire. On our side not one man was even wounded: One only ball went through the caravel in which Pacheco commanded, and passed among many of his men without doing any hurt. On the enemy retiring, Pacheco gave chase in the two boats and some paraws; and the caravels kept up a constant fire upon point *Arraul*, whence they forced the zamorin and the land army to retire, after having 330 of his men slain. After this great victory, the inhabitants of Cochin became quite reassured, and were no longer in dread of the power of the zamorin. Trimumpara came to visit Pacheco, whom he embraced, and congratulated on his great prowess: Many of the principal naires of Cochin went to compliment him; and even numbers of the Moorish merchants brought him rich presents, hoping to secure his favour.

The zamorin was greatly disheartened by the overthrow of all his mighty preparations, and losing all hope of victory wished seriously to end the war. In a council of his allies and great men, they represented the great losses they had already endured in the war with the Portuguese, and proposed to treat with them for peace. His brother Naubea Daring, who had always been averse to the war, seemed to believe that Pacheco would refuse any treaty, and advised rather to defer making an offer of peace till the arrival of the next captain-general from Portugal. This prince was likewise of opinion that the Calicut army should still keep the field till the coming on of the rainy season made it advisable to retire; as it would look like flight to retreat at this time. Yet he recommended that no more attacks should be made

on

on the pass, in which attempts they had already met with so much loss. Elankol, the lord of Repelim, urged the continuance of the war, and to make reiterated assaults on the Christians, which must be at last successful; by which means all the Portuguese that were in Cochin, Cananor, and Coulan would be destroyed. He advised likewise, to send false intelligence to these places, saying that they had taken our caravels and slain all our men; on which news the people of Cananor and Coulan would put the people in our factories to death. This was accordingly done; but as the inhabitants of these places had already received notice of the real state of affairs, they gave no credit to this false story. Yet, owing to the malice of the Moors who dwelt in these places, our men were in great danger and durst not come out of their factories, and one of our men was slain in Coulan.

By the persuasion of Elankol and the Moors, the zamorin reluctantly consented to try the event of another battle: And, the castles being repaired, a fresh assault was made both by land and water, with many more men and vessels than before. This battle continued longer than the other, and the enemy was overthrown with far greater loss than they had ever received before. In consequence of this new victory, the inhabitants of Cochin became quite confident in their security from the power of their enemies; and the rajah, who had hitherto been in much dread of the event, became quite elated. He now came to visit Pacheco in a chair of state, with far more splendour than he had ever assumed since the commencement of the war. When this was told in the enemies camp, the chiefs urged the zamorin to a fresh attack, lest the rajah of Cochin might hold him in contempt. He desired them to cease their evil counsels, from which he had already sustained great loss, and which would still lead him into greater danger; but to leave him to consider what was best to be done for revenge against his enemies.

The zamorin gave orders to some of his naires in whom he reposed great confidence, that they should go to Cochin on some false pretence, and endeavour to assassinate the general of the Portuguese and such of his men as they could meet with. But the naires are an inconsiderate people unable to keep any of their affairs secret, so that this shameful device became immediately known to Pacheco, who appointed two companies of the Cochin naires to keep strict watch for these *spies*; one company at the ford, and the other along

the

the river, waiting by turns day and night. By this means these *spies* were detected and made prisoners. The chief *spy* was a naire of Cochin, of the family or stock of the *Leeros*, who had certain other naires attending upon him, who were strangers. On being brought before him, he ordered them to be all cruelly whipt, and then to be hanged. The Cochin naires remonstrated against this punishment, because they were naires whose customs did not allow of this mode of execution; but he would not listen to their arguments, saying that their treachery richly merited to be so punished. The Portuguese officers represented to him the great troubles which the rajah of Cochin had endured for giving protection to their nation, and how much this action might displease him, when he was informed of naires having been put to death in his dominions without his authority. Besides, that this might give occasion to some of those about the rajah, who were known to be already unfriendly to the Portuguese, to insinuate that the captain-general had usurped the authority from the rajah, and might in that way wean his affections from them. Pacheco was convinced by these arguments that he had acted wrong, and immediately sent to countermand the execution. Two of them were already *half-dead*; but *those who were still living*, he sent to the rajah, informing him that they had deserved death, but that from respect to him he had spared their lives. The rajah was singularly gratified by this mark of respect, and the more so because there happened to be then present several of his principal nobles and some chiefs from other places, besides sundry of the chief of the Moors of Cochin, who had endeavoured to impress on his mind that the Portuguese were willing to assume the command in his dominions [8]. Henceforwards Pacheco had such good intelligence, that all the subtle devices of the zamorin were counteracted.

The month of June was now ended and the rainy season, or winter, began to come on, from which Pacheco naturally concluded that the zamorin would soon break up his encampment, on which occasion he was fully resolved to give them an assault, having sufficient experience of the pusillanimity of the enemy. But the zamorin, being afraid that Pacheco

8 This seems the same story which has been already mentioned in a former note, from Astleys Collection; but which is there related as having taken place with *Moors*.—E.

checo might attack him at his departure, gave out that he intended to make another assault on the ford with a greater fleet than ever, and even directed the floating castles to be repaired. He even gave out that he meant to assail the passage of *Palurte* and the ford both at once; that Pacheco might occupy himself in preparing to defend both places, and he might have the better opportunity to steal away unperceived. Accordingly, on the evening of Saturday, which was the eve of St John [9], the whole army of the enemy appeared as usual, and Pacheco fully expected to have been attacked that night. Next morning, however, he learnt from two bramins that the zamorin had withdrawn with all his army into the island of Repelim. Pacheco was much disappointed at this news, yet he made a descent that very day into Repelim, where he fought with many of the enemy, killing and wounding a great number of them, and then returned to the ford, where he remained several days, because the rajah was still afraid lest the zamorin might return and get across the ford into the island of Cochin.

The zamorin was so crest-fallen by the great and repeated losses he had sustained in this war from a mere handful of men, that he resolved to retire into religions seclusion, that he might conciliate the favour of his gods, and dismissed his allies and chiefs to act as they thought best. His princes and nobles endeavoured to dissuade him from this resolution, but he continued firm to his purpose, and went into the *torcul* or religious state of seclusion, accompanied by some of his chief bramins or chaplains. Soon afterwards, his mother sent him word that great changes had taken place in Calicut since his seclusion. That many of the merchants had already deserted the place, and others were preparing to follow. That the city was becoming ill provided with victuals, as those who used to import them were afraid of the Christians. Yet she advised him never to return to Calicut, unless he could do so with honour; and that he should therefore continue in seclusion for a time, and afterwards endeavour to recover his credit and reputation by victory, or lose all in the attempt. On this message which greatly increased his discontent, the zamorin sent for his brother, to whom he confided the government of his

9 The nativity of St John the Baptist is the 24th June; the eve therefore is the 23d, yet Castaneda has already said that June was ended.—E.

his dominions till such time as he should have completed his religious austerities in seclusion.

On this strange resolution of the zamorin, the rajahs and nobles who had joined him in the war departed to their own countries, most of which lay on the coast. And being under great apprehensions that Pacheco might reduce their dominions, they endeavoured to enter into treaties with him for peace and concord; for which purpose they sent messages to Trimumpara, requesting that he would act as mediator between them and Pacheco. The rajah of Cochin was a prince of a mild and forgiving disposition; and forgetting all the past injuries they had done him in these wars, he undertook the office of mediation, and sent them safe conducts to come to Cochin to make their peace. On their arrival, he accompanied them to wait upon Pacheco, and even became their advocate with him to accept of their proferred friendship, which he readily consented to at the desire of the rajah. Some of these princes were unable to come personally, but sent their ambassadors to solicit peace, which was accorded to all who asked it. Several even of the great Moorish merchants of Calicut, that they might quietly enjoy their trade, forsook that place and came to dwell in Cochin, having previously secured the consent of Pacheco. Others of them went to Cananor and Coulan, by which means the great trade which used to be carried on at Calicut suddenly fell off.

Owing to the great resort of Moors to Cochin, in whom Pacheco could not repose much confidence, and because, by the orders of Naubea Daring, the paraws of Calicut frequently made excursions into the rivers, the captain-general continued for a long while to defend the passage of the ford, where he often fought with and did much injury to his enemies. He made frequent incursions, likewise, into the island of Repelim, whence he carried off cattle and other provisions, and often fought with his enemies, always defeating them with much slaughter [10]. At length Elankol, the lord of that island, wishing to put an end to the miseries of his country,

10 About this time, in consequence of a message from the Portuguese factor at Coulan, stating that the Moors obstructed the market for pepper, Pacheco went to that place, where he made five Moorish ships submit, and settled the pepper market on fair terms, yet without doing them any harm.—Astl. I. 57.

country, waited on Pacheco and entered into a treaty of friendship with him, making him a present of a great quantity of pepper, which was abundant in his country [11].

Section IX.

The Voyage of Lope Suarez de Menesis to India, in 1504; being the sixth of the Portuguese Expeditions to the East Indies.

Learning the necessity of sending powerful succours to protect the Portuguese trade from the hostilities of the zamorin, the king of Portugal fitted out a fleet of twelve [1] large ships in 1504, of which the command was given to Lope Suarez de Menesis, who had been captain of the *Mina* on the coast of Guinea in the reign of John II. The captains of these ships were, Pedro de Mendoza, Lionel Cotinho, Tristan de la Silva, Lope Mendez de Vasconcelles, Lope de Abreu, Philip de Castro, Alonso Lopez de Castro, Alonzo Lopez de la Cocta, Pero Alonzo de Aguilar, Vasco de la Silvero, Vasco Carvallo, and Pedro Dynez de Sutunell: All of whom were gentlemen by birth or service. Having embarked many valiant soldiers, the whole fleet left Lisbon on the 22d of April and arrived on the 2d of May near Cape Verd. Having observed during this part of the voyage, that several of the ships were very irregularly navigated, not keeping in their proper course, by which they had run foul of each other; some pushing before, while others lagged behind, and others stood athwart the order of the fleet; Suarez convened an assemblage of all the captains, masters, and pilots of the fleet, to whom he communicated the following written instructions: 1. As soon as it is night, every ship shall keep in regular order a-stern of the admiral; and no vessel to carry any light except in the binnacle and in the cabin. 2. The masters and

11 According to Astley, the zamorin lost 18,000 men in this war in five months, and desired peace, which was granted by the rajah of Cochin.—Astl. I. 57. Yet this could hardly be the case, as the first operation of the new commander-in-chief in India was to cannonade Calicut.—E.

1 These are said to have been the largest ships hitherto built in Portugal, and to have carried 1200 men; perhaps soldiers, besides their ordinary crews.—Astl. I. 57.

and pilots to keep regular watch, taking special care not to run foul of each other. 3. All to answer the signals of the admiral. 4. As soon as day appears, every ship shall come to salute the admiral, and all are carefully to avoid getting before him during the night. The penalty for breach of any of these articles was a fine of ten crowns, besides which the offender was to be put under arrest without being entitled to wages, and so to remain to the end of the voyage. As some of the masters and pilots had been very negligent, allowing some of the ships to fall aboard of others, he removed these to other ships. By this attention to discipline, the fleet was kept afterwards in good sailing order

In the month of June, at which time they reckoned themselves off the Cape of Good Hope, the fleet was surprised by a heavy storm, and had to drive for two days and nights under bare poles in imminent danger of being cast away, the weather during all this time being wonderfully dark, so that the ships were in great hazard of running aboard of each other. To guard against this danger, the admiral caused guns to be fired at intervals from all the ships, to give notice of their situations, and the better to keep company. On the subsidence of the storm, the ship commanded by Lope Mendez was missing, and the admiral caused the fleet to lie to for some days in hopes of her reappearance. While in this situation, two of the ships ran foul of each other, by which a large hole was broken in the bow of one of the ships, through which she took in so much water as to be in great danger of sinking. The admiral immediately bore up to her assistance, and encouraged the crew to stop the leak, and even sent his boats on board to give every aid. By great exertions they got the leak effectually stopped, by nailing hides over the hole, and covering the whole with pitch. On St Jameses day, 25th July, the fleet arrived at Mozambique, where they were well received by the governor, who supplied them abundantly with fresh provisions, and sent off the letter which Pedro de Tayde had written respecting the state of affairs in India a short time before his death, as formerly mentioned. The admiral expedited the refitting of the ships which had been so much injured, as quickly as possible, and departed from Mozambique on the 1st of August. The king of Melinda sent off one of his principal Moors to visit the admiral, to whom likewise he sent sixteen of our men who had deserted from Pedro de Tayde.

Having

Having stopt only two days at Melinda for refreshment, the fleet sailed across for India, and came to Anchediva, where they found two Portuguese ships commanded by Antonio de Saldanna and Ruy Lorenzo, who were much afraid of our fleet, suspecting it to have belonged to the *Rumes* [2]. Saldanna informed Suarez, that he had been sent out the year before from Portugal along with Lorenzo, as vice-admiral, with orders to explore the Red Sea and adjacent countries. That they were separated in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope. That Lorenzo proceeding alone in the voyage, had taken a ship belonging to the Moors near Sofala, out of which he had taken a large quantity of gold, and had left the hull at Melinda. That Saldanna prosecuted his voyage to Cape Guardafui, where he had taken many rich prizes, without having entered the Red Sea; after which he had sailed to India, and the winter coming on, had taken shelter in Anchediva, where he was afterwards joined by Lorenzo. At this place, Lope Mendez de Vasconcelles, who had been separated in the storm off the Cape of Good Hope, rejoined the fleet. The admiral used every expedition to get the fleet ready to proceed for Cananor, where he arrived on the 1st of September, and was informed by the factor of the events in the war with Calicut; and how he and his companions in the factory had been often in great hazard of their lives.

The day after his arrival, the admiral went on shore in great state to visit the rajah of Cananor, attended by all the captains of the fleet in their boats, decorated with flags and streamers, and armed with ordnance, all the boats crews being dressed in their best apparel. The admirals barge had a rich awning, and was dressed out with carpets, on which stood a chair of state covered with unshorn crimson velvet and two cushions of the same for his feet. His doublet and hose were of satin of divers colours, wrought diamond fashion; his shoes of black velvet, studded with gold; his cap covered over with gold buttons. Over all he wore a loose robe or gown of black velvet, in the French fashion, trimmed all round with gold lace. From his neck hung a triple chain of gold

2 The Turkish empire, as succeeding that of the Romans or Greeks of Constantinople, is still called *Rumi* in the east. It will be afterwards seen, that these *Rumes,* Romans, or Turks, made some powerful efforts to drive the Portuguese from India, as greatly injurious to the Indian trade with Europe through the Red Sea and Egypt.—E.

gold enamelled, from which depended a golden whistle. His rapier and dagger, which were borne by a page, had handles of pure gold. Two lackeys preceded him in splendid attire, and six trumpeters with silk flags. He was also accompanied by a band of wind instruments, in a small boat. In another boat were the presents which he carried for the rajah from the king of Portugal. There were, six beds of fine Holland, with their pillows of the same, all wrought with gold embroidery. Two coverlets or carpets of unshorn crimson velvet, quilted all over, having three guards of cloth of gold, that in the middle a span in width, and the others two fingers broad. The bedstead was gilded all over, having curtains of crimson satin, fringed with gold thread. On putting off from his ship, all the fleet saluted him with their cannon; then the trumpets and drums sounded for a long time; after which the organs never ceased to play till the boats reached the shore, where vast numbers of Moors and Gentiles waited to receive the admiral.

On his landing, the admiral was conducted into a *sarame*, or house appointed for his reception and audience of the rajah, in which he ordered the bed and all its rich furniture to be set up, close to which was placed a chair for the admiral to sit upon. Soon afterwards, the rajah was brought to the house, carried in a rich chair of state, preceded by three armed elephants, three thousand nayres, armed with swords, spears, and targets, and two thousand armed with bows and arrows. The admiral, apprized of the rajah's approach by the fleet saluting him with all their guns, went to the door to receive him, where they embraced. Then going together into the apartment, the admiral presented him with the bed already described, on which the rajah immediately lay down, and the admiral sat down beside him in the place appointed. They here conferred together for two hours, when they were interrupted by the barking of a greyhound belonging to the admiral, which wanted to attack one of the elephants.

Soon afterwards a Moor from Calicut waited upon the admiral, having along with him a Portuguese boy, who brought a letter from some of our men who were captives at Calicut ever since the time of Cabral being there. This boy informed the admiral, that the zamorin was so humbled by the defeats he had sustained from Pacheco, that he had gone into religious seclusion. That many of the Moorish merchants had gone from Calicut to other places, as they could

could carry on no trade there owing to the war, and that even provisions had become extremely scarce. That the zamorin and the prince of Calicut, and the magistrates of that place, were exceedingly desirous of peace with the Portuguese, for which reason they had sent him to the admiral, and had allowed the Portuguese prisoners there to write him to that effect, which they had done accordingly, but chiefly in hopes that he would free them from captivity. After reading the letter, the admiral would have sent a written answer, meaning to have sent it by the Moor. But the boy told him, they had no permission to carry any letter, and that he must return along with the Moor, as the people of Calicut had threatened to put all their Portuguese prisoners to death in case he did not return. On this account, the admiral gave the boy a verbal message for the prisoners; saying that he would very soon come to Calicut, where he would anchor as near as possible to the shore; and as the captives were allowed to go about the city without irons, they might find an opportunity to come off to the fleet either in boats or by swimming.

Suarez went accordingly with the fleet to Calicut, where he came to anchor on Saturday the 7th September; and presently afterwards the boy who had been to visit him at Cananor came on board, accompanied by a servant of Cosebequin, who brought the admiral a present from the rulers of Cochin, and a message requiring a safe conduct for Cosebequin, that he might come on board to treat for peace. The admiral refused to accept of any present until such time as peace were restored; but sent word that Cosebequin might repair on board without fear, as a servant of the king of Portugal; he sent a private message at the same time to the Portuguese prisoners, advising them to use their best endeavours to escape. On receiving this message, Cosebequin was sent on board by the governors of Calicut, to treat of peace, carrying with him two of the Portuguese captives. They requested he would wait three or four days, by which time they believed the zamorin would come out from his seclusion, and that they were convinced he would agree to all that should be required. The admiral answered, that unless they would deliver up the two Italian deserters he would agree to no terms; but he sent no message for the liberation of our captives, as he thought they might easily escape. As soon as the Italians learnt that the admiral had demanded them, they

they suspected the captives would run away, of which circumstance they gave notice to the governors, requiring them to secure the Portuguese captives, as they were men of consideration, and that a peace might be procured in exchange for them almost on any terms the zamorin pleased to prescribe. On this advice, the governors took care to prevent the captives from escaping, and became less urgent in their desire of peace. Owing to this, they remained in captivity till Don Francisco de Almeida became viceroy of India, though some made their escape in the interim, and others of them fell victims to the diseases of the climate.

After waiting some days, and finding no friendly steps taken by the governors of Calicut towards a peace, and being likewise without hope of recovering the captives, Suarez resolved to take revenge by cannonading the city of Calicut, which he did for a whole day and a night, during which time he did prodigious damage, destroying the palace of the zamorin, several of their pagodas or idol temples, and many of the houses, and slew a great number of the inhabitants. For this service, he brought seven of his smallest ships as near the shore as possible, and advanced all the boats of the fleet, likewise carrying ordnance, close almost to the beach. After this he departed for Cochin, where he arrived on Saturday the 13th of September. He landed next day near the Portuguese castle, in as great state as he had done before at Cananor, and was received with many marks of satisfaction by Trimumpara. After embracing, they went hand in hand into the hall, in which a chair of state was placed for the admiral. As the rajah sat on the cushions on the floor, according to the custom of the country, and was therefore much lower than the admiral, he commanded his chair to be removed somewhat farther from the rajah, by which he greatly offended the native chiefs who were present at the interview. He now delivered to Trimumpara a letter from the king of Portugal, in which great compliments and many thanks were given, for the favour and protection the rajah had vouchsafed to the Portuguese. To this the rajah answered, that he had been amply repaid, by the good service which Duarte Pacheco had rendered him in the war with the zamorin. Next day, the admiral sent a large sum of money to Trimumpara, as a present from the king of Portugal, who knew that his finances had been greatly injured in consequence of the war with Calicut.

 Soon

Soon after, Suarez sent Pedro de Mendoza and Vasco Carvallo with their ships to guard the coast of Calicut, with orders to capture all ships belonging to the Moors that were laden with spices. He likewise dispatched De la Cocta, Aguilar, Cotinho, and Abreu, to go to Coulan to take in their loading, being informed that spices were to be had there in abundance. He likewise sent Tristan de la Silva with four armed boats up the rivers towards Cranganor, against some armed paraws of Calicut which were stationed in that quarter. In this expedition, Silva had a skirmish with these paraws and some nayres on the shores of the rivers; but falling in with a Moorish ship laden with pepper, he captured her and brought her to Cochin, where he and the other captains loaded their ships, as spices were now procured in great abundance.

Duarte Pacheco happened to be off Coulan when he learnt the arrival of Suarez; and knowing that his own command was ended so soon as the new captain-general should arrive at Cochin, determined to attempt some exploits while he remained master of his own conduct. With this view, he put to sea on the 22d of October, and soon after got sight of a ship at a great distance, to which he gave chase all that day and part of the night. The chase was driven into Coulan, when Pacheco learnt that she *belonged to the confederates*[3], and was bound from Coromandel. He immediately afterwards descried three ships of Calicut, to which he gave chase, keeping as near the coast a possible to take the advantage of a land breeze. In the morning he put off to sea in chase of the vessel, which he was unable to get up with till towards evening close to the land; after a brave defence, as the ship had many men, she at length yielded; and not chusing to encumber himself with so many prisoners, he landed a part of her company, and made the rest prisoners in irons in his own ship. Learning that this was one of the three ships belonging to Calicut of which he was in search, he

3 This expression is quite inexplicable, unless we may pick out very darkly that it belonged to the Calicut confederacy against the Portuguese. Yet Castaneda, or his imperfect translator Lichefild, does not inform us whether this vessel was made a prize. Lichefild seems almost always to have had a very imperfect knowledge of the language of the author, often to have mistaken his meaning or expresesd it with great obscurity, and sometimes writes even a kind of jargon, by endeavouring to translate verbally without being able to catch an idea from the original.—E.

he put two of his men on board the prize, with orders to keep him company. Being arrived directly abreast of Cape Comorin, he met with a sudden whirlwind, by which he was nearly cast away; and when this subsided, he came to anchor within a league of the shore, where he remained all night. While at anchor thirty of his Moorish prisoners made their escape, twelve of whom were retaken by means of his boat. Pacheco remained for some time off the Cape in expectation of the other ships of the Moors coming round from Coromandel, but none making their appearance, he went to Coulan with the ship he had captured, which he delivered to the factor at that city with all its rich merchandize. He then went to Cochin, where he put himself under the command of Suarez.

The zamorin had now resumed the government, having withdrawn from the *torcul* or religious seclusion. He had dispatched one of his generals with a fleet of eighty paraws and fifty ships[4] to defend the passages of the rivers, and to obstruct the trade of Cochin with the interior; and had likewise set on foot a considerable land army under the prince Naubea Daring. It was the intention of the zamorin to stand on the defensive only while the Portuguese fleet remained in India, and to renew the war against Cochin after their departure. But the admiral Suarez, by the advice of all his captains, resolved to make an attack on Cranganor, a town belonging to the zamorin, about four leagues from Cochin, whence the enemy had often done much injury to the dominions of Trimumpara during the late war. For this purpose, Suarez took fifteen armed boats with raised defences on their gunwales, and twenty-five paraws belonging to Cochin, all armed with cannon, and accompanied by a caravel, the whole manned with about 1000 Portuguese soldiers, and an equal number of nayres from Cochin. The armament arrived before day at *Palypuerto*, where it had to wait for daylight, not daring to attempt the passage of certains shoals, as the boats were heavily laden. On arriving at Cranganor, the fleet of Calicut was found drawn up ready to repel the Portuguese attack. The Calicut commander was posted in the front, in two new ships chained together, which were full

4 According to Astley, from De Faria, only *five* ships; and indeed in the sequel, Castaneda only mentions *two* ships as employed on the present occasion, and three others that were drawn up on shore.—E.

full of ordnance and well manned, chiefly by archers. In the rear of these ships, and on both flanks, the paraws of Calicut were arranged, all full of armed men.

On the arrival of the Portuguese flotilla, the battle immediately commenced by the discharge of ordnance on both sides. Five Portuguese captains who led the van, pushed on to attack the Calicut admiral in his two chained ships, which they carried by boarding after a brave resistance, in which that officer and two of his sons with many others of the Malabars were slain. After the capture of these ships, the paraws made little resistance, and soon took to flight. Suarez immediately disembarked his troops, which soon put Naubea Daring to flight, who commanded the land army of Calicut. The Moors and Malabars in their flight, plundered the houses of Cranganor, which was immediately afterwards set on fire by the Portuguese. Certain Christian inhabitants of the place came to Suarez and prayed him not to burn their city, representing that it contained several churches dedicated to the Virgin and the Apostles, besides many Christian houses which were interspersed among these belonging to the Moors and Gentiles. For their sakes, Suarez ordered the conflagration to be stopped; yet many of the houses were destroyed before that could be effected, as they were all of wood. After the fire was quenched, our men plundered the houses belonging to the Moors, many of whom had formerly dwelt in Cochin. The two ships, and several paraws which had been taken in the before mentioned engagement, were set on fire, and other three ships that were found drawn on shore.

At this time Suarez was joined by the prince of Cochin, who informed him that Naubea Daring remained with his army at no great distance, and intended to return to Cranganor after his departure. A considerable force was therefore sent against Naubea Daring; but immediately on seeing their approach, the troops of Calicut fled. On the return of the Portuguese flotilla towards Cochin, Suarez was disposed to have destroyed another town which lay near their passage; but the prince of Cochin represented that half of it belonged to him, and prevailed on the admiral to spare it, as he could not destroy one part without the other. Suarez, therefore, returned to Cochin, where he knighted some of his officers for their bravery during the last engagement. A few days after his return, there came an ambassador from the rajah of *Tanor*, whose dominions are next adjoining to those of

of Cochin. This ambassador represented, that his master had hitherto adhered to the zamorin, and had assisted him in all his wars against Pacheco. But that the zamorin, since he had come out from his religious seclusion, had redoubled his arrogant ideas of his irresistible power, and in reward of the services of the rajah of Tanor, now threatened him with war and conquest. He farther represented, that on the late occasion, when the general of the Calicut forces was in full march for the relief of Cranganor, the rajah of Tanor had placed 4000 of his nayres in ambush in a defile in their line of march, who had defeated the troops of Calicut, and had slain 2000 of them. On this account the rajah of Tanor was in great fear of the zamorin, and humbly requested assistance from the admiral, promising in return to become subject to the king of Portugal.

For this purpose, the admiral sent Pedro Raphael in a caravel to Tanor, with 100 soldiers, most of whom were cross-bow men. It chanced that on the very day of his arrival at Tanor, the zamorin arrived before that city with his army and gave battle to the rajah; but, chiefly owing to the valour of Raphael and his company, the army of the zamorin was defeated with great slaughter. In reward for this well-timed succour, the rajah of Tanor became subject to the king of Portugal. In consequence of this defeat, the zamorin was much humbled, and lost more credit with the Moors than by all the victories which Pacheco had obtained; as these had been obtained by strangers, while the present victory had been gained by a native prince. In consequence of these reverses, seeing no likelihood of ever being able to recover their trade, all the Moors who dwelt in Calicut and Cranganor determined upon removing to their own country with their remaining wealth. For this purpose, they fitted up seventeen large ships at *Pandarane*, which they armed on purpose to defend themselves against any attack from our men, and loaded them with all expedition for Mecca. Besides these, they loaded a great number of paraws and tonys with such goods as the ships were unable to contain.

The season now approached for the return of the fleet to Portugal, and Suarez appointed Manuel Telez de Vasconcelles[5] as captain-general of the Indies, with whom he left a ship

5 At the commencement of this section, Castaneda names this person Lope Mendez de Vasconcelles; in Astley, I. 58. he is called Manuel Tel-lez Barreto.—E.

ship and two caravels, of which last Pedro Raphael and Diego Perez were captains. The admiral presented these officers to the rajah of Cochin, who would much rather have procured Duarte Pacheco to remain, having great confidence in his valour and attachment to his service, but dared not to request this of the admiral, as he was of a haughty disposition. In a conference between Pacheco and the rajah, the latter entreated him to remain in India if possible, as he did not think himself quite secure from the enmity of the zamorin; and even urged him to remember that he had promised not to leave him till he had made him king of Calicut. Pacheco answered, that he left him in a good situation, his country being restored to quiet, and the zamorin so much humbled that he was no longer to be dreaded; as a proof of which the Moors were about to depart from Calicut, seeing their trade entirely ruined. And that he hoped to return from Portugal, and to serve him longer and to greater purpose than he had done hitherto. The rajah was somewhat satisfied with this answer, and craved pardon of Pacheco that he had not rewarded his services as they deserved, because he was extremely poor; yet requested he would take as much pepper as he pleased. Pacheco refused to accept of any thing; saying, he hoped to find the rajah rich and prosperous on his return to Cochin, and then he would accept a reward. The rajah gave Pacheco a letter for the king of Portugal, in which he set forth all his gallant actions during the war, strongly recommending him to his majesties favour.

The admiral Suarez departed from Cochin on the 27th December [6], taking with him the whole of his fleet, even those captains who were to remain in India. His intention was to have come to anchor in the harbour of Paniani, on purpose to visit the rajah of Tanor; but from foul weather, and bad pilots, the fleet could not make that port, and was driven to Calicut and Pandarane. Being off these ports and with a scanty wind, the admiral detached Raphael and Perez with their caravels, to examine if there were any ships of the Moors at anchor. While on this service, ten paraws came off to attack them, and an engagement ensued. On the rest of the fleet hearing the sound of the ordnance, they bore

6 In Lichefilds translation of Castaneda, this date is made the 27th September, which is an obvious mistake.—E.

bore up as close to the wind as possible, and came to anchor[7]. In a council of war, it was resolved to attack the seventeen ships of the Moors, which lay all aground; and as the ships were unable to get near them, because they lay within the bar, the attack was determined to be made by the boats of the fleet, with orders to set the Moorish ships on fire. This being resolved upon, the admiral and all the captains of the fleet embarked in the boats, taking with them all the soldiers belonging to the expedition.

The Moorish ships were all drawn on the beach in a close line, having their sterns to the shore, and were well armed with ordnance, and had many soldiers on board armed with bows and arrows, a considerable number of them being men of a fair complexion[8]. Besides all these, the Moors had two pieces of ordnance on a small bulwark or redoubt which flanked the passage of the bar. Our boats, seeing all these formidable preparations, returned towards the fleet[9], whence they towed several caravels within the bar to assist the boats in the attack. After a severe conflict, in which the Portuguese had twenty-five men killed, and 127 wounded, the whole seventeen ships of the Moors were boarded and taken, with the loss of 2000 men. But as the Moorish ships were all aground, the victors were under the necessity to burn them, with all the rich merchandize they contained. Owing to this severe loss, the Moors deserted the city of Calicut, which by the cessation of trade became much distressed for provisions, insomuch that most of its inhabitants withdrew to other places. The zamorin was so much humbled by this succession of disastrous events, that he remained quiet for a long time afterwards[10].

The

7 By some strange blunder, Lichefild says they came to *Cananor;* but from all the circumstances in the context, it is obvious that the fleet came to anchor on the outside of the bar at Pandarane.—E.

8 Arabs probably, whites in the estimation of the Portuguese as compared with the native blacks of Malabar.—E.

9 This part of the story is very confusedly translated by Lichefild. According to his relation, in one sense, the admiral alone returned in his boat for the caravels; while, by another part of his expressions, the whole boats returned for the admiral and the caravels.—E.

10 According to Astley, a peace was concluded between the Portuguese and the zamorin immediately after the victory obtained by the rajah of Tanore; but this does not agree with the circumstances just related respecting the destruction of the Moorish fleet in the harbour of Pandarane, which would hardly have been done during a time of peace.—E.

The particular incidents of this engagement are so confusedly related in Lichefilds translation of Castaneda as to baffle every attempt to reduce them into intelligible order. Among these, the two following are more distinctly told. Tristan de la Silva endeavoured to board a ship which appeared to be the admiral, of which the captain and a numerous crew were Turks. A little before De Silva got up to this ship, the crew had fired off a piece of ordnance which lay on the upper deck, and which by its recoil broke a large hole in the side of the ship. The Turks were so intent on defending themselves against the Portuguese boats, that they neglected to barricade this hole, of which the people in De Silvas boat took advantage to get on board; Alonzo Lopez the master, and Alvaro Lopez one of the kings servants, now town-clerk of Santarem, being the first who entered by the hole. A desperate conflict ensued on deck, in which many of the Turks were slain, others hid themselves below the hatches, and others leapt into the water, most of whom were drowned, as they were covered with shirts of mail.

The caravel commanded by Pedro Raphael, one of these brought within the bar to co-operate with the boats, was struck by a ball from the battery on shore, which killed three men and dangerously wounded other ten. In the confusion occasioned by this accident, another shot killed the master at the helm, and the caravel drove with the tide of flood right under the bows of a large Moorish ship full of men which had not yet been attacked by the boats. In this situation, a great number of the enemy boarded the caravel, *and used our men very ill.* The caravel afterwards drifted on certain rocks, where she remained till the end of the battle. The situation of the caravel was now perceived by the admiral, who ordered effectual succour to be sent to Raphael. The succours boarded the caravel, which was quite full of Moors, whom they drove out with great slaughter; but all of our men belonging to that caravel were sore hurt.

On the next day, being the first of January 1505, the admiral went with the fleet to Cananor, to take in the rest of his lading. He was here informed by the factor of the humbled situation of the Moors, from whom, in his opinion, the Portuguese had no longer any thing to fear in India. Being ready to depart for Europe, the admiral made an oration to Manuel Telez, and

and those who were to remain with him in India, giving them instructions for their conduct after his departure; and as the enemy was so greatly humbled, he considered that such a fleet as had formerly been left by Albuquerque was quite sufficient, in which he left an hundred soldiers. Indeed the zamorin, as has been already said, was sick of the war, and remained quiet after the departure of the admiral.

Departing from Cananor, Suarez arrived off Melinda on the 1st of February; where, without landing himself, he sent Antonio de Saldanna to bring away the rich prizes he had formerly made at Cape Guardafui. From Melinda, the fleet went to Quiloa, on purpose to enforce the payment of the tribute from the king of that place. Departing from thence on the 10th of February, he arrived safe at Lisbon on the 22d of June 1505 [11], without any incident worth relating [12]; carrying with him two ships more than had accompanied him to India, all laden with rich commodities, and was received by the King Don Manuel with great honour.

When the king learnt the great service which Pacheco had performed in India, he expressed his high approbation of his conduct in a public procession. The king went, in all the splendour usually shewn on *Corpus Christi* day, from the high church to that of St Domingo, accompanied by Duarte Pacheco. After solemn service, a sermon was preached by Don Diego Ortis, bishop of Viseo; who, by the kings command, gave a rehearsal of all that had been performed by Pacheco in the war against the zamorin. On the same day, a solemn festival was held in all the churches of Portugal and Algarve. The king sent letters on the occasion to the pope and all the princes of Christendom, announcing all these

11 By some strange typographical mistake, Lichefild makes this date 1525, both in the text and in a marginal note, thus adding no less than twenty years to the true chronology. In Astleys Collection, the conclusion of this voyage is dated 22d July 1506; but we have chosen to retain the regular series of dates as given by Castaneda. Owing to the mistake in Lichefilds translation not being detected till a part of this chapter was printed off, it has been repeated in our introduction to this article, which our readers are requested to correct.—E.

12 In Astley, the ship commanded by Pedro Mendoza, is said to have been stranded during the homeward voyage, fourteen leagues from the *Aguada*, or watering-place of St Blas, and never more heard of.—Astl. I. 58.

these notable acts and victories which had been performed in the Indies [13].

CHAPTER VII.

LETTERS FROM LISBON IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, RESPECTING THE THEN RECENT DISCOVERY OF THE ROUTE BY SEA TO INDIA [1].

INTRODUCTION.

THE following letters bear to have been written by some Italian public agents and merchants, to their employers and friends, and contain a curious record of the first impressions made on the public mind by the wonderful discoveries which navigation was then opening up to the European world. They are selected from the *Novus Orbis*, a work which was published by *Simon Grynæus* early in the sixteenth century. According to M. de la Richarderie [2], this collection was formed by Hans Heteirs, canon of Strasburg, and was printed under the care of Simon Grynæus, by Isaac Hervag, in folio, at Basil in 1532. We learn likewise that it passed rapidly through several editions, having been reprinted at Basil in 1535, 1537, and 1555; and at Paris in 1582. The edition used on the present occasion is printed at Basil in 1555 by Jo. Hervag. Its principal contents, besides those translated for the present chapter, are the voyages of Cada Mosto, already given; the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, which will form the first article in our subsequent volume; the voyages of Vincent Alonzo Pinzon, and of Americus Vespucius, which will be attended to hereafter; and the travels of Marco Polo, which have been already given at full length from a better source.
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13 Astley concludes the account of the honours conferred on Pacheco in the following words: "But soon after imprisoned, and allowed him to die miserably. A terrible example of the uncertainty of royal favour, and the little regard that is had to true merit!"—Astl. I. 58.

1 Novus Orbis Grynæi, p. 94—102.

2 Bibl. Univ. des Voy. I. 55, and V. 486.

The language of the *Novus Orbis* is perhaps the most barbarous Latin ever composed for the press, and its punctuation is so enormously incorrect that it would have been easier understood without any points whatever.

As already mentioned, the edition here used is dated in the year 1555, little more than fifty years after the discoveries they commemorate; and the letters themselves are dated in 1501, 1502, and 1503, immediately after the return of the earliest of the Portuguese voyages from India. Indeed the first letter seems to have been written only a day or two after the arrival of the first ship belonging to Cabrals fleet.

This work is accompanied by a very curious map of the world, on one planisphere, much elongated to the east and west, which may be considered as a complete picture of the knowledge then acquired of the cosmography of our globe. The first meridian is placed at the island of Ferro, and the degrees of longitude are counted from thence eastwards all round the world, so that Ferro is in long. 0° and 360° E. In every part of the world, the outlines are grossly incorrect, and it would serve no purpose to give an extended critical view of this map; yet a few notices respecting it may gratify curiosity.

Europe is singularly incorrect, especially in the north and east. America, called likewise *Terra Nova*, has an approximated delineation of its southern division, stretching far to the south, as if the cosmographer had received some tolerable notices of Brazil, Cape Horn, and the coasts of Peru and Chili. But instead of the continent of North America, the island of Cuba is delineated in a north and south direction, reaching between the latitudes of 10° and 50° north; leaving a small strait or passage between its southern extremity and the Isthmus of Darien into the South Sea. About twelve degrees west from Cuba the island of Zipangri is placed; and at least twenty degrees east from Cathay or China. At sixteen degrees east from the northern end of Cuba, a large island is placed in the *Oceanus Magnus* or Atlantic, called *Terra Cortesia*; which the cosmographer seems to have intended to represent the kingdom of Mexico, recently discovered by Cortez; though placed almost in lat. 50° N. Perhaps this may be an error for *Corterealis*, an early navigator, who is said to have made discoveries on the eastern coast of North America.

In Africa there is an approximation towards its true

shape; yet the *Caput Viride*, or Cape Verd, is placed to the north of the river Senegal, instead of between that river and the Gambia; and the sources of the Nile are brought down to lat. 15° S. at least twenty-two degrees too far to the southwards.

Asia, with India and China, are too much distorted for criticism. Calicut is placed in the peninsula of Cambaya or Guzerate. The *Aurea Chersonesus* and *Regnum Malacha*, or Malacca, are separated by a great gulf, while the latter is placed so low as 30° S. latitude. This much may suffice for an account of the incorrect yet curious specimen of cosmographical knowledge which had been acquired by the learned in Europe about 300 years ago.

To these four letters we have added a short account of several curious circumstances relative to the trade of the Europeans with India at the commencement of the sixteenth century, or three hundred years ago; which, though not very accurately expressed, contains some curious information.

SECTION I.

Letter from the Venetian Envoy in Portugal to the Republic[1].

MOST serene prince, &c. Believing that your highness has been already informed by the most excellent legate, of all the memorable things which have occurred in this place, and particularly respecting the fleet so lately dispatched for India by the king of Portugal, which, by the blessing of God, has now returned with the loss of seven ships; as it originally consisted of fourteen sail, seven of which only have come home, the other seven having been wrecked in the voyage. Their voyage was along the coasts of Mauritania and Getulia to Cape Verd, anciently called *Experias*; off which the islands called the *Hesperides* are situated. From thence they explored lower *Ethiopia* towards the east, beyond

1 This letter is dated on the 20th of June 1501, and obviously refers to the voyage of Cabral, who had returned from India not long before. The writer is described as a native of Crete, and envoy from the lords of Venice to the king of Portugal.—E.

yond which the ancients never penetrated. They sailed along this *eastern* coast of Ethiopia to a line corresponding with the meridian of Sicily, about five or six degrees *within* the equinoctial, the gold mines belonging to the king of Portugal being about the middle of that coast [2]. Beyond that coast of the gold mines, and nine degrees to the south of the *winter tropic* [3], they came to a great promontory called the Cape of Good Hope, which is almost 5000 miles distant from our country. From thence they came to the cape anciently called *Prasum*, which was considered by Ptolemy as the extremity of the southern regions, all beyond being unknown to the ancients. After that they reached the country of the *Troglodites*, now called *Zaphala*, or Sofala, which our ancestors affirm to have abounded in gold, infinitely more than any other part of the earth. Stretching from Sofala across the *Barbaric Gulf* [4], they came into the Indian Ocean, and at length to the city of Calicut. Such was their voyage, which carefully calculated, as following the coasts of the ocean, extends to the prodigious length of 15,000 miles; but which, if the lands and mountains would allow in a direct line, were greatly shorter.

Before passing the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of being forced out of their course by a S. W. wind, they discovered a new country to which they gave the name of the *Land of Parrots*, because they found there an incredible number of these birds, of many beautiful colours, some of them a cubit and a half in length and more. We have seen two of these birds, and can vouch for the truth of the description. On exploring this extensive coast, the navigators believed that it must necessarily belong to a continent, as they sailed along it for the space of 2000 miles without having seen either extremity. Its coasts are inhabited by people of a tolerably handsome appearance, who go quite naked [5]. In

2 The strange geographical language here used is inexplicable, probably because the ideas of the writer were confused. He seems to mean the *Mina* in Guinea, which is *five or six* degrees *within* the equator, or to the north; but is at least 18° west from the meridian of Sicily.—E.

3 Meaning the tropic of Capricorn, on which the sun is during our winter solstice.—E.

4 The recession of the coast inwards from Cape Delgado to Melinda, which may be called the Bay of Zanzibar.—E.

5 In the map of Grynæus already mentioned, this *Terra Psittacorum* or Land of Parrots, is placed on the *south-west* coast of Africa, between the Cape

In this voyage they lost four ships. Two others were sent to the gold mines, which are not yet returned; and seven only reached Calicut, where they were honourably received, and had a house allotted them by the prince, and there they brought their ships to anchor. Soon afterwards there assembled many boats of the Moors and other neighbouring people, and some frigates belonging to the great sultan, all the people belonging to which conspired together against the Christians, being exceedingly adverse to the coming of the Christians into these parts, lest they should diminish their profits. They insisted therefore to have their ships first loaded, to the great dissatisfaction of the Christians, who immediately complained to the king of the insolence of the Moors, but soon discovered that he favoured them. The king of Calicut was a person of very doubtful faith, and made the following answer: That it did not seem equitable for the Moors to be permitted to finish their traffic before the Christians; and gave orders accordingly, that the Christians might carry on their trade. The Moors trangressed this decree, and took away the goods of the Christians at pleasure; upon which disputes arose between the Christians and the Moors, in which the whole inhabitants of the city took part with the Moors. Whereupon a great slaughter was made of the Christians, above forty of them being slain; among whom was their principal factor, when endeavouring to escape by swimming. In revenge for this cruelty, the Christians made severe reprisals; as they burnt ten ships belonging to the prefect of Syria, that is the sultan; and destroyed a considerable portion of the city by means of their *catapults* and *bombards*[6], many houses being burnt to the ground, as they are covered with thatch like cottages, and exceedingly combustible.

After this, the fleet left Calicut, and went to another kingdom named Cochin, about forty miles distant, being conducted thither by a Jew who assumed the Christian faith. The king of Cochin hated the king of Calicut exceedingly, and

Cape of Good Hope and Congo. Yet there can be no doubt that the recent discovery of Brazil on the *eastern* coast of South America is here alluded to: Consequently, instead of the *lebeccio vento*, or S. W. wind of the text, it would naturally have required a S. E. wind to force the Portuguese fleet so far to the westward of its intended course.—E.

6 The author assuredly uses these words to denominate two kinds of ordnance or cannon then used in the Portuguese ships of war.—E.

and on that account received the Christians with much kindness. Spices are in greater abundance at Cochin than at Calicut, and the Christians carried off such riches from Cochin as I dare scarcely venture to report; for they allege to have purchased a *cantarus* of cinnamon, which is a considerable measure, for one gold ducat. The king of Cochin gave two hostages to the Portuguese, in assurance of their safety, and sent even ambassadors to the king of Portugal. In the mean time, the king of Calicut fitted out an immense fleet against the Christians, in revenge for having burnt the ships in his harbour. This fleet exceeded 150 ships, and carried 15,000 men, yet on account of a north wind which they were unable to contend with, they dared not to attack the Portuguese ships, and withdrew from Cochin. As their great numbers were considerably formidable, the Portuguese ships went to a certain island in which the body of St Thomas is interred, the lord of which received them kindly, and gave them some relics of that holy person in token of friendship: He even offered them greater quantities of spices than they had ever seen before, without money, trusting that they would pay for them on their return from Europe: But, being already laden, the Portuguese declined this friendly offer.

The Portuguese fleet employed fourteen months in this voyage, and returned to Lisbon in spring; but they say that it may be made much sooner, now that the course is well known, and may even be accomplished in ten months. All the ships that reached Calicut returned, except one which was lost on certain rocks, but the crew saved, which ship was of six hundred tons burden. As yet only one caravel has come into port, but the rest are said to be not far off. This lately arrived ship came into port on St Johns day, 6th May, at which time I happened to be with the king, who addressed me in these words. "*Hah!* congratulate me, good sir, as my fleet is already in the river, loaded with all kinds of spices." I received the news joyfully, as became me, and made my compliments of congratulation to the king. The tidings were welcomed with exceeding joy and all kind of festivity, with the sound of trumpets, cymbals, and flutes, and the continual firing of cannon. On the day following there was a solemn thanksgiving, at which all the people assisted. When I again waited on the king, he desired me to apprize your serenity of his good fortune, saying that you

may

may send your ships hither in safety to purchase his spices; adding, that he should take such measures as to prevent the prefect of Syria, that is the sultan [7], from procuring spices in India. He founds this hope assuredly on the success which his fleet had lately in contending with the numerous vessels of the Moors, and has no doubt of being able to reduce India under his own authority. The ship already arrived is commanded by a Tuscan named Bartholomew, a native of Florence. Her cargo consists of 300 *cantari* or quintals of pepper, 120 cantari of cinnamon, 60 cantari of lac, and 15 cantari of castor and other perfumes of that kind [8]. They have no cloves or ginger, having been prevented by the Moors, as these could only be procured at Calicut; neither have they any of the lesser spices. They had purchased many pearls of different sorts, which were all lost in the disturbances at Calicut, in which many of their men and much riches were destroyed.

I must not omit to mention, that there have lately arrived messengers from *Ubenus* [9] king of Ethiopia to the king of Portugal, bringing gifts of ivory and many other things. These are soon to return in two ships, which are to go to India after stopping at the new gold mines. While this ship which has first arrived was on its voyage home, it met two ships steering their course from the *new gold mines* [10] for India. These, thinking themselves lost, or that they would be plundered by the Christians, offered to pay them a ransom of 15,000 ducats for leave to continue their voyage: But the Christians, though tempted by so much gold, gave these people many gifts and permitted them to continue their

course,

7 By the sultan or prefect of Syria, twice so designed in this dispatch, is evidently meant the Mameluk sultan of Egypt; but who was soon afterwards defeated and slain by the Turkish emperor. The ineffectual exertions of the Mameluks and Turks, instigated by Venice, to obstruct the Portuguese trade in India, will be afterwards mentioned.—E.

8 It is difficult to say what is meant by a *cantarus* in the text; perhaps a quintal or 100 pounds. The castor of the text, and other perfumes, may mean musk, civet, and ambergris.—E.

9 Perhaps the king of Congo, or some other prince of the west coast of Africa is here alluded to; or perhaps the xeque or prince of the Moors at Sofala.—E.

10 By the *new* gold mines Sofala seems indicated, as contradistinguished from the *old* gold mines of Guinea. The story of the two ships on their voyage to India from Sofala, obviously alludes to the Guzerate vessels, more particularly mentioned already in the voyage of Cabral.—E.

course, that they might hereafter be allowed a free trade with their country.

SECTION II.

Letter from certain Merchants and Bankers of Spain[1], *to their correspondents in the cities of Florence and Venice, respecting a treaty of peace and league between the kings of Portugal and Calicut.*

WE have been informed by those who were on board of the fleet which sailed from Lisbon to India in May 1502, and returned on the 15th December 1503, that the king of Calicut has concluded a peace with our sovereign on the following conditions. As a compensation for the slaughter of our men, he is to pay 4000 *bahars* of pepper, equal to 12,000 quintals. That the Moors shall not be allowed to trade there from any place whatever, excepting only those who are natives of Calicut; and that these even shall not be permitted to trade with Mecca. That our king, if so inclined, may build a fort at Calicut, and shall be supplied with a sufficient quantity of stones, lime, and timber for that purpose by the zamorin, paying for these on delivery. That the king of Calicut shall aid and favour the Portuguese in all things, and that it shall be competent for our king to appoint one of his own subjects to administer justice among the Portuguese resident in that city, even with the power of life and death, and without appeal to the zamorin. That when any of our people shall revolt from or be disobedient to our commercial agent, they shall immediately be delivered up to be judged by the aforesaid Portuguese consul. If any captive Moors are detained, they shall all be delivered up to our agent. That the two Milanese lapidaries, who had gone from Rome to India, and who there acted as military engineers and shipbuilders in the European fashion, to the disgrace of the Christian profession, and the vast injury of the Christians, should

1 This letter has no date, but must have been very early in the sixteenth century, probably in 1504, from the circumstance to which it alludes at its commencement. Although said to be from *Spain*, there is every reason to suppose it was written from Lisbon, as we find Portugal frequently considered as *in* Spain, which it actually is in the most extensive geographical sense.—E.

should be delivered up in chains to the admiral of our fleet. That the kings or rajahs of Cochin and Cananore shall be included in this treaty as co-allies, mutually sharing all danger and advantages with the other contracting parties: So that if any one shall take arms against any of the parties to this treaty, he shall be declared an enemy to all the parties hereby confederated. If any of the parties to this league shall act contrary to its stipulations, the power of all the rest shall act against him, as a perfidious person, a traitor, and an enemy to good faith; all the contracting parties using their utmost to preserve the present peace and alliance inviolate. While the Portuguese fleet might remain in the harbour of Calicut, all other ships whatever were to be refused access, at least until after ours were laden: But when there were sufficient goods for all who wanted them, then all ships were to be at liberty to load; provided always that the accustomed prices should not be augmented, and expressly that the profit to the venders should never exceed 8 per cent. which was usual in that port.

These are the conditions of peace and alliance which have been stipulated, to the great honour and renown of our sovereign, as must be evident to every one; as henceforwards he may not only be accounted sovereign of India, but has imposed laws on Turkey and the prefect of Syria [2], since by this treaty all access to the city of Calicut is debarred to their traders. We do not even doubt that, in four years from hence, through the vigorous measures of our king, our sailors may safely navigate to Constantinople and Alexandria, the present most celebrated marts of eastern commerce, and shall take signal vengeance on the Moors by whom they have been infamously and frequently abused. For this purpose a fleet of twelve sail was fitted out this year, which found the rajah of Cochin expelled from his dominions, having fled for refuge from the hostilities of the king of Calicut to a strong place in a certain island. The only reason he could assign for the hostilities of the zamorin was, that, faithful to his engage-

2 This, as formerly observed, alludes to the Mameluk sultan of Egypt, through whose dominions the trade between India and Europe was entirely carried on before this era. This treaty of peace and alliance between Portugal and Calicut, may possibly have been proposed at this period, but certainly was not then agreed to; as there were long wars with the zamorin before his power was reduced under the influence and dominion of the Portuguese.—E.

ments, he refused to deliver our people to the king of Calicut, and chose rather to live in exile than to betray his trust. In this extremity, our fleet brought opportune aid to the friendly rajah, and having landed troops for his assistance, they marched boldly against the perfidious zamorin, routed his forces with great slaughter, and triumphantly restored the rajah of Cochin to his dominions.

This kingdom is not far distant from the straits of the Red Sea, where they have erected a very strong fortress[3], and are building another in the mouth of the bay of Cochin, provided with all kinds of warlike artillery, by which to repel the enemy, and to provide a safe station for our fleet; nor shall we recede from thence, however adverse the natives may be to our remaining; and when the same shall be done in the bay of Calicut, it will not then be difficult to defend these stations and the adjoining coasts against all aggressors. Our ships which remained in these seas last year made no small booty, as they took one morning five ships bound from the kingdom of Cambaya for Mecca, the shrine of Mahomet, in which they found 1000 *cantari* or quintals of clean cloves, besides a large quantity of the same spice not freed from the husk as is usual with us. These ships had likewise castor and other perfumes of that kind[4], sanders wood, amber, purified lac, and excessively fine linen, and a large sum in gold and silver coin; insomuch that the value of this prize exceeded 200,000 ducats.

Having thus informed you of the wealth of that country, which abounds in almost every thing, we now proceed to relate that two of our ships above mentioned have been cast away in a storm near the mouth of the Red Sea, their commander Vincentius and above six hundred men having perished, but the other two were saved[5]. Another vessel, which escaped that dreadful tempest, was soon afterwards dashed to pieces against a rock; so that the sea was covered with dead bodies and with rich merchandize of all kinds: Thus, as the proverb says, wealth ill acquired is ill lost. Of

3 This is rather an anachronism, as at this period the Portuguese had no fortress on the Red Sea.

4 The *Castor* of the text was probably musk, and its *amber* ambergris. —E.

5 This alludes to the misfortunes of Vincente Sodre and his squadron, already more distinctly related in the preceding chapter.—E.

Of all these ships one small caravel only rode out the storm, and brought intelligence of the destruction of the others.

We have now to inform you, that our king has given permission to all who choose to proceed to India and to carry on trade, providing that he is paid a quarter part [6] of all returns, and that they purchase from him for the purpose such ships as he thinks proper, and the price of these ships must be paid before setting out on the voyage; because, considering the loss of ships which he has already sustained, he is desirous that others should now bear the risk: It will therefore require large funds to embark in this trade, so that we hardly believe the king will find any to engage on these conditions; but of this we shall inform you from time to time as it may occur. It must not, however, be concealed that the circumstances of this trade are by no means established on certain principles, which can only be determined by future events.

A Portuguese of the former fleet touched at a certain port in the kingdom of Sofala, and visited a gold mine of which he relates wonderful things. He assured us that a ship of the Christians had been there, and speaks of incredible quantities of gold to be found there. On this account, our king is resolved to erect a strong fort at that place, to keep the barbarians under subjection, and to keep away the Indians and the inhabitants of Cambaya, lest they should make themselves masters of the mine. He will therefore immediately seize upon this mine for his own use, which we certainly believe to have been the mine whence Solomon derived such vast riches, and where the queen of Sheba dwelt, who went to visit Solomon, as related in holy writ. These things are of such importance that they ought not to be concealed from you; and our king is to be deemed happy and fortunate, because he hath made the discovery of such vast riches.

It is believed by many that they will soon obtain permission from the king to go to India, paying him at the rate of 25 per cent. and taking his ships as before mentioned. It appears to be his wish that the merchants should send out their own factors or supercargoes with the care of their goods,

6 The expression of the original, *ex centenario lucro quadragenarium*, is not easily understood: It is here translated a quarter part of the return cargo, conformably with the regulations of Don Henry for the trade of Guinea, as already stated in Vol. I. p. 204, from which the present were probably copied.—E.

goods, but without any authority, as he wishes to rule in all things, and that every thing may be directed by his officers, even the expences of the merchants. The trade in spiceries is to remain exclusively in the viceroy, and is not to be permitted to the merchants; for which reason it is not believed that this Indian trade will be very profitable: But we shall give you due information of all these things as they occur. We have formerly written you that Cairo failed in its commercial prosperity from the very same cause; and if this great eastern trade shall be appropriated by the king, it will certainly occasion a Babylonian confusion in the state, and very deservedly: For at Cairo the Moors were in use to maltreat the Christians exceedingly, and they are now perhaps suffering for that error, as they will not any longer be allowed to carry away any kind of spices, or jewels of all kinds, or pearls and other valuable commodities; as by means of the Portuguese forts, they will in future be debarred from trading to Calicut and Sofala; for all which you will be thankful to God.

Concerning the gold mine of Sofala, which we mentioned before, and of which such wonderful things are told, it is said our king will be the sole proprietor in two years, which must prove of vast importance; as from that place, which is now possessed by the idolaters, all India and Persia used to procure the whole of their gold; although the mouth of the bay is under the dominion of a king of the Chaldeans[7], at which place the trade is carried on with the idolaters by the Moors, who bring yearly their ships from Cambaya laden with low-priced articles, which they barter for gold. These goods are coarse cotton cloths, silks of various fashions and many colours, but chiefly of the Turkish fabric. The king of Quiloa, an island about sixty leagues from Sofala, it is said, will have to quit that place from fear of the idolaters. At Quiloa all ships going to Sofala have to stop and pay tribute, before going to the mine of Sofala. When they get to Sofala, they have to remain there six or eight months before completing their affairs; carrying from thence gold, ivory, and wax, all of the best kind. After this they have again to touch

7 It is difficult to guess what bay, and who may be the king of the Chaldeans here alluded to. Perhaps the town of Sofala, the emporium of the gold trade of Eastern Africa, which was ruled by an Arabian prince or sheik. By the idolaters in the text, are apparently meant the Negroes of the interior, where the gold came from by way of Sofala.—E.

touch at Quiloa, and to pay a tax for their gold. Thence they go to Cambaya or Mecca. In our ships there are twelve or fifteen agents of the king of Quiloa, who pays a tribute yearly to our king of 1500 *metigals*, each of which metigals is worth 150 ducats, or in all 225,000 ducats. That king depends so entirely on the king of Portugal, that our king may dethrone him whenever he pleases to send there a force of 1000 men, which would oblige the king of Quiloa to run away; and it is believed this will be done shortly, the thing being so easy, and by this means an yearly revenue of 500,000 ducats would be secured.

If you have properly considered what those ships may bring which are daily expected, you will find that they will at least import about 222 quintals of all kinds of spice: And we shall ship for you of all these, using our endeavours that you may never be in want of them. Even after the before mentioned treaty with the king of Calicut, no small risk still remains to those who navigate to the Indies, on account of a certain archipelago, containing about 14,000 islands [8], and owing to the narrowness of a certain strait which is scarcely navigable. We shall persist notwithstanding, as by custom and experience these dangers will become of no consequence. At length we expect to have the glory of having discovered almost the whole of the world, and those parts of it especially to which the ancients never penetrated. It only remains for us to go to the island of Taprobana, or Ceylon, which according to Pliny is exceedingly rich in gold, gems, and ivory. Thus by our anxious endeavours, we shall lay open the whole of India to our trade. By letters from thence, it appears that our merchandize is not much valued in these parts, and that *crusadoes* ought to be sent out, if we wish to have our affairs speedily conducted, as other goods remain long in hand: For the Indians purposely procrastinate, that they may beat down the value of our commodities. The Indians give a high price for brass and alum; but this last must be white not red, and in large pieces, as they despise the small. They do not care for coral, unless large and finely wrought, which otherwise bears no value. Lead is valued, if in large bars. Quicksilver and amber are in no request. Wrought brass bears a low price, as it is always manufactured over again in their own fashion, so that the cost

8 This alludes to the Maldives and Lakedives.—E.

cost of manufacturing in Europe would be thrown away. All other goods besides these mentioned are in no demand, and will therefore bring small profit.

SECTION III.

Letter from Peter Pasquali, orator of the Venetian republic at the court of the king of Portugal, to his brothers dwelling in Lisbon [1].

BELOVED brothers! I formerly wrote you by Peter Verzo the carrier, informing you of all the news of this place; and now write again by Bartholomew Marquesi, the uncle of Dominic Benedicto of Florence, that you may be informed of our affairs, and may be assured of our desire to write whenever an opportunity offers. Know, therefore, that the vessel which was sent out last year towards the north by the king of Portugal under the command of Gaspar Corterato, has now returned. He reports having discovered a continent about 2000 miles from hence, in a direction between the north-west and the west, hitherto utterly unknown. He is likewise said to have sailed almost 800 miles along its coast, without finding any end; on which account it is considered to be a continent, and not an island: and its coast appears to join with another land, formerly discovered almost under the very north [2]. But the vessel was unable to proceed so far, on account of the sea being frozen, and from excessive falls of snow. It is concluded, from the number of rivers which descend from the snowy mountains, that this land must be a continent, as no island could possibly supply so many rivers. The land is said to be well cultivated. The houses of the inhabitants are constructed of wood, covered with hides or the skins of fish. The vessel now arrived has brought over seven of the natives of both sexes, and the other ship, which is hourly expected, is said to have fifty. In stature, colour,

1 This letter is dated 9th October 1501. It is probable that Pasquali would hardly write this *from* the court of Portugal to his brothers *in Lisbon*; it being more likely that they resided in Venice.—E.

2 The discovery here referred to, seems to have been the coast of Labradore; and the other country *under the north* may possibly be Greenland. This voyage was probably in quest of a north-west passage to India.—E.

colour, appearance, and dress, these people are very like the *Cingani*. They are clothed in the skins of fish and otters, and other hairy skins like those of wolves; wearing the fur side inwards in winter, as we do, and outwards in summer; but these are not fashioned or sewed together, being used in their natural forms. These are principally worn on their arms and shoulders, and their loins are girded with many cords made of sinews. They appear a savage people, yet not impudent, and are well made in all their limbs. Their faces are punctured with many marks, like the Indians, having six or eight punctured lines, more or less according to their fancies, in which they seem to take great delight. They have a language, which is not understood by any one, although interpreters of almost every tongue have been tried. Their country is destitute of iron, yet they have swords edged with sharp stones; and their arrows are pointed by the same means, and are sharper even than ours. Our people brought from thence part of a broken sword with gilded ornaments, which seemed of Italian manufacture.

A certain boy is said to have been seen in that country, having two silver balls hanging from his ears, which certainly appeared to be engraved after our manner. On the whole, it may be concluded that this country is a continent, not an island, and that is a new discovery; for if any ships had ever been here before, we should assuredly have heard something respecting it. The coast abounds in fish, particularly salmon, herrings, and many others of that kind. There are forests, which abound in all kinds of trees; so that *they build* [3] ships, with masts, yards, benches, and all things conformable. On this account the king of Portugal has resolved to convert this discovery to profit, both on account of the abundance of wood which is fit for many purposes, and because the natives, being accustomed to labour, may become very useful, and indeed I have never seen better slaves. I have deemed it consistent with our friendship to acquaint you with these things; and when the other vessel arrives, which is daily expected, I shall communicate other particulars.

The fleet has sailed for Calicut, and the king has ordered that it shall seize the fleet of Mecca, that the soldan of Syria may neither have access there in future nor may export any more

3 In this passage we surely ought to read *ships may be built*.—E.

more spices. The king of Portugal is satisfied that every thing shall go according to his wishes in this respect, and the court and all the nation are of the same opinion. Should this purpose succeed, it is incredible how abundant this kingdom must soon become in all kinds of riches and merchandize; and from hence the ships of Venice in particular will have to bring their accustomed articles of trade. To us truly, who formerly sustained this branch of commerce entirely by our own resources, this decree will be injurious, unless he shew us favour.

Section IV.

Letter from Francis Sagitta of Cremona, from Lisbon, directed to the Venetian orator Peter Pasquali, residing at the Court of Castile [1].

Most excellent orator! In two former letters, I have promised to omit no opportunity of informing your excellency what kind of merchandize might be brought in four vessels which were expected daily from India. They are now arrived, and I shall truly state all the merchandize which they have brought, which is as follows: One thousand quintals of pepper; 450 quintals of cinnamon; about fifty quintals of ginger; fifty quintals of lac; and as much cotton as may be bought for 400 ducats. The reason assigned for having brought so small a quantity of spice is, that they agreed among themselves, after sailing from hence, that two of the ships should steer for the gold mine, and the other two for Calicut. On this account, each took only such goods as it was thought would be valued in the ports to which they were bound. But when these ships came to Calicut they were not allowed to trade, and were obliged to go to other places. On going to Cananore, they there learnt what had been done by Peter Aliaris, the factor at Cochin for the king. The king or rajah of Cananore received our people honourably, and offered to supply our commanders gratuitously with all kinds of spices; but, thanking him gratefully for this kindness, he declined the offer, saying that he must go in the first place to the

1 This letter is dated 16th September 1502; and by it P. Pasquali appears to have gone from Portugal into Spain.—E.

the kings factor at Cochin, and would then return and accept his spices on credit. Setting out therefore for Cochin, he transacted business with the royal agent, Peter Aliaris; but as the ships did not bring money for their purchases, and as the goods they brought were in small request, and they could not therefore succeed in making purchases, the commander resolved to return to Cananore, where the rajah had expressed so much good will for the Portuguese, and where he bartered his merchandize for spices at a good profit. He here left three persons, with the ships factor and a clerk, because the rajah had advanced money on credit for the spices, that they might not appear to have cheated the rajah. Yet after all, the ships had to come away only half loaded, because they had not taken out money for their purchases, and their goods were in no request. The conclusion from this is evident, that the Indians have no demand for our goods, and that money alone is especially desired by them, and of which they are in great need.

It has been reported since, that these kings of the Indies gave as much merchandize to our admiral without price as would load four ships, out of fear of the Christians; especially the king of Calicut, who has been told by his soothsayers to beware of the ensuing year, as the stars threaten him with a great slaughter of his men by the Christians, and that his kingdom even would be deserted, owing to dread of that people. We have this intelligence from three men who escaped from the battle at *Araschorea* with the barbarians. The same thing is reported by a native of Bergamo, who had dwelt twenty-five years at Calicut, which is likewise confirmed by a native of Valentia, who had sojourned there six years. In the meantime the king of Calicut fitted out a large fleet to attack our ships at Cananore; but they immediately sought for safety by setting sail. On this account the king of Portugal has ordered eight or ten ships of burthen to be fitted out by next January, of which seven are already built. Two ships have been sent out this summer, one of which is of 700 tons burthen, and the other of 500. There is a third in the port of Lisbon of 450 tons; two others at Madeira, one of 350, and the other of 230 tons; another is fitting out at Setubal carrying above 160 tons. Besides these six, a caravel is to be added which lately came from the island of Chio, all of which are entirely at the royal charges; and two are to be fitted out by the king for certain merchants, one of 450 tons

 and

and the other of 350. It is agreed between these merchants and the king, that the king shall be at the sole expence of the voyage and payment of the sailors, as in his service. That the merchants shall carry out as much money as may suffice for all their purchases; and on the return of the ships half of the goods shall belong to the king, and the merchants shall be at liberty to sell the other half for their own behoof. It appears evident to us that this mode of conducting business will be greatly more to the benefit of the merchants than going entirely at their own risk, as has been done hitherto; so that the king will probably find abundance of people willing to trade to India on these conditions. We have accordingly a share in these two ships; but of the event, God alone can judge.

SECTION V.

Of the Weights and Money of Calicut, and of the places whence they procure their Spices [1].

HAVING already treated concerning the articles of commerce of all kinds in the Indies, it is proper to give some account of the prices and weights of these. In the city of Calicut a *bahar* of nutmegs is sold for 450 *favi*. A bahar consists of four quintals, of 100 pounds each, and twenty *favis* are equal to a ducat. A bahar of cinnamon costs 390 favi. A *faracula*, or the twentieth part of a bahar of dried ginger, is six favi. A faracula of candied ginger is twenty-eight favi. A bahar of tamarinds thirty favi. A bahar of the best pepper 400 favi. A bahar of *zerombeci* forty favi. A bahar of myrabolans 560 favi. A bahar of zedoary thirty favi. A bahar of red sanders eighty favi. A bahar of lac 260 favi. A bahar of *sanasius* 160. A bahar of mastic 430 favi. A *faracula* of camphor 160. A bahar of pepper 360. A faracula of frankincense

1 This Section is taken from the *Novus Orbus* of Grynæus, p 63. in which it forms part of the navigations from Lisbon to Calicut, attributed to the pen of Aloysius Cadamosto. The information it contains respecting the principal commodities then brought from India to Europe, and their prices, is curious: Yet there is some reason to suspect that the author, or editor rather, has sometimes interchanged the bahar and the faracula, or its twentieth part, in the weights of the commodities. Several of the names of things and places are unintelligible, probably from corrupt transcription.—E.

incense five favi. A faracula of benzoin six favi. A faracula of aloes wood 400 favi. A faracula of cassia eleven favi. A faracula of rhubarb 400 favi. A bahar of cloves 600 favi. A faracula of opium 400 favi. A bahar of white sanders 700 favi. A mitrical of ambergris, or six ounces and a quarter. A bahar contains twenty faraculas. A faracula fourteen aratollæ and a third; as twenty-three Venetian aratollæ are equal to twenty-two Portuguese pounds. A golden ducat is equal to twenty favi.

As to those things which are carried from Europe for sale at Calicut, a faracula of brass sells for forty-five favi. A faracula of white coral for 1000. A faracula of silver for twenty favi. A faracula of spurious coral for 300. A faracula of alum twenty. An almenum of saffron sells for eighty favi: the almenum exceeds the Portuguese pound two aratollæ and a half, and is therefore equal to about three Venetian pounds.

It appears proper to mention the regions from whence the various spices are brought to Calicut. Pepper is brought from a certain tower near the coast, about fifty leagues beyond Calicut. Cinnamon comes from a country called *Zolon*, Ceylon, 260 leagues beyond Calicut, and from no other place. Cloves come from the district of *Meluza*, which is twelve Portuguese leagues from Calicut, and is in the country of Cananore. Nutmegs and mastic come from *Meluza*, which is 740 leagues from Calicut [2]. Castor, which is musk, comes from a certain region called Pegu, 500 leagues from Calicut. Fine pearls come from the coast of *Armuzi* [3], 700 leagues from Calicut. Spikenard and myrabolans from the province of *Columbaia* [4], 600 leagues from Calicut. Cassia *in twigs* [5] is procured in the territory of Calicut. Frankincense is brought from *Sabœa* [6], 800 leagues distant. Aloes-wood, rhubarb, camphor,

2 Meluza may possibly be the city of Malacca, then a great emporium of Indian trade; but it is impossible to reconcile or explain Meluza in Cananore twelve leagues from Calicut, and Meluza 740 leagues from thence.—E.

3 This may possibly refer to the island of Ramisseram in the straits of Manaar, between Ceylon and the Coromandel coast, near which the famous pearl fishery is still carried on.—E.

4 Evidently Cambaya or Guzerat.—E.

5 Probably Cassia lignea, or in rolled up bark like twigs, to distinguish it from the drug called Cassia fistula.—E.

6 Perhaps the coast of Habesh on the Red Sea.—E.

phor, and calinga, is sent from the country of Chiva [7], 4000 leagues from Calicut. Myrrh from the province of *Fastica* [8], 700 leagues distant. Calicut produces *zeromba* [9]; and Cananore sends cardamoms, being only twelve leagues distant. Long pepper is found in *Same* [10]. Benzoin from *Zan*, 700 miles from Calicut. Zedoary is produced in the territory of Calicut. Lac comes from the city of *Samoterra* [11], 500 leagues distant. Brasil wood from the region of *Tannazar*, 500 leagues. Opium from the coast of *Adde*, 700 leagues.

7 Probably a typographical error for China.—E.

8 Alluding to some part of the coast of Arabia.—E.

9 Perhaps Zedoary, repeated afterwards under its right name.—E.

10 Same and Zan probably are meant to indicate some of the Indian islands. Same may be Sumatra. Zan may be some port in Zangibar, on the eastern coast of Africa.—E.

11 Samoterra probably alludes to some port in the Bay of Bengal. Tannazar, almost certainly Tanaserim in Siam. Adde, probably is Adel or Aden in Arabia.—E.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

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